DETROIT ROUND TABLE NEWS LETTER

Vol. I JULY, 1945 No. 3

SUMMER YOUTH PROGRAMS

The Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews and Protestants will present a number of programs in connection with young people's summer camps and conferences. On Friday, July 6, a good will team of speakers representing the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths will address the young people at the Fresh Air camp near Brighton, Michigan.

Rabbi Irving Ganz of the Jewish Community Synagogue—Bay City, Michigan, will represent the Detroit Round Table, Michigan Regional Office of National Conference of Christians and Jews in a series of programs to be presented at Michigamme near Calumet, Michigan, at the Marquette District Methodist Summer Youth Institute.

Rabbi Jerome Folkman of Temple Emanuel, Grand Rapids, Michigan, will teach a course on "Building Bridges Between Groups that differ in Faith, Race and Culture" at the Evangelical and Reformed Churches Youth Conference at Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio, July 15-21.

On Tuesday, July 17, the young people at the Fresh Air Camp near Brighton, Michigan, will be shown the March of Time film on "Tolerance" and "Army Chaplain," showing how men of all faiths work together in the armed services—under the auspices of the Detroit Round Table.

Rabbi Leon Fram of Temple Israel, Detroit, will teach a course in Inter-group Relations at the Flint District Summer Youth Institute of the Methodist Church at Lake Louise, Boyne Falls, Michigan, August 12-18.

Rabbi Davin Schoenberger of Temple Beth Jacob, Pontiac, Michigan, will teach the course on "Building Bridges Between Groups" at Michigamme for the Congregational Youth of Northern Michigan August 12-17.

Rabbi Schoenberger is the former Rabbi of Aachen and will relate his experiences in escaping the Nazi persecution as a special feature of the assembly.

BROTHERHOOD BANQUET LEADERS

Detroit Free Press Photo.

At Fourth Annual Inter-Fraternal Brotherhood Banquet of B'nai Brith, Knights of Columbus and Masons. Left to Right, Rev. Joseph Q. Mayne, Executive Secretary, Detroit Round Table; Mr. William A. Freimuth, Attorney and General Chairman; Mr. Henry Zinger, Co-Chairman for the Knights of Columbus and Judge Joseph A. Moynihan, Toastmaster.

DETROIT ROUND TABLE
OF CATHOLICS, JEWS AND PROTESTANTS

MICHIGAN REGIONAL OFFICE
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
For Justice, Amity, Understanding and Cooperation among Catholics, Protestants and Jews
907 Washington Blvd. Bldg.
Detroit 26, Mich.

Detroit Round Table News Letter

"THE HIGHEST DEMOCRACY"

For they have finished to begin,
And greater things they do—
Who come so far to die so young
And live again in you.
—DR. DANIEL A. POLING.

(Dr. Poling is the father of Chaplain Clark V. Poling, one of the four Chaplains, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, who gave their lives on the sinking of the troop transport "Dorchester" to save the lives of soldiers aboard the ship.)

Somewhere in this plot of ground there may lie the man who could have discovered the cure for cancer. Under one of these Christian crosses, or beneath a Jewish Star of David, there may rest now a man who was destined to be a great prophet. . . . Now they lie here silently in this sacred soil, and we gather to consecrate this earth to their memory. . . . Here lie officers and men, Negroes and whites, rich men and poor. . . . Here are Protestants, Catholics and Jews. . . . Here no man prefers another because of his faith or despises him because of his color. Here there are no quotas of how many from each group are admitted or allowed. Theirs is the highest and purest democracy. Any man among us the living who . . . lifts his hand in hate against a brother, or thinks himself superior to those who happen to be in the minority, makes of this ceremony and of the bloody sacrifice it commemorates, an empty, hollow mockery.—Chaplain Roland B. Gittelsohn, dedicating 5th Marine Div. cemetery on Iwo Jima.

PANEL DISCUSSION BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Photo Courtesy Detroit News.

REP. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN REP. CHARLES M. LaFOLLETTE REP. SAMUEL A. WEISS
Main Auditorium Rackham Building

DETROIT ROUND TABLE OF CATHOLICS, JEWS AND PROTESTANTS
For Cooperation, Justice and Progress in Amity
MICHIGAN REGION

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

907 Washington Boulevard Bldg. Detroit, Michigan

In support of the vital work of the Detroit Round Table to eliminate bigotry and prejudice, and to carry on the War Camp Program of the National Conference.

I subscribe $_____

_____

_____
(Contributions Federal Income Tax Deductible)

CO-CHAIRMEN
Edgar A. Guest
Hon. Ernest A. O'Brien
Henry Wineman

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT OUR PROGRAMS

I am heartily in accord with the aims of the Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews and Protestants and have confidence in the constructiveness of their activities.

—Fred M. Zeder, Chrysler Corp.

I find the work in Detroit among the finer achievements of the Conference in this country.

—Rabbi William F. Rosenblum.

* * *

Our sincere appreciation for your splendid cooperation. . . . Your speaker left us with many cherished memories and unforgettable guides to building world peace and brotherhood.

—Rev. Glenn L. Utterback, Director of Congregational Youth Conference, Michigamme, Mich.

* * *

In behalf of the men in my command I wish to thank you and your associates for the noteworthy contribution made to our army orientation program. The Round Table discussion assisted immeasurably in furthering better understanding of the spirit of unity, cooperation and brotherhood.

—Colonel L. Ponton de Arce, Commanding, Romulus Army Air Field.

* * *

The published material of the Round Table reveals a Niagara of activity.

—Chaplain Morris Adler.

MEETING WITH CONGRESSMEN OF THREE FAITHS

A large and representative audience assembled in the Rackham Auditorium on the evening of May 21 to hear these three congressmen discuss "The Pattern for a Just and Durable Peace" under the auspices of the Detroit Round Table and other outstanding educational and religious groups. Said Rep. Weiss: "As long as race riots occur in Detroit and other cities; so long as the poll tax can prevent even soldiers at the front from voting, so long as anti-Semitism continues to increase in America, there is little likelihood of securing an enduring basis for cooperation with the Orient or even with the countries of Latin America."

FIRST DETROIT ROUND TABLE YOUTH SUMMER CONFERENCE

The first Detroit Round Table Youth Conference took place Thursday, June 14, through Sunday, June 17, at the Fresh Air Camp in Brighton, Michigan. Cooperating groups included the B'nai Brith Youth organizations, Catholic Youth organization, Christian Youth Council, a department of the Detroit Council of Churches. Youths representing Marygrove College, University of Detroit, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church, Westminster Presbyterian

Continued on Page 4

SOME RECENT PROGRAMS OF THE DETROIT ROUND TABLE

Michigan Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews

Mar. 13—Detroit Round Table Luncheon Meeting, Detroit-Leland, "The Sword of the Spirit," Mr. Frank J. Sheed.

Detroit Round Table Women's Committee, "Tourists for a Day," Blessed Sacrament Cathedral, "Ritual, Symbolism and Beliefs of the Catholic Church," Msgr. Allen J. Babcock.

Winterhalter School PTA Films, "Army Chaplain," "The World We Want to Live In," "Victory for Brotherhood," Rev. Mayne.

Mar. 14—Peter Vetal School, Brotherhood Program, Dr. Glazer, Rev. Mayne.

Mar. 15—Battle Creek Intercultural Committee Meeting.

Mar. 16—Temple B'nai Israel, Saginaw, Mr. Oscar W. Baker, Jr., "Changing World Concepts."

Mar. 18—Drayton Ave. Presbyterian Church, Ferndale, "Catholicism," Dr. E. L. Harmon.

Station WJLB Broadcast, "In Peace As In War—Teamwork," Mrs. Morris Adler, Dr. Rose Walsh, Mrs. Beulah Whitby.

Temple B'nai Israel, Saginaw, Brotherhood Dinner, Young People with Youth Group of First Congregational Church, Rev. Martenson, Rabbi Tenenbaum. Film slides, "Getting Acquainted With Jewish Neighbors," Film, "Army Chaplain."

Mar. 19—Youth Group, Central High School, Rev. John Elliott, Director of Church Commission, National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York City.

Mar. 21—Westminster Presbyterian Church, Film, "The World We Want to Live In."

Mar. 22—Torch Club, "The Interracial Situation in Detroit," Dr. Alfred M. Lee.

Mar. 26—Station CKLW, Passover and Easter Broadcast, Mrs. Morris Adler, Miss Marion Aaron, Rev. Mayne.

Mt. Olivet Community Methodist Church, Dearborn, "Victory for Brotherhood," Rev. Mayne. Films, "Army Chaplain," "The World We Want to Live In."

Mar. 27—Saline Public Schools, Film, "The World We Want to Live In."

Mar. 29—Culture Club, Saginaw, Brotherhood Address, Rabbi Tenenbaum.

April 2—Central Detroit Kiwanis, Dr. T. Brumbaugh.

April 3—No. 1 Kiwanis, Statler Hotel, "Victory For Brotherhood," Dr. Leslie A. Bechtel, Rabbi Leon Fram, Fr. Wm. A. Hogan.

April 4—Temple Beth El, "The National Conference in the Nation's Camps," Dr. Hersch.

April 5—Olivet Presbyterian, Film, "Army Chaplain." Central High School Girl Reserves, "Faith and Fellowship," Rev. Mayne.

Shrine Club, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Brotherhood Day, Rabbi Leon Fram, Fr. Raymond Jones, Dr. B. W. Pullinger.

April 7—Grand Rapids Round Table Meeting.

April 10—Congregational Church, Rochester, "Judaism and Christianity," Dr. Hersch, Rev. Mayne. Films, "Army Chaplain," "The World We Want to Live In."

April 11—Miller High School Youth Panel, "Building Bridges Between Groups," Marion Aaron, Ethel Crawford, Ralph Sosin, Betty Sherman, James Sherman, Edward Szymanski, others, Rev. Mayne, leader.

April 12—Detroit Round Table Board of Directors, Luncheon, Report by Dr. Hastings Harrison, Vice-President, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Dallas, Texas.

April 15—Central Woodward Christian Church, "Great Companions," Rev. Mayne, Bushnell Congregational Church Youth Group, "Catholicism," Fr. Robert Eiten, S.J.

April 16—Station CKLW, Inter-Fraternal Brotherhood Dinner, Founders' Broadcast, Mr. Aaron Droock, Mr. James E. Frazer, Rev. J. Q. Mayne.

Crusaders Lodge No. 564, F. and A. M., Dinner, "Victory Over Prejudice," Rev. Mayne.

April 17—Fourteenth Ave. Methodist Church, "Jewish Customs and Ideals," Dr. Hersch.

SPEAKERS AT BROTHERHOOD BANQUET

600 present at Detroit Round Table dinner. Speakers' Table at Inter-Fraternal Dinner of B'nai Brith, Knights of Columbus and Masons, sponsored by the Detroit Round Table. Left to right: Mr. Charles Nathanson, Co-Chairman for B'nai Brith; Mrs. Nathanson, Rabbi William Rosenblum of Temple Israel, New York City; Mr. Leo M. Flynn, Supreme Treasurer, Knights of Columbus, Chicago; Rev. Andrew W. Gottschall, Director, Armed Services Program, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Washington, D. C.

April 18—Keating School Brotherhood Program, Mr. John Dancey, Rev. J. Q. Mayne. Films, "Army Chaplain," "The World We Want to Live In."

April 19—Young Women of Louis Marshall Lodge, B'nai Brith Brotherhood, Address, Rev. Tracy Pullman.

April 19-21—War Camp Program, Sampson, Naval Training Center, New York, Hon. Philip Elliott of Flint, Hon. Joseph A. Moynihan, Dr. Alvin D. Hersch.

April 23—Elkton Public Schools, Film, "The World We Want to Live In."

April 24—Station CKLW, "Victory for Brotherhood," Rabbi William Rosenblum.

Factfinders Club Brotherhood, Address, Rabbi Rosenblum.

Fourth Annual Inter-Fraternal Brotherhood Dinner of B'nai Brith, Knights of Columbus and Masons, sponsored by the Detroit Round Table, Crystal Ballroom, Masonic Temple, Mr. Leo M. Flynn, Supreme Treasurer, Knights of Columbus, Chicago; Rev. Andrew W. Gottschall, Director of Armed Services Program, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Washington, D. C.; Rabbi William Rosenblum of Temple Israel, New York City; Hon. Joseph A. Moynihan, toastmaster.

April 25—Detroit Round Table Luncheon Meeting, Detroit-Leland, Rev. Andrew W. Gottschall, Rabbi Leon Fram, Mr. James E. Frazer, Dr. Margaret Mead on "Educating Children for Inter-Group Understanding."

Perfection Lodge, F. and A. M., Rev. Andrew Gottschall on "War Camp Program of National Conference," Dr. T. T. Brumbaugh on "Brotherhood, Basis for World Peace."

April 29—Trinity Methodist Church, Highland Park, "Christianity in the Post-War World," Dr. E. W. Blakeman, Dr. H. A. Lichtwardt, Rev. J. Q. Mayne, Mrs. Ralph Pino.

May 2—Selfridge Field War Camp Program, Dr. Leslie A. Bechtel, Hon. John V. Brennan, Dr. Alvin D. Hersch.

May 3—Selfridge Field War Camp Program, Dr. Alvin D. Hersch, Rev. Irwin C. Johnson, Fr. John F. Quinn, S.J.

Bayview Yacht Club, Inter-Fraternal Brotherhood, Banquet Committee, Report, Meeting.

May 9—Maccabees Lodge, Workmen's Circle, Three Faith Tribute to President Roosevelt, Rabbi Joshua Sperka, Dr. Alvin D. Hersch, Rev. Joseph Q. Mayne, Hon. Patrick H. O'Brien.

CHINESE CATHOLIC BISHOP WELCOMED AS SPEAKER AT ROUND TABLE LUNCHEON

Mr. Henry Wineman, Jewish Co-chairman, Detroit Round Table, greets Bishop Paul Yu-Pin, Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic of Nanking, China, and Mrs. James P. Cummiskey, President of the League of Catholic Women, at a Detroit Round Table Luncheon.

Vast Soldier Audience Hears National Conference Message at Ft. Knox

FOURTH ANNUAL INTERFRATERNAL BROTHERHOOD BANQUET IN CRYSTAL BALLROOM, MASONIC TEMPLE

Six hundred representative citizens of the three faiths hear distinguished speakers on the menace of hate movements to democracy and the program at the National Conference to overcome bigotry and create brotherly understanding.

3 FAITHS SPEAK FOR 7TH WAR LOAN

Distinguished leaders of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths participated in a Round Table Broadcast over station WJR on Memorial Day at 5:30 P.M. in a Broadcast arranged by the Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews and Protestants. They are:

Left to Right: Naiph Abodaher, Radio Chairman, Banking Division, Michigan War Finance Committee; Dr. B. Benedict Glazer, Rabbi of Temple Beth El; Bishop Donald B. Aldrich, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan and Rev. Joseph A. Foley, S.J., University of Detroit, Student Counsellor.

This broadcast is one of a series of 36 being sponsored by the bankers and Trust Companies over Detroit stations in connection with the "MIGHTY 7TH."

Continued from Page 2

Church, Congregation Shaarey Zedek, Temple Beth El, Congregation B'nai Moshe were among those present.

Leadership was furnished by Rev. Joseph Q. Mayne, Executive Secretary of the Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews and Protestants, who directed the conference and led the discussion course on "Building Bridges Between Groups That Differ in Faith, Race and Culture." Mr. Leonard Belove, Director of A. Z. A. was in charge of the recreation program which included swimming, boating and other active sports. Mr. Joseph Michaud the Organist and Director of Music at Holy Redeemer Catholic Church, lectured on sacred music and illustrated it with recorded selections. Rabbi Leon Fram of Temple Israel, directed the rituals of the Jewish service and led discussion on Judaism. Mr. Frank Wurtsmith, Business Manager of the Catholic Theatre of Detroit, spoke on the modern theatre, and the work which the Catholic Theatre has undertaken. Miss Lou Ann Albright, Director of Religious Education at the Royal Oak Congregational Church was in charge of the musical program. Mrs. Samuel Aaron of B'nai Brith supervised the arrangements at the camp and had charge of the girls' section of the conference.

November 1, 1945

National Conference of
Christians and Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

In the November Postwar Information Bulletin we noticed an announcement concerning your recent publication Building Bridges Between Groups That Differ in Faith, Race, Culture by John H. Elliott.

We would like very much to have four copies of this pamphlet. We are enclosing our check for $1.00 to cover cost.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Encl.

September 5, 1946

Mr. Joseph Calderon
Director, Bronx Round Table
The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
391 East 149th Street, The Bronx
New York 55, New York

Dear Mr. Calderon:

In talking with me recently about the case of Isaac Woodward, Jr., who lost his sight as a result of a blow administered by a policeman at Batesburg, South Carolina, Miss Marjorie McLachlan suggested that you might be interested in knowing something about the Southern Regional Council. I am, therefore, sending you herewith several of our publications which will acquaint you with the background and program of the organization.

I should like to call attention especially to our monthly publication NEW SOUTH. The regular issues contain information of a general nature, while once each quarter we have an enlarged issue dealing with a subject of particular interest to the South. If you feel that the publication would furnish information which would be of use to you and your organization, we should be glad to receive your subscription. A blank is provided in the enclosed folder THE SOUTH IS YOURS.

If there is further information which you would like to have concerning the Council, or if we can be of service to you, please let us know.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

#1-SIY-
N.S: mar.-July-June announcement-
Survey of Lect. Serv.-
Utility.

20th August, 1946.

Mr. Joseph Calderon,
Director, Bronx Round Table,
The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.,
391 East 149th Street,
The Bronx, New York 55, New York.

Dear Mr. Calderon:

Your letter of July 28 asking if I could give you any further information with regard to the case of Isaac Woodward, Jr., Negro war veteran, came while I was on vacation in Canada.

I understand there were numerous news stories on this case during my absence and I have no doubt that by now you are in full possession of the facts. However, I made enquiry from Miss Emily Clay, Secretary of The Southern Regional Council; and their files contain information to the effect that Isaac Woodward, Jr. boarded a bus in Atlanta and that in Batesville, South Carolina he was blinded by a blow on the head by a policeman. His eyes were not gouged out. The Batesville policeman has acknowledged administering the ill-fated blow, affirming that Woodward was drunk, causing a disturbance in the bus, and resisting him. It seems that the only witness is another Negro veteran, who as far as the authorities are concerned, unfortunately, is as good as no witness.

Burg

In my opinion it is regrettable that the true facts were not better in hand before so much "news" of a sensational and inflammatory character got into print.

Since The Southern Regional Council is such a level-headed and constructive organization in the field of inter-racial relations (being bi-racial in its membership and staff), I am referring your letter to Miss Clay. She can likely supply you with further information; but in any case I want the Bronx Round Table to become better acquainted with The Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie McLachlan

Marjorie McLachlan.

BRONX ROUND TABLE
of
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.
FOUNDED IN 1928
For Justice, Amity, Understanding and Co-operation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews
391 EAST 149th STREET
THE BRONX, NEW YORK 55, N. Y.

JOSEPH CALDERON
Director

MO. 9-3521

July 26, 1946

Miss Marjorie McLachlan, Director
Atlanta Round Table of the
National Conference of Christians and Jews
1222 First National Bank Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss McLachlan:

The case of the Negro veteran, Isaac Woodward, Jr., who, according to the affadavit of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had both eyes gouged out by police in Ailen, South Carolina after an argument with a bus driver, has received a great deal of notice in the press here. This veteran happens to be a resident of the Bronx and the local papers and local veteran and community groups have interested themselves in the case.

A number of our Round Table members have requested that the Bronx Round Table organize a committee to study the facts in the case and I am writing to ask you if you have any further information that you can give us.

For your interest, I am enclosing clippings from the local paper, the Bronx HOME NEWS.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Calderon

JOSEPH CALDERON, Director
Bronx Round Table

JC:sk
enc.

National Co-Chairmen ARTHUR H. COMPTON - CARLTON J. H. HAYES - ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS - *President* EVERETT R. CLINCHY - *Treasurer* HERBERT J. OSBORNE

THE HOME NEWS
BRONX AND MANHATTAN
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HOME DELIVERY 25c PER

Blinded by Georgia Cops--Bronx Vet

The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People charged today that a Bronx Negro veteran was taken from a bus by police in Georgia, beaten and blinded with the blunt end of a blackjack.

The veteran, Isaac Woodward, Jr., of 1100 Franklin Ave., said he boarded a bus in Atlanta three hours after being discharged at Camp Gordon, Ga., on Feb. 13. An hour out of Atlanta, he asked the driver if he could go to a rest room at a bus station.

"He cursed and said, 'no.' When he cursed me, I cursed him back."

Woodward said the driver let him go to the rest room, but when the bus reached Aiken summoned police and charged that Woodward had created a disturbance.

Woodward said he took a billy from one policeman who was beating him, but the other drew a gun and forced him to drop it.

At the police station, Woodward said, one of the patrolmen "began punching me in the eyes with his billy" after knocking him down.

"I woke up the next morning and could not see," Woodward said. He was taken to a veterans' hospital at Columbia, S. C., and released two months later.

Dr. Chester W. Chinn, an eye specialist, examined him here, and said: "The boy's eyes are completely hopeless."

Blinded Pacific Vet Tells His Story

By BETSY LUCE and MICHAEL SPECTOR

Isaac Woodward, Jr., young Negro veteran of the Pacific fighting who charges that an Aiken, S. C. policeman blinded him by savagely gouging his eyes with a nightstick because he said "Yeah" instead of "Yes, sir" to him, sat today in a darkened room and "just marked time."

"I don't care what might have happened to me when I was fighting for my country," he said at his home, which is a ground-floor apartment at 1100 Franklin Ave. "But to think that a policeman could have inflicted this hardship upon me is something that makes my whole life turn sour."

Investigation Asked

After a New York physician pronounced the case hopeless and said that the youth—who is 27—faced a lifetime of blindness, the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People asked the Dept. of Justice to investigate the incident.

While his wife, Rosa, stood nearby, Woodward said:

"Here I was coming home, looking forward to a grand welcome party. My wife was waiting for me—and this thing happens."

It happened Feb. 13, three hours after the youth was discharged from the Army at Camp Gordon, Ga., and boarded a bus taking him north to the "grand welcome party." He had a dispute with the bus driver an hour out of Atlanta, and when the bus reached Aiken the driver called a policeman and said the ex-soldier had "created a disturbance."

Two Days in Cell

The beating followed. He was kept in a cell for two days without medical attention. Then, apparently frightened at his condition, the police drove him to the veterans' hospital at Columbia, S. C., where he remained until April, when relatives brought him home.

"Of course," Woodward said, "I'm keeping my chin up. That's what they tell me to do. While it is true one doctor told me it was hopeless, the doctor at the veterans' hospital told me there was a possibility my vision might return in due time."

He peered helplessly from behind his dark glasses, then said in a dogged tone:

"Already there is a slight flicker showing up from time to time in the corner of my left eye. But it's not strong enough. All I can do is mark time."

Going back to the beating in Aiken, he said that while he was in his cell he was bleeding from both eyes, but did not realize then he was blind. It was not until someone let him out of the cell to go to a nearby sink to wash that he realized he could not see.

"I Can't See"

"The man said, 'Come on, get up,'" he said. "I said, 'Man, I can get up, but I can't see.' They told me to wash up, I'd feel better. They tried to make me drink some liquor, but I told them I didn't drink. Then they put my coat on me, and told me we were going to see the judge."

They led him upstairs in the same building, he said, and told him he was before the judge. Turning blindly toward "the judge," he told him the only reason he'd taken the policeman's club away from him—one charge against him—was to stop the brutal beating.

"The judge said, 'We don't stand for any of these things here. You are fined $50 or 30 days in jail," Woodward said. "The cop told him I had $40 in my wallet, and he said, 'We'll take that.' Then I told him I had $4 in my watch pocket, and he said, 'We'll take that, too.'"

Back to Cell

He was led back to his cell, and kept there another day. He was permitted to keep his mustering-out check—$694.73 for three and a half years' service—because he refused to endorse it as the police suggested.

Woodward looked thoughtful.

"You know," he said, "I still don't think that was a judge I was before. Judges don't act that way. I know when a judge says $50 he doesn't take $44."

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED IN 1928

For Justice, Amity, Understanding and Co-operation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

October 8th, 1946

TO THE EDITORS OF EDUCATIONAL JOURNALS:

The 14th annual observance of American Brotherhood Week, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, occurs February 16 to 23, 1947. The theme is: "BROTHERHOOD-PATTERN FOR PEACE".

We would appreciate your cooperation in publicizing the event and the availability of materials for use in assemblies, classrooms and through other means of communication.

A copy of President Truman's letter calling for nation wide observance of Brotherhood Week is enclosed. You will note it is released for use in the January, 1947, issue.

A brief release is enclosed also for your use. Please send me a copy of the issue in which announcement of the observance may appear.

Very truly yours,

Herbert L. Seamans

Herbert L. Seamans, Director,
Commission on Educational Organizations

National Co-Chairmen ARTHUR H. COMPTON - CARLTON J. H. HAYES - ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS - *President* EVERETT R. CLINCHY - *Treasurer* HERBERT J. OSBORNE

The Gentler Sex

Schoolroom Fascism

By Malvina Lindsay

A SUBTLER and even more infectious expression of postwar prejudice and bigotry than the revival of the Ku Klux Klan is disturbing American educators and churchmen. President Truman referred to it in his recent strongly worded warning against racial and religious bias. It is the discrimination minority groups meet in many American schools.

The public high school is regarded as the worst danger spot of this incipient fascism. While it cannot deny minority groups entrance—as certain colleges do under quota systems—yet its pupils can practice the more indirect tortures of social ostracism, slights and slurs on their victims. These early psychological hurts, say educators, often generate strange behavior later.

Small children have no religious, racial or national prejudice, their teachers say. But those of high school age, and even younger, begin to ape their elders and put into effect what scientists call the barnyard peck caste system—based on the right of certain hens to peck other hens. Children in minority groups—Jews, the foreign-born, in some communities Catholics or followers of other creeds.

THIS YEAR the opening of school finds this problem of special urgency. Postwar adjustments, confusions and irritations have sent many persons looking for cats to kick. Their attitudes are reflected in their children. Also national polls have shown a disturbing amount of prejudice against minority groups. And the trek to this country of war's refugees has put more "outsiders" and children with strange accents in some schools.

Anti-Semitism is surprisingly prevalent, especially among the well-to-do in "nice" neighborhoods in large cities. It is a part of Hitler's legacy of hate. Authorities on racial and religious tensions say that the half billion dollars spent by the Nazis between 1933 and 1945 on anti-Semitic propaganda (much of it in this country) is having its aftermath. And native rabble rousers, to whom a political campaign always offers a field day, are finding, as did Hitler, that anti-Semitism is a fast horse for riding to power. All of this could hold peril, as it did in Germany, if a depression and a fight for jobs came.

However, bigotry is meeting a widespread counter-offensive. The President's Commission on Higher Education is looking into the college angles of it, including the quota system. A more fundamental approach is the inter-group education project in which school systems of about 20 large cities are cooperating, and which is sponsored by the American Council on Education and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. In operation little more than a year and a half, it has made amazing growth. It has a laboratory workshop in the University of Chicago.

THIS PROJECT reaches the heart of the problem in the schools—the teacher, who by attitude as well as words sets the social tone of the schoolroom. It works with her in studying the tension problems of her pupils, and in setting up projects to overcome these. It also reaches into the home and the community by promoting inter-group activities among parents.

Many cities are becoming aware of the need of immunizing children against bigotry in order to save themselves police trouble later. Some are making studies and surveys of racial and religious tensions. Some, as Springfield, Mass., have made democratic history by the programs they are carrying on.

Educators, encouraged by the way the inter-groups projects are taking hold, believe these may initiate a grassroots democracy in the high schools, which have become increasingly snob ridden as the Nation has gotten more urbanized, as living standards have risen, as more emphasis has been put on dress and social standing. Already, in some schools that have inter-group programs, there is less snobbery, fewer cliques, and more clubs without exclusive membership. There is even hope that the practice of democratic attitudes toward pupils who are unlike in accent and beliefs may in time break the back of the whole barnyard peck system.

Reprinted from

THE WASHINGTON POST

September 21, 1946

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Southern Regional Council

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THE COMMISSION ON
EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, Inc.

381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Printed in U.S.A.

THE ATLANTA ROUND TABLE

of

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.

REQUESTS THE PLEASURE OF YOUR COMPANY

FRIDAY, JANUARY 10th, 1947 HENRY GRADY HOTEL 12:30 P.M.

TOPIC:

"Education For Brotherhood....Means To One World"

SPEAKERS:

The Reverend Father Michael J. Ahern, S. J.; Delegate, first international meeting of Christians and Jews; Weston College, Weston, Massachusetts

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath: President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Delegate, first international meeting of Christians and Jews; Cincinnati, Ohio

Early Reservations Requested

American Brotherhood Week, February 16-23, 1947

The Week of Washington's Birthday

RECEIVED 1947
Southern Regional Council

SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

I ACCEPT the Honorary Chairmanship of American Brotherhood Week, 1947, with the firm conviction that brotherhood is essential to the establishment and maintenance of peace. Our supreme need is brotherhood as a pattern for peace, here and across the globe.

Our own land can make no greater contribution to this troubled world than to establish brotherhood as the rule of life among all our citizens of every religion, race or national origin. Brotherhood—live it, believe it, support it—must be the resolve that governs our relations to one another. We cannot hope to commend brotherhood abroad unless we practice it at home.

Democracy rests upon brotherhood. Justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews throughout our nation are cornerstones of democracy, even as they are the requirements of brotherhood. With them we can maintain our national unity and keep up the teamwork needed in peace as in war.

I, therefore, join heartily with the National Conference of Christians and Jews and with all forces of good will in our country in commending nationwide observance of American Brotherhood Week, February 16-23, 1947. I hope that our citizens will meet in church and schoolhouse, in halls and public places to affirm anew the principles upon which the realization of brotherhood depends and to strengthen the bonds that hold us together as we face the demanding tasks to which destiny summons us.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

"Brotherhood—Believe It, Live It, Support It"

The above, from the letter of President Truman endorsing AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD WEEK, might well be the motto for the observance in 1947.

Brotherhood—Believe it!

Defined as a willingness to give to others every right and dignity we claim for ourselves, brotherhood is essential to the fulfillment and perpetuation of American democracy. Until that conviction controls the thinking of our citizens democracy is not safe. So long as any minority among us is not free, all of us are threatened. That belief is fundamental.

Brotherhood—Live it!

That injunction finds us where we dwell. It reaches into our schools, our churches, our community organizations. Every denial of brotherhood anywhere menaces its establishment everywhere. It is our contention that the world-wide acceptance of brotherhood as the rule of life for nations is essential to permanent peace. "We cannot hope to command brotherhood abroad unless we practice it at home." What we do in our own country speaks more loudly to the world than anything that we can say.

Brotherhood—Support it!

That is, spread brotherhood. It is necessary, but not sufficient, to believe brotherhood and to live it as persons and citizens. We must proclaim it, be its advocates. Brotherhood has many adversaries. Selfishness, prejudice, ignorance are divisive. They disrupt the human family, drive and hold its members apart. We must educate for brotherhood in every community in the land. We must establish conditions within which brotherhood is possible. The friends of brotherhood must seek each other out and put their heads together. We must campaign for brotherhood. For the fight for brotherhood is never completely won. There is no surcease to this war. Strategy and tactics must be adapted to conditions as we find and face them. All of us—together!

American Brotherhood Campaign

The goal of this campaign, of which the HON. JOHN G. WINANT, formerly U. S. Ambassador to Great Britain, is General Chairman, is to enroll millions of people in an American Brotherhood dedicated to the extension of Freedom, Justice, and Responsibility as the foundation stones of a peaceful world. The National Conference has had eighteen years of experience in developing on the American scene an educational program for brotherhood.

Last year a budget of a little more than one million dollars made a tremendous impact on the nation with the following accomplishments:

> **14,776,200 publications printed; 7,334 school and college programs; 14,120 radio airings; 7,551 workshops, seminars and youth conferences; 1,700 daily newspapers carrying stories; 2,234 civic and service groups; 553,188 movie showings; 28,614 conferences and discussions.**

Disease of Prejudice

But even this impressive record is not adequate to overcome the social disease of prejudice—a disease which causes more mental anguish and suffering and more disruption of the equilibrium of community life than all of the major physical ailments of mankind. We need to extend our work in schools, churches, and civic organizations.

Operation International

Late in the summer of 1946 one hundred and fifty delegates from 15 countries attended the first International Conference of Christians and Jews held in Oxford, England. A permanent World Council is one practical result. The organization of a Workshop on Anti-Semitism in Europe is another.

Such a vast program for brotherhood costs money. The minimum budget upon which this total program for Brotherhood can be operated is $2,000,000. Individuals, clubs, church groups, schools and community organizations are urged to send contributions to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

How to Observe Brotherhood Week

Purpose

BROTHERHOOD WEEK is designed, in the main, for observance by organizations of every kind in a community, to be incorporated into their own programs according to their own customs. This reaches ready-made audiences in their natural gathering places.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK is a civic observance. As President Truman puts it, its purpose is "to affirm anew the principles upon which the realization of brotherhood depends and to strengthen the bonds that hold us together as we face the demanding tasks to which destiny summons us."

Cooperation

The observance will be successful in proportion as it secures the collaboration of every group in the community.

No group can be expected to cooperate in a BROTHERHOOD WEEK function in the planning of which they have had no share.

All meetings in which those of more than one faith group participate should be held, not in an ecclesiastical building, but in a neutral gathering place, and the program should not call for any form of common worship.

Program Suggestions

A trio of speakers, lay or clerical, Protestant, Catholic and Jew, of itself dramatically presents the Brotherhood idea. Without compromise of religious conviction, its members can present their common ideals as American citizens and the bases on which they can work together to achieve them.

Opportunity may be sought for such trios to address PTA's, service clubs, high schools, youth organizations, granges, women's and labor organizations, department stores, and industrial plants.

Pageants and plays may be used to dramatize the contributions of religious, racial and nationality groups to American life.

Libraries may provide a display of posters, pamphlets and books.

Musical organizations may sing or play musical compositions of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish origins.

Make full use of press, radio, moving picture, school and college assembly. Local editorials, cartoonists, news commentators, store advertising, factory bulletin boards are often available.

Local Committees

A city BROTHERHOOD WEEK Committee should be organized like this:

Co-Chairmen: Protestant, Catholic, Jewish laymen.

Executive Board: The chairmen of sub-committees.

Sub-committees:

1. Speakers' Appointments Committee to ask every organization to observe BROTHERHOOD WEEK at its regular meeting nearest Washington's birthday, and to furnish speakers where necessary. Assign women special responsibility for women's organizations.
2. Schools, Colleges and Libraries Committees, and Committees of public and parochial school people and faculty of any nearby college, to plan assemblies, projects and exhibits.
3. Publicity Committee, to co-operate with the press and arrange radio broadcasts.
4. "Brotherhood Dinner" or "Community Mass Meeting" Committee.
5. Finance Committee to secure contributions for the National Conference.

Available Aids

(To be obtained from the National Conference offices):

1. A series of fifteen-minute radio scripts for use over local stations or public address systems.
2. School programs; comics, plays, and stories for all grade levels.
3. Fifteen-minute scripts for programs in which parents, teachers and clergymen may participate.
4. Publicity material; spot radio announcements, editorials.
5. BROTHERHOOD WEEK poster.
6. A report blank for local achievements.

National Conference Offices

Northeast Division

NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
381 Fourth Avenue
BALTIMORE 2, MD.
1322 O'Sullivan Bldg.
BOSTON 8, MASS.
73 Tremont Street
BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
925 Main Street
BRONX 55, N. Y.
391 East 149th Street
BROOKLYN 2, N. Y.
72 Schermerhorn
HARTFORD 3, CONN.
1510 - 983 Main Street
NEWARK 2, N. J.
790 Broad Street
PATERSON, N. J.
YMCA Building
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
260 South 15th Street
PROVIDENCE 3, R. I.
58 Weybosset Street
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
11 Williams Street

Southeast Division

WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
733 Southern Bldg.
ATLANTA 3, GA.
1222 First Nat'l Bank Bldg.
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.
1110 First Nat'l Bank Bldg.
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLA.
123 West Beaver
MEMPHIS 3, TENN.
418-419 Comm. Title Bldg.
MIAMI 32, FLA.
1010 Pan American Bank Bldg.
RALEIGH, N. C.
Box 1532 YMCA Building
RICHMOND, VA.
616 State Planters Bldg.

East Central Division

DETROIT 26, MICH.
907 Washington Blvd. Bldg.
CINCINNATI 14, OHIO
313 Keith Building
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO
1023 United Commerce Bldg.
PITTSBURGH 22, PA.
504 Granite Building

Central Division

CHICAGO 1, ILL.
203 North Wabash
DES MOINES 9, IA.
706 Empire Building
DENVER 2, COLO.
717 Colorado Building
DULUTH, MINN.
810 - 14 West Superior St.
LOUISVILLE, KY.
201 - 522 West Jefferson
MILWAUKEE 2, WIS.
759 North Milwaukee Street
MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINN.
413 New York Life Bldg.
OMAHA, NEBR.
625 South 32nd
ST. LOUIS 1, MO.
1615 Chemical Bldg.
SOUTH BEND, IND.
803 Sherland Bldg.

Southwest Division

DALLAS 1, TEX.
1028 Liberty Bank Bldg.
HOUSTON 2, TEX.
807 Scanlan Building
KANSAS CITY 6, MO.
950 Dierks Building
NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.
513 Pan American Bldg.
OKLAHOMA CITY 2, OKLA.
310 Comm. Exchange Bldg.
WICHITA, KAN.
211 Derby Bldg.

Western Division

SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIF.
Central Tower, Suite 815
LOS ANGELES 15, CALIF.
Room 121, 117 West 9th Street
OAKLAND 12, CALIF.
414 Syndicate Building
PORTLAND 4, ORE.
722 Cascade Building
SEATTLE 1, WASH.
801 Seaboard Building

AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD

National Conference of Christians and Jews

381 Fourth Avenue — New York 16, N. Y.

318

OUR BROTHER AMERICANS

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

"Give me your tired, your poor
Your huddled masses yearning to be free
The wretched refuse of your teeming
shore
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost
to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Emma Lazarus

THE MELTING POT

"America is God's crucible, the great melting-pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming."
Zangwill

Adamic - From many lands. 1940.
Adamic - Nation of nations. 1945.
Brown - One America. 1945.
Eaton - Immigrant gifts to American life. 1932.
McWilliams - Brothers under the skin. 1943.
Seabrook - These foreigners. 1938.
Stegner - One nation. 1945.

JEWISH AMERICANS

Browne - See what I mean? 1943.
Davis - Jews fight too. 1945.
Fortune magazine - Jews in America. 1936.
Graham - Earth and high heaven. '44.
Lawrence - Let us consider one another. 1945.
Lewisohn - Breathe upon these. 1944.
Miller - Focus. 1945.
Sinclair - Wasteland. 1945.

FILIPINO AMERICANS

Bulosan - America is in the heart. 1946

JAPANESE AMERICANS

Constantino - Tale of these twain. '46.
Kehoe - City in the sun. 1946.
McWilliams - Prejudice. 1944.
Martin - Boy from Nebraska. 1946.
Means - Moved outers. 1945.

MEXICAN AND SPANISH AMERICANS

Crichton - Proud people. 1944.
Baruch - Glass house of prejudice. '46.
Gordon - Our son, Pablo. 1946.
Stilwell - Border city. 1946.
Tuck - Not with the fist. 1946.

NEGRO AMERICANS

Cook - Mrs. Palmer's Honey. 1946.
DuBois - Souls of black folk. 1931.
Logan - What the Negro wants. 1944.
Moton - What the Negro thinks. 1932.
Myrdal - American dilemma. 1946.
Odum - Race and rumors of race. 1944.
Rylee - Deep dark river. 1935.
Saxon - Children of strangers. 1937.
Washington - Up from slavery. n.d.
Wright - Black boy. 1944.
Wright - Twelve million black voices. 1941.

THE DISEASE OF HATE

"It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness."- Chinese proverb

ABC's of scapegoating. n.d.
Baruch - Glass house of prejudice. '46
Carlson - Under cover. 1943.
Carlson - Plotters. 1946
Kennedy - Southern exposure. 1946.
Lister - By the waters of Babylon. '45
Selden - Witch hunt. 1941.
Tuck - Not with the fist. 1946.

THE CURE

"We must all hang together or we'll all hang separately." Franklin

Chatto - Story of the Springfield plan. 1945.
DuBois - Get together, Americans. '47.
Herrick - This way to unity. 1945.
Wise - Springfield plan. 1945.

CARNEGIE LIBRARY OF ATLANTA

January 14, 1947

PW.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED 1928

American Brotherhood

"—to promote justice, amity, understanding and co-operation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships." (from the By-laws)

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
CHARLES E. WILSON
THOMAS E. BRANIFF
ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS

PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY

GENERAL SECRETARY
HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN

TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

September 23, 1948

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of the "Honest Answer" -- which, if an auslander may venture an opinion, is not only one of the most honest, but most irenic and understanding and statesmanlike expressions I've ever seen. My hat is off to you, to my good friend, Paul Williams, and to SRC, one of the most salutary and useful organizations in the country. May God prosper your work.

Sincerely,

Edward J. Heffron

Edward J. Heffron
Director of Media Relations

26 - Nat'l Conf. Christians and Jews

3/25/49

March 25, 1949

Mr. Willard Johnson
National Program Director
National Conference of Christians & Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of March 21 has reached the office during Dr. Mitchell's absence.

Perhaps you did not receive our letter of December 23, 1948, about the mailing of "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" to members of your national staff and to officials of your Southeastern and Southwestern Divisions. (A copy of that letter is attached, for your information.)

We are sending along another 25 copies. We appreciate your help in distributing them.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

enclosure

(25 copies of "Honest Answer" reprint

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PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY

TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

March 21, 1949

Ch.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

When I received a copy of "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" I wrote you on December 20 requesting that you mail a copy to all our offices. I sent you a mailing list but I have just had word from one of our offices that he did not receive the pamphlet.

Will you please check to see if copies were mailed to NCCJ offices? If not, I would appreciate receiving 75 copies so we can mail them from this office.

MEJ
answer
yes 59

Sincerely yours,

Willard Johnson

WJ:LC

Willard Johnson
National Program Director

RECEIVED
MAR 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

26 - Nat'l Conf. of Christians & Jews

(Mr. Johnson's letter sent to Paul Williams, with request that it be returned)

bc: Paul Williams

December 23, 1948

To Willard

Mr. Willard Johnson
National Program Director
National Conference of Christians & Jews, Inc.
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We greatly appreciate your letter of December 20 about "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy."

We mailed a copy to each member of your national staff, and to each official listed in your Southeastern Division and in your Southwestern Division. For that purpose we used the same mimeographed sheet giving "Offices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews", copy of which you very kindly enclosed with your letter of December 20.

We have not sent it to the other Divisions.

I take pleasure in sending you thirty additional copies of the statement. We would be most grateful for your kindness in sending them out to any others who you think should see them.

It encourages us to have so warm a reception from the National Conference.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

6. Civil Rights - SRC Policy

December 10, 1948

Mr. Everett R. Clinchy, President
National Conference of Christians and Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Clinchy:

At the joint suggestion of Mr. Edward J. Heffron and our Council's president, Mr. Paul Williams, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of the recent statement of our Executive Committee on civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

GSM/cc
enclosure

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

CC: Henry Noble MacCracken, General Sec. for Adm.
Willard Johnson, Natl. Prog. Dir.
M. Robert Dorn, Controller
Herbert L Seamans, Director, Comm. of Edu. Org.
Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy, Dir. Com. on Community Org.
Robert A Ashworth, Act Dir. Com. on Religious Org.
Louis Minsky, Managing Editor. Religious News Serv.

CC: Marjorie Rank, 1110 First Natl Bk Bldg. Birmingham, Ala.
William A. Ryan, 123 West Beaver, Jacksonville, Fla.
Geo L Rush, 201 Realty Building, Louisville, Ky
Mrs. Mattye Wilrey, 418-19 Commerce Title Bldg, Memphis, Tenn
Clarence A Wagner, 616 State Planters Bld. Richmond, Va.
Hastings Harrison, 1029 ~~Liberty Bank~~ Bldg, Dallas Texas
J C Harper, Jr. 2501 Beaumont, Tex
Mrs M. Ratcliff, 2615 Cockrell, Fort Worth, Texas
Carl A Wise, Y M C A, Galveston, Tex
Col. Ora Cohee, 313 Aztec Bldg, San Antonio, Tex
Mrs. P. J. White, 417 Medical Arts Bldg, Shreveport, La.
J. V. Harrison, 640 Nacol Bldg, Wichita Falls, Tex
E R McWilliams, 810 Scanlan Bldg, Houston 2, Tex
Clarence A Hill, 950 Dierks Budg. Kansas City, Mo
Harry S Jones, 513 Pan American Bldg, New Orleans, La.
T. H. McDowell, 310 Comm. Exch. Bldg. Oklahoma, City, Okla.
J. Burr Gibbons, 8th Fl. Saniel Bldg, Tulsa, Okla.
John T. Kenna, 309 Derby Building, Wichita, Kansas
J. Roger Beas, 815 Central Tower, San Francisco
William L. Young, 3757 Wilshire Blvd. Los Angeles 5, Xal.
Conan E. Mathews, Boise Junior College, Boise, Idaho

26 - N. Misc.
National Conference on Citizenship

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

June 2, 1949

Dear Fellow Citizen:

Within the next few days you will receive a copy of the latest issue of the Citizenship Quarterly, which includes excerpts from the speeches delivered at the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship and the thumbnail reports. The printed report carrying the proceedings of the Conference will be sent to you by the National Education Association as soon as it is ready for distribution.

Plans are already going forward for the Fifth National Conference. Information concerning dates and place will be forwarded to you at the earliest possible moment. As in past years, the Conference will begin or end on "I Am An American Day," which is fixed by Joint Resolution of Congress as the third Sunday in May.

It is desired to have as complete a picture as possible of the news coverage of the Conference. Will you, therefore, be kind enough to send to this office clippings of any items carried in your local press? In addition, it will be appreciated if you will send us any suggestions as to how the Conference may be strengthened.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Carl B. Hyatt

Carl B. Hyatt, Director
Attorney General's Citizenship Program

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JUN 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

NCCJ

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED 1928

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PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY

GENERAL DIRECTOR
STERLING W. BROWN

TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

Brotherhood Week
February 19-26, 1950

December 6, 1949

HARRY S. TRUMAN
Honorary Chairman

JOHN L. SULLIVAN
General Chairman

Dear Mr. MitchellL

The Armistice Day meeting in Washington called by the National Conference of Christians and Jews to plan the 1950 observance of Brotherhood Week was an important contribution to brotherhood.

Highlighted by President Truman's address, the gathering of Brotherhood Week leaders from all sections of the country and from various nations was distinguished by a sincere desire to make brotherhood a reality. The President's talk was carried by the wire services to all the newspapers--and by radio--but I am nevertheless taking the liberty of attaching his remarks as so many have asked for the complete text.

As a major part of the meeting, we considered ideas for bringing the goals of Brotherhood Week into the homes of every American. In this connection we discussed what radio, movies and the press could do; the schools; our religious organizations; and other community organizations. In short, we made plans to enlist the cooperation of every force in American life.

Now it is up to us. The national observance of Brotherhood Week is the sum of all our individual efforts wherever we happen to reside. If each of us does his share I know the 1950 observances will be an outstanding contribution to the national welfare and to the job of building good will and understanding in the world.

Your opinions and suggestions will be most helpful and I shall appreciate hearing from you on any plan to further our work in behalf of a successful Brotherhood Week.

Sincerely yours,

John L. Sullivan

John L. Sullivan

NCCJ

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RECEIVED
MAY 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 12th
1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your friendly letter and your cordial offer to cooperate in the German grantee program.

As you realize, most of the foreign visitors are greatly interested in the South and its problems, and it seems regrettable that the necessity for economizing on travel expenses will make it possible for relatively few of the German visitors to stop over in Atlanta and observe the work of the Southern Regional Council.

We are looking forward to receiving your selection of printed material which, no doubt, will be very helpful to those concerned with intergroup relations. You may rest assured that whenever there is opportunity to do so, we will take advantage of your deeply appreciated offer.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Herman Ebeling

Herman Ebeling
Religious Affairs Panel

HE/rwl

May 9, 1950

Mr. Herman Ebeling
Religious Affairs Panel
Natl. Conference of Christians & Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Ebeling:

We would be delighted to help in any way we can with those of the German grantees whom you are assisting.

I am mailing you a selection of the Council's published things and a stack of the small leaflets which give a quick resume of what we are.

Our office here in Atlanta has been much used as a stopping place for people who want to learn quickly about the South. I had a few months in Germany several years ago and am deeply fond of the German people. So any who come by here will be cordially received.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

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STERLING W. BROWN

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HERBERT J. OSBORNE

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

April 28th 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Sec'y
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As a part of the Department of State's exchange of persons program, some 180 German religious leaders are expected to arrive in the United States within the near future. They will be of all faiths, Protestants, Catholics and Jews. They are experts in all phases of religious education and action, and want to study problems and typical solutions of problems in their fields in this country.

The over-all sponsor of these German "grantees" - as they are technically referred to - is the Religious Affairs Panel of the Commission on the Occupied Areas (of the American Council on Education). In actual practice the Catholics among them will be under the care of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; the Protestants will be under the guidance of the Federal Council of Churches and the National Lutheran Council; to the National Conference of Christians and Jews will be assigned a contingent of some twenty-five interfaith representatives of the six German local groups of the Conference of Christians and Jews.

As coordinator of this German grantee program with office at the National Conference of Christians and Jews, it occurred to me that the Southern Regional Council is a splendid example of intergroup work in America which has much to offer to the visiting German experts. I feel that they should be made familiar with your work and wonder whether you would be willing to send me a fairly comprehensive and up-to-date selection of material describing your theoretical approach to problems of your concern as well as your practical projects. Such material, I am sure, would be much appreciated by interested Germans and would be a good basis for the purpose of briefing and orientating them for their task.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

Furthermore, I should like to inquire whether it would meet with your approval if those Germans who desire to do so may visit your office in order to learn more about your organization. Please feel free to comment upon this request from your point of view - it is certainly not our intention to inconvenience youin any way.

With thanks for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Herman Ebeling

HERMAN EBELING
Religious Affairs Panel

HE/rwl

NCJ

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1951
Southern Regional Council

Hotel Gramercy Park
52 Gramercy Park North
New York

June 27, 1951

Dear George,

I attended the N.C.C.J. executive meeting here and presented the case for us to get the $500 for travel money to encourage self-surveys throughout the South. The groups went along with my recommendation and I think you can expect the check within the next 10 days.

I had to choose between this meeting and the SRC meeting next Saturday and decided that under the circumstances it would be better

Hotel Gramercy Park
52 Gramercy Park North
New York

for me to be here and be sure of the $500. Mrs. Duffy said in a recent letter that she felt that my presence was necessary to gain the $500. I'll be here Thursday morning. Will write you again before your meeting next Saturday.

Best

Paul

NCCJ

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COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

G. HOWLAND SHAW
Chairman

HENRY ALBERT
Nat. Commander Jewish War Vets, U.S.A.

EUGENE S. BRIGGS
Pres. Phillips Univ. Okla. Past President Internat'l Ass. Lions Clubs

JAMES B. CAREY
Sec.-Treas., CIO

MRS. JOHN CARNEY
Dir., Community Rel's., Girl Scouts, U.S.A.

MRS. ROBERT W. CORNELISON
Ch., Communications Dept. Gen. Fed'n Women's Clubs

JOHN C. DANCY
Dir., Detroit Urban League

MAX J. DERBES
Realtor, New Orleans

FRANK GOLDMAN
Pres. B'nai B'rith

SEYMOUR GRAFF
Manufacturer, Los Angeles

CHARLES E. HENDRY
School of Social Work, Univ. of Toronto

JUDGE CAMILLE M. KELLEY
Juvenile Ct., Memphis

RICHARD W. KEMLER
Pres., U.S. Jr. Ch. of Com.

MRS. NEWTON P. LEONARD
1st V-P, Nat. Cong. P. & T.

MILDRED H. MAHONEY
Ch., Mass. FEPC

EDWARD T. McCAFFREY
Past Nat. Com. Catholic War Vets.

HENRY S. MILLER, JR.
Realtor, Dallas

HAROLD RIEGELMAN
Vice-Pres., Am. Jewish Com.

HAROLD RUSSELL
Nat. Com., AMVETS

MRS. CHARLES W. SEWELL
Dir. Ass. Women Am. Farm Bureau Fed'n

ROY SORENSON
Ch. Com. Community Orgs., NCCJ, San Fran.

CARL C. TAYLOR
Chief Div. Farm Pop. & Rural Life, U.S. Dept. Agric.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
Pres., Sou'n Reg'l. Council

MATTHEW WOLL
Pres., Labor Lg. for Human Rights, A. F. of L.

ELLEN O'GORMAN DUFFY
Director

Answered Aug 2. '51

RECEIVED AUG 3 1951 Southern Regional Council

BROTHERHOOD WEEK FEBRUARY 18-25, 1951

Honorary Chairman
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

General Chairman
ERIC JOHNSTON

Community Organizations Chairman
RALPH J. BUNCHE

August 1, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sorry that I missed you when you were in the office and it may be that at that time you received the list of our principal southern offices. In any case, I am sending the attached list; these are the offices with paid Directors and in each case, these Directors have programs going in other nearby communities, so that they do not service only the city in which the office is located.

I think it would be worthwhile for your field Director to get in touch with any of the offices which is in the general area in which you are planning your survey.

Thank you for setting me straight on the matter of the manual being the April issue of New South. That has gone only to our office Directors and I should like a copy of the manual for each of the 25 members of our Commission, who are all lay people. Therefore, I am enclosing our purchase order for 25 copies at 50¢ each, totaling $12.50.

Thank you very much for the 20 copies of the Greenville Survey. If you could send me 5 more so that I could send both pieces to the Commission members, I should appreciate it. If there is an additional charge for these 5 Greenville copies, please let me know what it is.

Done aum Aug 3. '51

Sincerely yours

Ellen O'Gorman Duffy

Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy

Encl.
EOGD:fs

The First Quarter Century of the

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

RECEIVED
DEC 16 1952
Southern Regional Council

1928-1953

HISTORY MUST NOT REPEAT ITSELF...

He who does not learn from history is destined to repeat it.

No man wants to repeat the history of the past twenty-five years. No man who has learned anything from the past wants to look forward to a future of more wars, more race riots and dictatorships, more crematories for the disinherited.

We have lived through a quarter of a century of hate, violence and calumny on a scale the world has rarely seen. The years ahead will be trying for the most valiant souls. We need persons who, aware of the evils of anti-Semitism and anti-Christianism, will join in saying, "This must not happen again!"

But there are encouraging signs on every side. The growth of NCCJ is a living proof that there are countless men of good will everywhere who are ready to take up the struggle for the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.

NCCJ has learned much during the past twenty-five years. This brochure is a record of some of the achievements of NCCJ in a quarter of a century of work on behalf of better human relations. It is just a small part of the story. A book would be required to detail the many small, quiet and incalculably important deeds performed by NCCJ in fighting restriction, hate and discrimination not only in America, but throughout the world.

We look forward to the next quarter century with hope and confidence. But we cannot assume, in the face of the evidence around us, that the threat of dictatorship and all its evil implications is no longer with us. Communism is an ever-present threat. Men of ill-will still roam the face of the earth. Our job is monumental. And even as we look back at our past achievements with pride, we turn to you for help — vitally needed help — to keep up the good work in the years ahead.

Everett R. Clinchy

President

THE FIGHT BEGINS...

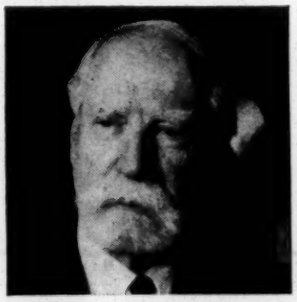
1928

The story of NCCJ goes back a quarter of a century to the dramatic presidential campaign of 1928 when Gov. Alfred E. Smith ran for the highest office of the land on the Democratic ticket. It is a matter of common knowledge that Al Smith was violently opposed in the presidential campaign, not so much for his economic or political views, but because he was a Roman Catholic. Al Smith became the target of vicious and bitter lies. A campaign of hatred was started against the Roman Catholic Church, and particularly against Gov. Smith.

It was at this time that NCCJ began its first great fight against intolerance in America. At the first NCCJ Seminar conducted at Columbia University, an exhibit of the hatred literature defaming Gov. Smith and the Catholic Church filled the walls of a room in Earl Hall.

The attack against Smith and the Catholic Church was part of a continuing stream of 19th century anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism of the Nativists, the American Protective Association and the multitude of other hate organizations culminating in the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's.

NCCJ waged a long and continuing fight against all forms of bigotry in American life. And in the years that followed NCCJ has never ceased to fight intolerance wherever it appeared in our society.

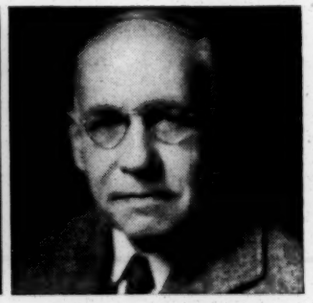


CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

NEWTON D. BAKER

DR. S. PARKES CADMAN

ROGER W. STRAUS



CARLTON J. H. HAYES

Following the political episode, in 1928 Charles Evans Hughes, Newton D. Baker, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Roger W. Straus, and Carlton J. H. Hayes, inspired by a four-year exploratory venture by the Federal Council of Churches, founded the National Conference of Christians and Jews. NCCJ constitutes the first systematic attempt in history to outmode bigotry in all its forms by mobilizing the knowledge of social scientists, the technics of educators, and the moral dynamism of religious people.

One quarter of a century after the 1928 presidential campaign, NCCJ drew from two 1952 candidates, Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson, the following appeals:

"Without tolerance, without understanding of each other or without a spirit of brotherhood, we would soon cease to exist as a great nation." **—Dwight D. Eisenhower**

"We can ill afford to exhibit to the world either incompetence or injustice in dealing with the relations of racial or religious groups." **—Adlai E. Stevenson**

Cooperation among all men of good will *can* change the social climate.

NCCJ TAKES UP THE FIGHT AGAINST NAZISM HERE AND ABROAD

1932 In 1932 Henry Smith Leiper of the World Council of Churches and Everett R. Clinchy of NCCJ addressed a small luncheon of Berlin businessmen in the Kaiserhof Hotel. Goebbels had launched a world-wide anti-Semitic campaign. His propaganda had already incited brass-knuckled Nazi students to chasing "die Juden" down the streets—a warning of more terrible things to come. Dr. Leiper and Dr. Clinchy pleaded with the Germans to educate their nation for cooperation of Protestants, Catholics and Jews against the Nazi hatred doctrine. But the pleas fell on deaf ears. The Berlin businessmen said that it was not necessary, that the individuals of the various religious cultures always had gotten along splendidly. Moreover, the Hitler movement was a passing, fanatical flash in the pan. The Berliners turned down the proposal to organize and raise funds for education in human relations. A year later Hitler was in power. And in twelve years the Kaiserhof Hotel, where they had met, was in ruins. Their businesses, their fortunes, their civilization, and many of their families were destroyed.

• • • • •

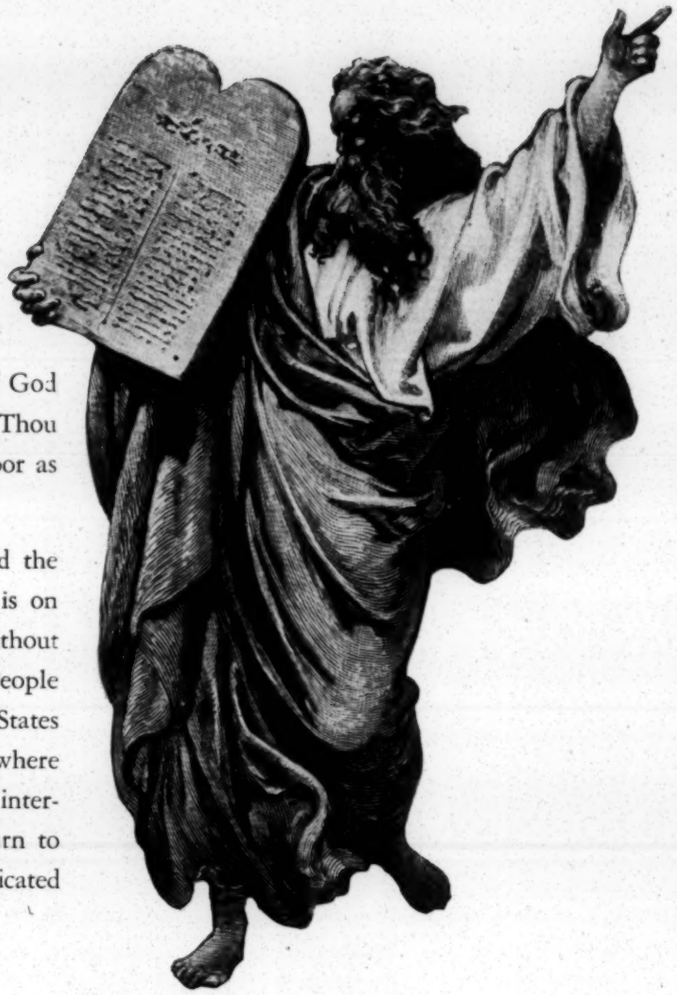
In America, anti-Semitism flourished with the advent of Hitlerism abroad. But unlike the Germans, American Protestants, Catholics and Jews joined together in a common fight against Nazism. In 1933 a team composed of Rabbi Morris Lazaron, Father J. Elliot Ross and Dr. Clinchy crossed the continent to sound a warning. In the years following, through the efforts of NCCJ, hundreds of ministers, priests and rabbis spoke to the people on the dangers of the Nazi doctrine.

NCCJ organized round table discussions, open forums, meetings and brotherhood chapters throughout the country in an effort to fight the new hate mongers.

The good work that received emphasis during the black years of Hitler's onslaught against human rights and dignity must continue. Brotherhood is a long-range ideal, not something to be supported only at a time of crisis. Our efforts to ameliorate all intergroup strife would be greatly strengthened if (1) by 1960 we had a standard chapter promoting the NCCJ program in every city of 100,000 or more population, and (2) we had an NCCJ committee in every town of over 10,000 population to observe trends, distribute materials, sponsor Brotherhood Week and support a year round program leading to a true world brotherhood.

"Thou Shalt Love The Lord Thy God . . .

Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbor As Thyself."



The ideal of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God is as old as the Bible. We read in Deuteronomy and Leviticus, "Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

A quarter of a century ago religious education emphasized the exclusiveness of each religious culture. Today the emphasis is on appreciation of one another, on team-work as citizens, without sacrificing one iota of the spiritual values of any religion. People with strong faith and strong minds are needed in the United States now as never before, and always will be. Free people everywhere who recognize the moral law, and who believe in the spiritual interpretation of the universe, are recognizing that they must learn to work together as brothers. Toward that end, the NCCJ has dedicated its work among religious groups.

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF EFFORT...

In the past twenty-five years, aided by the effort of the NCCJ, the ideal of brotherhood has grown tremendously among all groups.

Community Chests, service clubs, farmers' associations, labor unions, women's organizations today use the principles of American Protestants, Catholics, Jews—the clergy and laity—for the well being of all.

The ideal of brotherhood has been fostered by the U. S. Department of Defense throughout the Armed Services.

Newspapers point to the NCCJ as a guide for molding public opinion.

Another trend—American sportsmen are opening the gates for all racial and religious groups to compete on equal terms.

During the past seven years California, Arizona, and New Jersey are among the states which have eliminated segregation in public schools.

Since World War II, World Brotherhood groups have been organized in Paris, Geneva, Nurnberg, Rome, Toronto and Honolulu.

NCCJ helped collect 30,000 books and raised $7,000 to help stock the shelves of the Free University of Berlin.

The problems of our time arise out of man's relation to man

—rather than his relations to the physical world.

1952

THE INSPIRING RECORD

OF EDUCATION IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

A quarter century ago few school teachers paid any attention to intergroup education. The school books of the early 1900's show that children were introduced, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, to problems in physical health, citizenship, and personal character concerns; but these books did not deal with the peoples comprising the nation nor did they aid in educating for healthy group relations.

Since 1928 NCCJ has striven to help teachers to improve *intergroup relations in the classroom.*

In 1952 alone, over 700 school teachers and community leaders were trained in summer session courses at 25 universities. Indeed, NCCJ has pioneered in the field of intergroup education in the school systems of America.

We have produced something new in history, namely the first persistent, collective, systematic attempt, led by Christians but jointly shared in by Jews, to get at the causes of hostility between Christians and Jews and to get schools, communities, all civic organizations and media of mass communications to do something real about it.

SAN FRANCISCO STATE WORKSHOP

In this quarter century, some have said that nothing can be done about religious prejudice, or race discrimination, or national war, because "You can't change human nature." Actually, it is not a matter of changing human nature. The point is to change the *training* of human nature. While sinful human nature will always need the ministry of religion, group enmity, collective hate, color antagonism and religious bigotry are no more "fixed" in human nature than real estate restrictions or job discriminations in social nature.

S. M. U. WORKSHOP

The NCCJ initiated and subsidized studies by scientists specializing in human behavior. These learnings have provided material with which educators and religious teachers can work effectively in human relations.

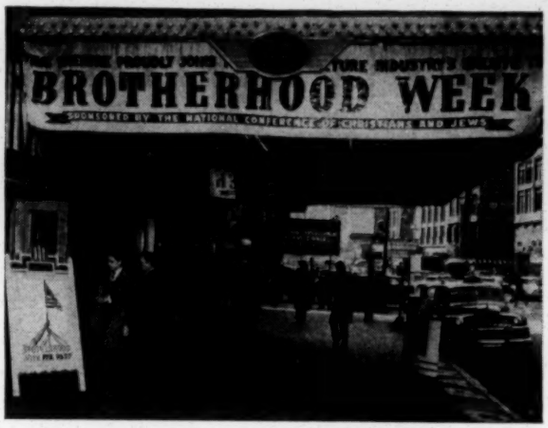
WASHINGTON U. WORKSHOP

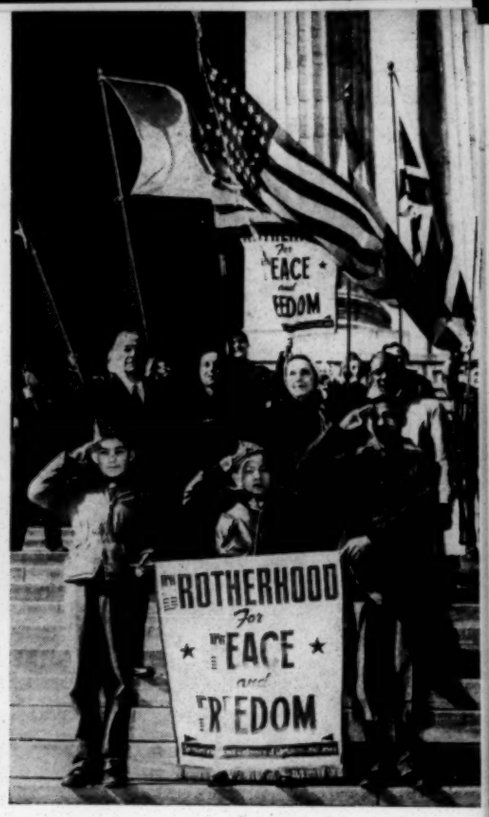
Wherever people meet, there you will find fertile ground for the work of the NCCJ. Many community organizations are cooperating in our program. Among these are the Scouts, YMCA, K of C, B'nai B'rith, labor unions and PTA.

CATHOLIC U. WORKSHOP

The practical application of intergroup relations is finding root in hundreds of communities all over the country every day. Civic, social and professional groups meet regularly to carry on this important work.

THE FIGHT AGAINST INTOLERANCE





NCCJ MOBILIZES RELIGIOUS AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS AND MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA

—to do something about it!

The fight against intolerance has gone on throughout the years on many different fronts. Before NCCJ was established, Sunday School lessons rarely paid attention to feelings and attitudes toward out-group people. NCCJ worked with leading religious educators of all denominations to re-emphasize the old truth that all men are children of God. Evidence of this is to be found in recent books such as "THE SUNDAY SCHOOL FIGHTS PREJUDICE" by Mildred and Frank Eakin.

By every means of mass communication — radio, motion pictures, television, newspapers, magazines, books — NCCJ has fostered the idea of universal brotherhood. Moreover, brotherhood is being built by exposing various groups to such important topics as: "Christian Teachings on Human Relations," "Neighbors All," "Being Christians In Our Country," and "How Jews Thank God, Long Ago and Today."

Leadership 1952-53

BENSON FORD
Special Gifts Chairman

ROGER W. STRAUS
Anniversary Gen'l Chm.

THOMAS E. BRANIFF
Extension Chairman

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE NCCJ

A. M. LUNTZ
East Central Division

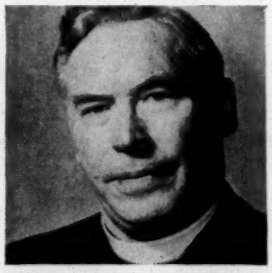
GEORGE B. MCKIBBIN
Central Division

GEORGE N. SHUSTER
Northeast Division

R. E. SMITH
Southwest Division

JAMES TWOHY
South Pacific Div.

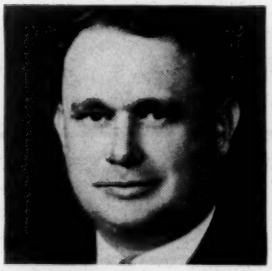
RABBI M. N. EISENDRATH



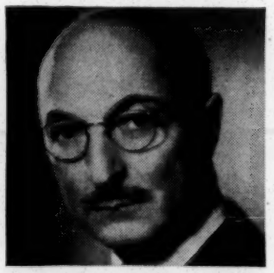
REV. JOHN A. O'BRIEN

REV. JOSEPH R. SIZOO

Co-Chairmen, Religious Organizations



RALPH E. MCGILL
Southeast Division



JAMES D. ZELLERBACH
North Pacific Div.

ALLEN W. MERRELL
Labor-Management Orgs.

J. MARTIN KLOTSCHE
Educational Orgs.

MAX E. YOUNGSTEIN
Public Relations, Chm.

HAROLD RIEGELMAN
Community Orgs., Chm.

HAROLD E. FELLOWS
Mass Media, Chm.

STRONG BELIEFS WIN STRONG MEN... AND THEN MAKE THEM STRONGER

NCCJ has been fortunate in the calibre of its leadership, in attracting men and women of great stature who have given of their time and work to encourage the growth of brotherhood. The following statements by religious leaders attest to the work of the NCCJ:

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York City: "I am glad to hear of the 25th Anniversary celebration of the National Conference. In a nation which is culturally and religiously as pluralistic as ours, the work toward mutual understanding of the religious groups conducted by the Conference is of inestimable value."

Father Edward V. Cardinal, c.s.v., Director, Sheil School of Social Studies, Chicago: "*We agree, to disagree, agreeably:* The National Conference of Christians and Jews has established its *raison d'etre* by the fact that it labors to create a pleasant atmosphere in a land where there are antagonisms and misunderstandings. In doing this work the NCCJ has been activating the philosophy of St. Vincent de Paul, who once said in a conference to his priests, 'we must love all of God's creatures but we must love those who differ from us just a little more.' "

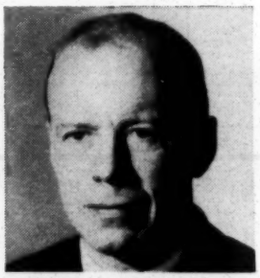
Dr. Louis Finkelstein, President, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City: "I am delighted to know that we are about to celebrate the completion of twenty-five years of work by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. When the National Conference was first established, none of us could have anticipated the astonishing growth which awaited it. Nor, for that matter, could we appreciate the fierce challenges of group dissension with which it would be called upon to deal. These twenty-five years have been historic, both in the achievements that have been made toward better relations, and in the great perils to improved human relations with which the world has been confronted and is still being confronted.

"The leadership of our own country in this field is indispensable to the survival of civilization, and all of us have every reason to be grateful to the National Conference of Christians and Jews for the great contribution which it has made toward the goal of united humanity."

FORMER BROTHERHOOD WEEK CHAIRMEN

HAROLD E. STASSEN
1946

JOHN G. WINANT
1947



ROBERT P. PATTERSON
1948

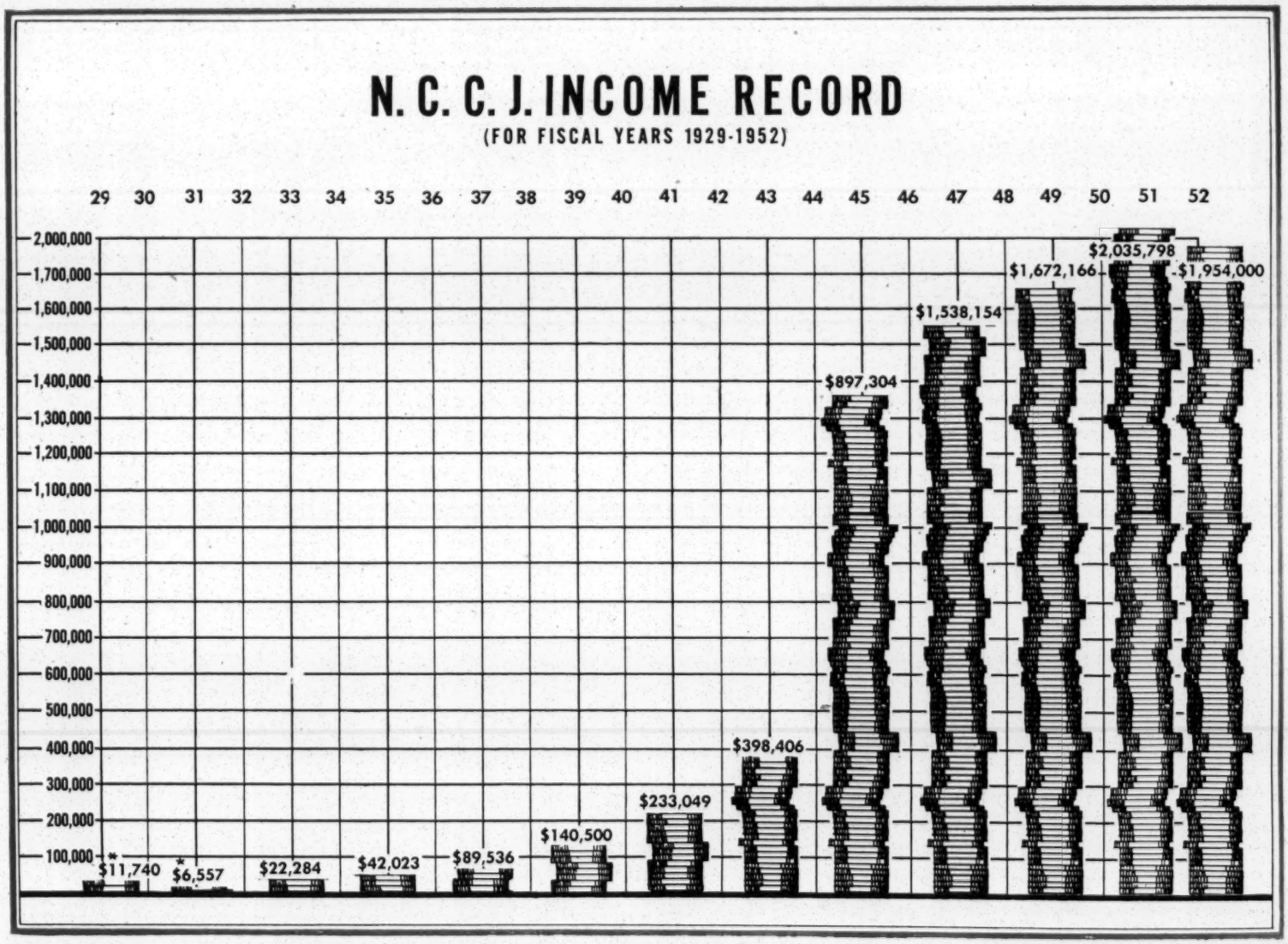
NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER
1949

JOHN L. SULLIVAN
1950

ERIC JOHNSTON
1951-52

25 YEARS OF GROWTH...

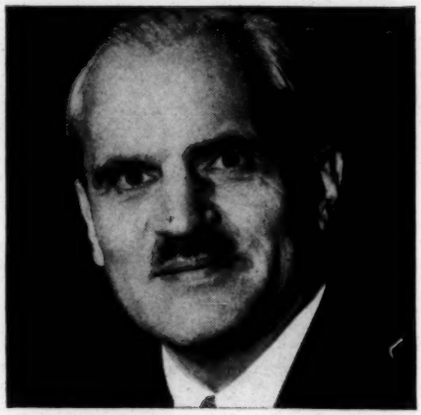
INCOME GRAPH



*During these years some expenses were shared with the Federal Council of Churches

Only You Can Help Our Income Grow!

HOW WE CAN KEEP THE "CHAIN REACTION" OF BROTHERHOOD GROWING . . .



DR. ARTHUR H. COMPTON

In 1950 World Brotherhood was organized in Paris under the leadership of Dr. Arthur H. Compton, Nobel Prize physicist.

Dr. Compton writes:

"The condition for developing the atomic chain reaction is that of having localized masses of uranium, each of which is large enough so that a neutron that originates within it will be captured by one of the uranium atoms, which will then re-emit other neutrons, and thus carry on the reaction. *Each such unit mass then becomes a center that is largely self-sustaining.*"

He then goes on to draw a parallel between the atomic chain reaction and the human chain reaction. Dr. Compton believes that by organizing chapters for NCCJ in our communities we are producing a "chain reaction" of brotherhood. Every effort that we put behind the work of NCCJ sets off a spark that ignites the enthusiasm of others around us and thus helps the principles of brotherhood grow and grow.

THE WORK OF THE 5 NCCJ COMMISSIONS

1. The Commission on Educational Organizations
—Dr. J. Martin Klotsche, Chairman

More than ninety summer workshops for 4,200 teachers, principals, superintendents and community leaders have been held during the past eleven years. In cooperation with the American Council on Education, pioneer studies and programs, national in scope, have been conducted in eighteen school systems and twenty-five teacher education institutions. A five year subsidized study of prejudice in standard public school textbooks resulted in significant findings which have been of great value to publishers and writers.

2. The Commission on Religious Organizations
—Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo, Rev. Dr. John A. O'Brien, Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, Co-Chairmen.

The Commission on Religious Organizations consists today of 39 prominent religious leaders widely representative of the religious life of the nation. Under their guidance, clergy and religious leaders come together in conferences and institutes; materials are produced that aid in the intergroup programs of churches and synagogues; programs are provided for theological seminaries; leadership is supplied for an ever enlarged summer youth conference program: campus interreligious activities are stimulated; and military chaplains are aided in their interreligious work.

3. The Commission on Labor-Management Organizations
—Allen W. Merrell, Chairman, Executive Committee

The in-plant group relations program under the supervision of the Commission on Labor-Management Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews meets a basic need of industry and labor. Since 1949 it has attracted national attention as a sound educational approach for combatting discrimination in employment and in the upgrading of workers.

4. The Commission on Community Organizations
—Harold Riegelman, Chairman

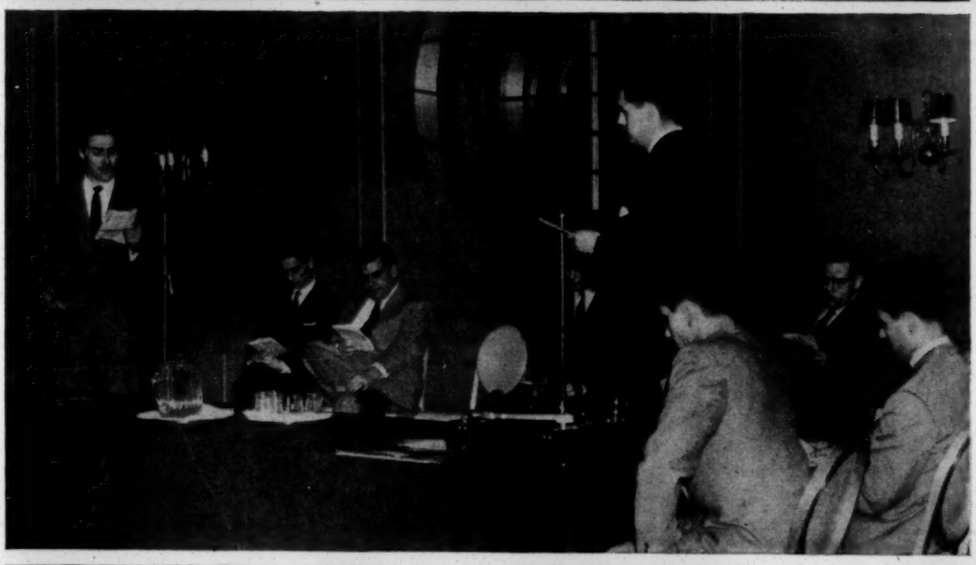
In twenty-five years, NCCJ has been able to persuade more than 400 national community organizations of the importance of doing a good job for brotherhood, and has actually helped many of these organizations to promote the objectives of NCCJ through their own membership. The Commission has printed and distributed materials, sustained radio series (one of which won for NCCJ a Freedom Foundations award last year), sponsored summer workshops for leadership training, and published an annual BOOKS FOR BROTHERHOOD bibliography.

5. The Commission on Mass Communications
—Harold E. Fellows, Chairman

The media of mass communications have become increasingly conscious of their obligations to the American people. They have largely broken down old barriers, destroyed old shams and pretenses, and called the nation's attention to issues that once were hush-hush, issues that were privately admitted but publicly ignored. Hatreds, discriminations, religious intolerances were once such issues, lumped in the same category with other untouchable subjects such as social diseases. The Commission is bringing an awareness of the serious problems of group relations to the attention of writers, editors, publishers and broadcasters.

A LIVING, VITAL FORCE FOR GOOD

Representatives of three faiths join in a handshake of understanding following a Brotherhood Week program at the Kiwanis Club of Columbus, Ga.



Students of Catholic University of America in radio presentation of "Thomas Kennedy." This was an activity of the Commission on Mass Communications.

A Brotherhood luncheon held February 20th, 1952, in Providence, R. I. At the head table are representatives of sponsoring civic, labor, veteran, church and government organizations.

THROUGHOUT THE NATION

On these pages we present pictures
of the spirit of brotherhood in action.
They speak for themselves.
They prove that the NCCJ is
a living, vital force for good
throughout the nation.

IMPACT ON NATION

1952 Statistics

NCCJ—arranged 65,000 programs last year for:

11,700 schools
890 colleges
8,500 churches and synagogues
2,200 women's clubs
1,650 service clubs
1,250 youth groups
525 national community organizations with 12,000,000 participants.

RADIO—TV

NCCJ programs and spot announcements resulted in more than 350,000,000 home impressions.

MOTION PICTURES

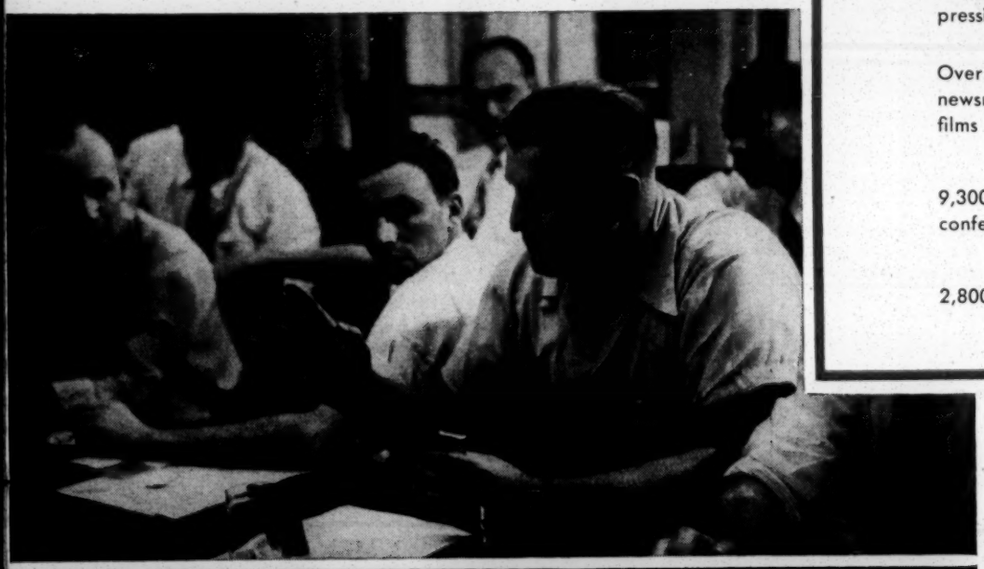
Over 180,000 showings of Brotherhood Week newsreels and 30,000 showings of educational films reached 70,000,000 persons.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

9,300 institutes, workshops and group leader conferences were conducted.

LITERATURE

2,800,000 pieces of literature were distributed.



A Labor-Management seminar.

Typical of the numerous meetings sponsored by the Commission on Religious Organizations. Outstanding religious leaders throughout the country have organized in fostering the work of Brotherhood.

File under NCCJ

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Vice-Chairmen
A. M. LUNTZ
GEORGE B. MCKIBBIN
RALPH E. MCGILL
GEORGE N. SHUSTER
R. E. SMITH
JAMES TWOHY
JAMES D. ZELLERBACH

National Officers
BENSON FORD, *Protestant Co-Chairman*
THOMAS E. BRANIFF, *Catholic Co-Chairman*
ROGER W. STRAUS, *Jewish Co-Chairman*

EVERETT R. CLINCHY, *President*

HERBERT J. OSBORNE, *Treasurer*
STERLING W. BROWN, *General Director*

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THE CANADIAN COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
221 Victoria St., Toronto — RICHARD D. JONES

World Brotherhood—WILLARD JOHNSON, *European Director*

Switzerland	37 Quai Wilson, Geneva	PIERRE A. VISSEUR
Germany	29 Friedrichstrasse Frankfurt/Main	HERMAN EBELING
France	65 Quai Dorsey, Paris	PAUL RIAT
Hawaii	O. R. & L. Bldg. P. O. Box 3106 Honolulu	WILLIAM A. SHIMER

HELP US MAKE THE NEXT QUARTER CENTURY

...an even greater era of achievement in human relations and brotherhood

$100,000 will set up a professorship in group relations at one of America's great universities and carry it for 5 years in the donor's name. Service to community organizations will be part of the program.

$50,000 will initiate required research, produce and distribute urgently needed learning materials in intergroup education for use in schools, colleges, seminaries and community organizations.

$25,000 will support a yearly series of college conferences and intercollegiate programs of intergroup education under competent professorial leadership.

$20,000 will produce an NCCJ motion picture which can be used in theatres, churches and schools.

$10,000 will permit the experimental development of human relations programs for educational television.

$5,000 will support a three-week human relations summer workshop for teachers, principals, and leaders of community organizations, located at a leading university and national in scope.

$3,500 will provide a lectureship and materials on NCCJ's theme in theological seminaries.

OUR FIRST 25 YEARS

1928 The National Conference of Christians and Jews founded and its work started. Elected first National Co-Chairmen: Newton D. Baker, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Roger W. Straus; first President: Everett R. Clinchy.

1929 First seminar "concerning relations of Roman Catholics, Jews and Protestants" held at Columbia University . . . A similar seminar held at Harvard.

1930 Seminar held in St. Louis, led by Bishop William Scarlet and Rabbi Ferdinand Isserman . . . Another seminar held at Wellesley College.

1931 Other seminars held at many of the colleges throughout the nation developed a new technique that gave a twentieth century expression to an old American institution—the town meeting and the country store cracker barrel discussion.

1932 Three-day National Seminar held at Washington, D. C., on "Religious Liberty and Mutual Understanding."

1933 First Pilgrimage Tour organized by Father John Elliot Ross, Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron and Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, setting up a pattern for teams of Protestants, Catholics and Jews to appear before audiences. The first team spoke in 38 cities from coast to coast; travelled 9,000 miles; appeared in 21 radio broadcasts; spoke at 129 meetings before 54,000 people.

1934 First observance of Brotherhood Week with 300 communities participating . . . Statement issued on Freedom in Mexico . . . NCCJ represented at the annual Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia . . . Religious News Service established by the NCCJ.

1935 First National Institute of Human Relations at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., with 685 persons attending and providing material for the publication of "The American Way" . . . Chicago Chapter organized, headed by A. D. Lasker, John P. McGoorty, Charles G. Dawes, Co-Chairmen; Dr. James M. Yard, Director.

1936 Twenty-five travelling trio teams organized. They covered 38,000 miles all through the country, appearing in hundreds of large and small towns.

1937 Reaffirmation of Principles of Civil and Religious Freedom signed by 50,000 clergymen . . . Arthur H. Compton, Nobel Prize physicist, succeeds Newton D. Baker as Protestant Co-Chairman . . . Second Williamstown Institute debates theme: "Public Opinion In A Democracy."

1938 Meeting of 500 at Estes Park, Colorado. Topic: American Democracy vs. Totalitarianism . . . First major statement of American citizens against the Hitler terror made public by the NCCJ. Signed by 53 Protestant, 23 Catholic and 23 Jewish leaders . . . Two days of nation-wide prayer for the oppressed of Germany held. Climaxed by a broadcast over 117 stations sponsored by the NCCJ . . . 169 trio teams made approximately 1800 appearances, reaching every state in the Union.

1939 Third Williamstown Institute held with 1200 participating. Theme: Citizenship and Religion . . . Establishment of the Commission on Educational Organizations and the Commission on Religious Organizations . . . Dallas office established with Hastings Harrison as Director.

1940 Campaign for national unity launched . . . Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, upon receiving an NCCJ citation, said that "rancor and bigotry, racial animosities and intolerances are . . . the deadly enemies of true democracy, more dangerous than any external force because they undermine the very foundations of democratic effort." . . . Detroit office opened.

1941 Fourth Williamstown Institute. Theme: The World We Want To Live In . . . British Council of Christians and Jews formed after visit by an American trio team . . . First summer workshop conducted at Colorado State College to train teachers and community workers in ways to deal with interracial and interreligious problems.

1942 First trio team formed to address members of the armed forces at camps in the United States . . . 778 military installations—from Attu to the Canal Zone—were visited by trio teams during the war years. Their messages reached more than eight million . . . Governors of 20 states issued Brotherhood Week proclamations urging cooperation.

1943 Religious Book Week inaugurated . . . San Francisco office organized.

1944 The NCCJ inaugurated its Awards of Distinguished Merit for radio broadcasts contributing to better intergroup relations . . . A five-year study of school textbooks begun at Harvard to eliminate prejudice from textbooks.

1945 Thomas E. Braniff elected Catholic Co-Chairman . . . First of a series of national projects in intergroup education started—Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools—to provide on-the-job training of teachers in human relations education.

1946 The Commission on Community Organizations formed to enlist in the fight against prejudice fraternal, civic, labor, veteran, farm, women's and youth groups . . . A Human Rights Committee established that helped in gaining approval of the United Nations for the Genocide Convention calling for international action against the mass destruction of groups of people.

1947 Emergency Conferences to study anti-Semitism held at Seelisberg, Switzerland, attended by 63 representatives from 17 countries . . . Charles E. Wilson elected Protestant Co-Chairman.

1948 Commission on Labor-Management Organizations formed for improving human relations in industry.

1949 First factory seminar to promote teamwork in industry started at the General Cable Corp., Perth Amboy, N. J. . . . First center for intergroup education opened at the University of Chicago.

1950 World Brotherhood organized at Paris.

1951 The Commission on Mass Communications formed to bring into the struggle against bigotry the forces of the press, radio, television, motion pictures, advertising, magazines . . . Ford Motor Co. Fund gave $1,000,000 for new NCCJ headquarters near the site of the United Nations . . . Henry Ford II organized the first National Special Gifts Campaign and raised $285,000 . . . The Albert M. Greenfield Center for Human Relations was established at the University of Pennsylvania.

1952 More than 7,000 communities participate in Brotherhood Week observances and push "Blood For A Brother" drive . . . The "Books for Freedom" campaign begun in the United States to help the Free University of Berlin stock its shelves with books to help Germany on the road back to democracy . . . 25th annual meeting of NCCJ held in Washington, D. C. Theme: Mobilizing Moral Resources for Brotherhood of Man Under Fatherhood of God.

1953

It's up to you!

The NATIONAL CONFERENCE of CHRISTIANS & JEWS, Inc.

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
BENSON FORD
THOMAS E. BRANIFF
ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS

PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY

GENERAL DIRECTOR
STERLING W. BROWN

TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

DIRECTOR, CAROLINA REGION
HARRY S. JONES

FOUNDED 1928

"—to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships." *(NCCJ By-laws)*

P. O. BOX 578, GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

August 10, 1953

EDUCATIONAL CONSULTANT
GORDON W. LOVEJOY

RECEIVED
AUG 12
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

The enclosed is a small token of my appreciation for the excellent job which you did in your lecture to the seminar. I may not have been there to hear all of it but I did listen in on a number of most favorable comments the next day.

I am certain you will be as amused as I was by a priceless question asked me by one of the seminar ladies from Alabama. She came up and in an embarassed manner inquired, " Is Dr. Mitchell a Negro?" My self-control was really masterly as I replied, " No. Why do you think so?" She blushed and replied, " Well, I never thought a white man would say such things about the South and my ancestors." Brother, do we get them in the seminar.

As of the present I am supposed to be on vacation. So far I have repainted three rooms and have two more to go. Nothing like trying to keep house.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon

Gordon W. Lovejoy,

25
ANNIVERSARY YEAR 1953

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

BROTHERHOOD — BELIEVE IT! LIVE IT! SUPPORT IT!

Miss Wilkins to dictate note on this

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 9-4720

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

Founded 1928

381 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
BENSON FORD
JAMES F. TWOHY
ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS

PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY

EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT
STERLING W. BROWN

TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

September 14, 1954

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Wilkins:

As a member of the Committee on Our Moral and Spiritual Resources for Brotherhood, Mr. Lewis Douglas sent you a prospectus and questionnaire on the current status of this project. On the basis of the answers to this questionnaire, we are now in the process of writing a report which will be presented to the President of the United States on November 11th. We realize that you received this material at a rather unpropitious season of the year in terms of the time required to prepare an adequate response and that this is probably why we have not heard from you. If it is at all possible, we would appreciate receiving your answer at the very earliest opportunity.

If, however, your other commitments and facilities do not permit such a full response, please forward any available data (basic information, pamphlets, exhibits, program outlines, releases, etc.) which might be relevant. Any remarks you may want to add in the way of commentary and evaluation along the lines of the questionnaire will be greatly appreciated. It is understood that the views expressed in any of these forms of response are your own and not necessarily those of the organization you represent.

To further ease the demand on your time we will be glad to have one of our staff call upon you or someone in your organization you may designate (preferably in New York) in order to secure the background material informally and personally. Please feel free to telephone this office suggesting a convenient time for such a get-together.

We consider your contribution and that of your organization to be of vital importance to the success of this project and we will be most grateful for whatever you can do to further it. You will receive a draft of the report for review, editing, and approval before it is finally submitted.

Sincerely,

Dumont F. Kenny

Dumont F. Kenny
National Program Director

DFK:JM

"—TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND TO ANALYZE, MODERATE AND FINALLY ELIMINATE INTERGROUP PREJUDICES WHICH DISFIGURE AND DISTORT RELIGIOUS, BUSINESS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE SHALL BECOME THE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS." (NCCJ BY-LAWS)

OUR MORAL AND SPIRITUAL RESOURCES FOR BROTHERHOOD

* * *

Prospectus For Cooperating Organizations in a nation-wide survey.

* * *

"Our hope is in the heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this event the ages ran:
Make way for Brotherhood -- make way for Man."

-- Edwin Markham --

Communications to:

The National Conference of
Christians and Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

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Foreword

This prospectus is designed for the use of individuals and organizations desiring to promote the common good by participating in a cooperative national study of our moral and spiritual resources for living in peace with ourselves and our neighbor. The direction of the study resides in a national coordinating committee, the members of which are listed at the end of this prospectus. The initiating organization is the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

This program should serve to focus national attention upon considerations as persuasively important as they are timely. The cooperative survey and study outline in these pages should stimulate and provide fresh support and insight for the leaders of all those community institutions now striving to counter-act the amoral attitudes and the moral bewilderment of our time. Its positive emphasis may help to provide an awareness and appreciation of some of the ethical values so urgently required to combat the negative and fatalistic points that seem to be too widely held. The findings and recommendations that this study may produce can do much to bolster the essential ingredients of a free society and to buttress its basic political and moral foundations. Finally, the conclusions and experience of this program should substantially assist those persons and organizations devoted to meeting the responsibility for solving human relations problems.

Tolerance or tyranny! These alternatives are not mere sentiment, but an awesome reality. If we do not deliberately choose the one, we must inevitably reap the other.

Lewis W. Douglas

THE PLAN IN SUMMARY

The conviction grows that our world today is balanced precariously between cooperation and cataclysm. There is a sense of urgency about the need to match man's technical advance with moral maturity, his material resources with moral and spiritual resources. Although there is widespread conviction that we are the inheritors of great resources of the mind and spirit, some indigenous to our land and many the gift of transplanted cultures, we dare not assume that they are really ours until we can prove that they exist not alone in books, but in the thinking and living of our people. To advance individual responsibility and the common good through the discovery and identification of our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood and ultimately to implement this emphasis through coordinated activities and programs of the institutions and organizations of the nation are the goals that call this project into being.

WHY?

Motivated by the need for such a project, a group of responsible citizens from some forty national organizations met with Mr. Lewis W. Douglas to underscore the timeliness of these goals and to plan a cooperative project. As that project develops, additional citizens and organizations will be enlisted. Many organizations are currently making valuable contributions in this area, often under some appellation other than moral and spiritual resources. The plan envisages a nation-wide, coordinated survey of moral and spiritual resources as related to certain pressing problems. Organizations are to make varied contributions according to their particular genius. Fundamentally a survey of resources, not of problems, the emphasis throughout will be upon the positive.

HOW?

The project falls into four phases. Only the first phase requires action at this time. This phase calls for a preliminary report on the moral and spiritual resources implicit in current activities, programs, materials and plans of a representative group of forty national organizations. A detailed questionnaire will be the primary means of securing this information. This report will be presented, along with the prospectus of the complete program, to the President of the United States by Mr. Lewis W. Douglas, November 11, 1954. The findings and prospectus will serve as the basis for subsequent phases. After appropriate study, testing, financial commitment, and staffing (phase two), phase three will begin with a call by the President for a year-long program climaxed by a National Conference on our Moral and Spiritual Resources for Brotherhood. This Conference will serve as a bridge to the fourth phase: integration of the findings and recommendations into the programmatic activities of American institutions and organizations in the years ahead to the end that our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood may play an increasingly positive part in advancing individual responsibility and the common good in thousands of American communities.

WHEN?

WHY THIS PROJECT

The successful businessman takes regular inventory. He surveys the stock he has on hand, and he anticipates probable demand for his product. He must try to maintain an equation between what he has to sell and what his customers will want to buy.

The successful military leader constantly takes inventory. He surveys his resources, and anticipates the situations that will require strategic or tactical recourse to the resources he has available. The task for him is also to maintain the equation.

A service organization or agency conducts frequent inventory. Again the problem is in maintenance of the equation: what services are needed, what services is it equipped to provide.

The alert and prudent individual periodically takes an inventory. What is it that he does well? What gifts has God given him? Is he using these gifts as well as he might? If not, why not? What can he do to improve?

A nation and a people take inventory. What are its resources? So much capital wealth. So much per capita income. So large an Army, Navy, Air Force. So many ships, airplanes, guns. So many farms, cities, buildings, oil wells, mines, forests. So much coal, copper, zinc, steel. So many railroads. So much manpower. And now, so many atom and hydrogen bombs! The job is the same: maintenance of the equation.

However, these are not the only kind of resources of a nation and a people. These are material resources, and they are important -- very important. But what of our non-material resources as a nation and a people? What of our moral and spiritual resources -- our belief in a personal God, our concept of the dignity and worth of the individual, our confidence in the richness of cultural pluralism? Have we not these assets too, and are they not at least as important as our material assets? Indeed, do not our moral and spiritual principles actually determine what we take our national resources to be? It is good that we know what America makes. But what makes America?

If our world today is one that teeters rather too precariously on the fence between survival and oblivion, what are the resources that can save us from disaster? We must indeed, attend to the extent and our use of our material resources. But is their acquisition the chief reason for our existence? Should we not equate concern for our moral and spiritual resources with our concern for material resources? Are not our moral and spiritual resources in part the very use we make of our material resources? Can we survive with a split atom in a divided world?

Arnold Toynbee writes of the change in human affairs brought about by technological revolution. It has shrunk, he says, and is still shrinking the human geography of the world. "What must we do to be saved?" Professor Toynbee asks. "The heart of our difficulty is the difference in pace between the hare -- swift movement of the scientific intellect, which can revolutionize our technology in the space of a lifetime, and the tortoise -- slow movement of the underbelly of the human psyche which knows no change or shadow of turning." Physical distances are shrinking, too, and Rabbi Louis Finkelstein challenges us with the observation that "When the world was big we could afford to be small; now that it's so very small we have got to be big."

Indeed the subject is worthy: the struggle of people to cast aside prejudice and fear and to embrace every man, everywhere, as a brother under God. What then are our moral and spiritual resources for Brotherhood? It is time, past time, for a nation-wide inventory. Yet it is recognized that an inventory in itself is not enough. It is a beginning, not an end. But we must have it as a step in a process, just as must the businessman, the military leader, the service organization, and the individual person. Then we must act, prudently and forthrightly, on the basis of our inventory. We must finally achieve the equation that is our greatest challenge. We must learn to live together in mutual respect and understanding, dignifying differences. We must work cooperatively and constructively for the common good, in unity without uniformity. We must eliminate poverty and hunger and human desecration, cut down the things that kill the soul and spirit of men. We must bury bigotry and

hatred. We must want peace and tranquility among men, and be willing to work for it -- not abstractly behind far-away ramparts, but concretely in our own families, neighborhoods and communities.

All of this is part of the "why" of this nation-wide survey of our moral and spiritual resources for Brotherhood. Harrison Smith in The Saturday Review has stated the case well:

> "All Americans have a part in what is happening to the world, however humble it may be or however dimly they comprehend it....People are no longer isolated units living in small communities, or even within the boundaries of nations; they belong to the whole world. Their responsibilities and their horizons have become limitless. Americans have been the first people to realize this and to attempt to give outward expression of their unity with the peoples of the earth. This immense conception has not been handed down to us by a ukase from above; it has become the common knowledge of everyone who reads newspapers, magazines or books, or who listens to the voices that come to us over the air. Scientists and intellectuals, taxi-cab drivers, farmers, office workers, mechanics, salesmen, and the heads of industries are aware of it....Americans are slowly becoming world citizens, and it may be our destiny, since in Russia the cosmopolitan mentality is regarded as fatal to Communism, to lead the people of the planet Earth to the only road which brings them not to destruction, but to a new life for mankind."

One implication of what Mr. Smith says is that the task at hand is not one suited exclusively for the intellectual dwelling in the so-called ivory tower, or the college professor, the scholar, the much-maligned idealist, the dreamer. The issue is as close to all of us as our neighbor next door. It begs for recognition in newspaper headlines daily, everywhere -- in the news of the United Nations, in the news of Congressional activities, in the news of crime and delinquency, in the news of graft and corruption, in the news of scoff-law tactics of seemingly responsible citizens, in the news of vice and immorality, in the news of investigations of investigations of investigations, in the news of pride and hatred and jealousy and greed, in the news about hydrogen bombs and nerve gas, in the news about family discord and broken homes, in the news about Communism and how best to confront it.

There is a common thread in all this: where are we today, in our beliefs

and our values? In man's relationships to man, a field we call human relations, what are the applicable moral and spiritual resources we have, and to what extent are they operative or non-operative, and why? What can we do cooperatively to make them more operative, -- every day in every way? Why the gap between what we profess and what we practice -- e.g., in regard to race relations? Is this not a great common concern that should enlist the efforts of Protestants, Catholics and Jews? Is not religion itself being seriously challenged -- and all other of our free, democratic institutions? Is not our moral leadership of the free world at stake? Is not the Brotherhood of Man under God the plan of creation? And what of our Founding Fathers and what they saw for America -- what of our great American documents, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Gettysburg address?

These are the questions involved in the "why" of this nation-wide study of our moral and spiritual resources for Brotherhood. If effectively analyzed and mobilized, might not these treasures of the human spirit undergird and fortify a new birth of liberty for America and the free world?

THE PLAN

GROWTH OF AN IDEA

The National Conference of Christians and Jews observed its silver anniversary in 1953. This organization of Protestants, Catholics and Jews was founded in 1928 by distinguished Americans including Charles Evans Hughes, Newton D. Baker, S. Parkes Cadman, Roger W. Straus, and Carlton J. H. Hayes "-to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships." Today the National Conference functions through more than sixty regional offices in this country and through five national Commissions geared to the institutional "trunklines" of our society. It is a civic, educational organization that has now been paralleled by similar movements in Canada, England, Hawaii, western Europe and northern Africa.

The theme selected for the anniversary year was: Moral and Spiritual Resources for Brotherhood. But it was immediately apparent that there was more here than a theme. For here was a statement of a great common concern of religiously minded people everywhere, and the National Conference has found from long experience that one of the best ways to develop needed communication and better understanding between people of diverse cultural background is to set them at work on projects of vital concern to all. Here was something where there was the possibility for speaking in a common voice, despite important differences.

NCCJ's Commission on Religious Organizations prepared and completed a study outline for church and synagogue leaders to use in assessing and pointing up our moral and spiritual resources for Brotherhood. Findings from a large number of study groups, organized through NCCJ's regional offices, were to be brought together, and a national meeting of religious leaders would be asked to produce a statement comparable to the PATTERNS FOR PEACE of some years ago. But as these plans developed it became clear that this was a project that concerned not only

religious leaders but the entire community. The issues were of a kind that educators, businessmen, labor union members, scientists, young people and community leaders of all kinds would see clearly as their challenge, too, and about which all would have significant contributions to make. The National Conference has always worked chiefly with and through existing community organizations. And some of these organizations have already been doing some significant groundwork on this matter of moral and spiritual resources, e.g., the Advertising Council, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Educational Policies Commission of the National Educational Association, the Race and Cultural Relations Department of the National Council of Churches, the Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America, the Jewish National Community Relations Advisory Council. Surely no one would deny the importance to this same idea of the on-going program of the great fraternal, civic, veterans, and service organizations of our nation, and, of course, the program of religious organizations of many different persuasions.

WHY COORDINATION BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Thus, the National Conference is simply the initiating and coordinating agency for the national survey. Such a task is one for which this organization is uniquely qualified: (a) Because of its philosophy - the idea of respecting and dignifying the right to be different on the one side, while seeking those areas of civic concern where bridges of understanding and good will can be built effectively; (b) Because of its structure - five national Commissions, developed in the main trunklines of social change in the community, and over 60 regional operations now spread throughout the country; and (c) Because of its program resources - making available many of the materials, tools and skills that will be needed to do this job well.

OVERALL DIRECTION OF THE PROJECT

At the invitation of the Hon. Lewis W. Douglas, former U. S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James', representatives of forty national organizations met

in New York. A national committee to develop and guide the survey was formed under his chairmanship. These leaders were enthusiastic in their agreement that the project merited extraordinary attention and support from all the nation's religious and civic forces. The advisory assistance of a trio of nationally distinguished religious leaders was secured: Dr. F. Ernest Johnson, Rev. John Courtney Murray, S.J., and Rabbi Louis Finkelstein. An executive committee to the larger national committee was formed and has met several times since.

Membership on Mr. Douglas' committee is of individuals and not of organizations, Organizational relationship to the committee is flexible and informal; no formal super-organization is contemplated. The individuals on the committee are closely identified with national organizations, and in this way their organizations will be kept informed of developments and plans and guided in their cooperation in the project. Since the five national NCCJ Commissions and program committees related to NCCJ regional operations also comprise individuals closely identified with various community organizations at the national or local levels, communication with a considerable number of additional organizations will be facilitated.

Remaining faithful to its responsibility for coordination of the plans, the National Conference desires to avoid domination of the project. The democratic participation of many community organizations on an equal basis, and the right and prerogative of any organization to develop its own techniques and mode of participation in the project will be scrupulously respected.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

The objectives of this nation-wide survey of our moral and spiritual resources for Brotherhood, as crystallized by the national committee under Mr. Douglas, are as follows:

1. To advance individual responsibility and the common good through the discovery and identification of our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood

2. To relate these resources to the maintenance of individual freedom and national unity, and to the deepening of the sense of understanding and cooperation among all peoples at home and abroad.

3. To cooperate with governmental officials in ascertaining the areas of greatest need and primary concern.

4. To consider the ways these resources may be used, fortified and disseminated through churches and synagogues, schools and universities, community organizations, labor and management organizations and the media of mass communications.

5. To summarize and present these findings and recommendations to the American people through the President of the United States.

6. To integrate these findings and this emphasis into the programmatic activities of American institutions and organizations in the years ahead.

THE PROBLEM AREAS

A basic study guide, prepared by NCCJ's Commission on Religious Organizations, has been organized into seven sections, with each section devoted to a specific cluster of problems. To conduct a national survey on a realistic basis requires an even sharper focus. The following significant problem areas have been selected, therefore, as focal points for (1) programming, (2) questionnaires and report forms, and (3) preparation of background materials:

(1) Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile Court workers know that many of their delinquent children get into trouble because they come from homes that have no unity, no real love, no true family life, even where homes have not been broken by divorce. Sociological studies have shown us staggering statistics of the impact on young lives of environmental factors in so-called underprivileged areas. We live in an increasingly complex society whose purposes are often lost to the individual in his specialized and over-specialized functions. Economic factors often add insecurity to confusion and lack of purpose in the minds of our youth. The rise in juvenile delinquency and adolescent crime demands a re-examination of both the knowledge and techniques used in treating this social problem. The pace of modern living, the necessity which sends many mothers to work outside the home, our highly organized social life which allows less and less time for family living, all place new strains upon the primary institution of the family. What opportunities for constructive social living are often unused even in the homes fortunate enough to have a religious foundation? How can we help families provide the ideal means of teaching good citizenship, wholesome social living? How can parents be helped to build in youth an understanding of the value and dignity of every human being, a respect for differences,

the ability to cooperate effectively? How can we help parents better to utilize our moral and spiritual resources in rearing children of good will? How can we get parents to accept their responsibility to do their part in building sound value structures and character in their children instead of expecting the church, school, or club to do the whole job?

(2) Responsible World Leadership

In today's split world many observers see the great competition to be, not the technical race of armaments between East and West, but rather the race which goes on both in the East and the West between man's control of the powers of nature and his control of himself. The citizens of America view our new position of world leadership with mixed feelings and opinions. Are we prepared to accept the responsibilities of leadership in these crucial days? There is mounting evidence that many of our people believe that the price of world leadership is too high. This unwillingness to accept our responsibility to the world community expresses itself in increasingly frequent and unjustified attacks upon the United Nations, and in opposition to all forms of economic and technical assistance abroad. This moral isolationism fails to recognize the interdependence of all peoples and their mutual responsibility under God. We have proceeded on the assumption that genuine peace is inseparable from freedom, that a peace purchased at the price of surrender to totalitarian slavery would be worse than death. But we have never made explicit the moral implications of this choice, and therefore we have not been able to follow it through to all its consequences. What positive strategy can we develop? In what ways can we combat communist imperialism in addition to military and economic approaches? Why cannot we, out of our resources of faith, develop a liberating dynamic capable of meeting and defeating the dynamic of totalitarianism? In the light of such considerations, how can our moral and spiritual resources be marshalled to contribute most to international cooperation?

(3) Integrity in Civic Matters

Almost any issue of any newspaper in the country these days will set forth the problem for us. In certain instances racketeers and criminals of all sorts have been proven to have had the help, directly or indirectly, of corrupt public officials. In other instances certain groups are seen to have questionable -- even if legal -- influence upon political decisions affecting the common welfare. Some believe that a philosophy of "get as much as you can, and give as little as you have to," pervades present-day society. Religion confronts man with a moral law. Are certain segments of society ignorant of this law or merely indifferent to it? How can they be motivated to live up to it? What are the religious resources that can be summoned to create and sustain civic integrity? Is corruption in politics mainly a reflection of corruption in other aspects of our common life? Is it just as prevalent locally as it is nationally? What resources have we that could be brought to bear to improve the ethical standards of public life?

(4) Confronting Communism Responsibly

The rise of the Soviet Union as a world power in control of vast populations, with the definite policy of encouraging world revolution within most nations, brings with it critical issues to all persons whose values are those of Judaism or Christianity. Totalitarianism has been declared as something altogether new in the world, different from older tyrannies because of modern techniques at its disposal, the nature of its dictatorship, its atheism and its anti-Semitism, its utter disregard for what the free world regards as important. There is no doubt that these and many other aspects make Communism an unusual threat and an unusual test for those most deeply concerned with moral and religious resources for brotherhood. The fight against Communism involves important ethical issues. What are good methods and what are bad? How shall Communism be opposed in America so that the innocent shall not be injured, and that basic civil liberties and the American legal tradition be preserved?

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS AND APPROACH

Methods of participation in the project will vary due to the wide diversity of organizations whose cooperation is earnestly invited. However, if the programs of participation are kept within the general pattern and procedures of the project, this can be an enriching factor. Each participating organization will decide for itself, in view of its purposes, methods and structure, how best it can engage in this cooperative venture. For example, the problem of juvenile delinquency is so deep-rooted that all participating organizations in one way or another are attempting to cope with it. All would recognize that their individual efforts would be more effective if there was a reinforcing, cooperative effort being made in this area. All would welcome an opportunity to have available and share in the positive experiences and gains of other organizations. Knowledge of the varied experiences and techniques being employed elsewhere would have a stimulating effect on intra-organizational plans and programs. Participating organizations would not depart from developing those aspects and approaches to the problem of juvenile delinquency as they have in the past, but would now do so in a more concerted and effective manner. An organization of the type of the NCCJ would single out the area of intergroup conflict as its specialized concern. A youth-serving agency such as the Boy Scouts of America would continue and perhaps emphasize to a greater degree certain aspects of its on-going programs with youth. An action, civic organization

such as the Jaycees might point the program of all its local chapters to one or two specific positive activities in the area of our concern. An educational institution might initiate needed research projects as demands for specific data multiply. Welfare organizations and corrective institutions might well cooperate and make their staff and plants available. The mutual benefits accruing to cooperating organizations due to the inter-relatedness of the project are obvious.

Thus, each participant might view the project in terms of: (1) the broad problems vital to the national interest in which all have a very real concern; (2) the role of various types of organizations or specialized agencies providing activities and data to cope with specific aspects of it; (3) the intra-organizational programs designed to implement this concern. In regard to the latter point, if the implementing program chosen to deal with one or more of these problems is a study group or round table, the members of such groups would face two basic questions: What do we believe about the issues implicit in these areas of discussion, and how can this belief, intelligently examined, guide our behavior? However, in sharpening the central issues, it is clear that there is considerably more to this survey of our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood than the machinery of study groups. The discussion of issues and resources in diversified groups and the preparation of reports is only part of the focus. Fundamentally, it is problem-solving in community relations through a positive advance in individual responsibility by discovery and identification of our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood that is the purpose of the project. Its success will be measured in terms of its effect upon concrete problems through action - solid, wise, constructive action in relation to difficult community problems. Experience with a number of groups in several communities already started on the survey indicates that discussion produces some very clear goals such as better housing or the integration of new population groups so essential to the full attainment of brotherhood in the community. The values and principles once identified are dynamic and soon find practical application. The project should be problem-centered insofar as possible.

When Phase two of the plan is activated, a report form to correlate all the findings and experiences, will be prepared and distributed. Ultimately the findings, conclusions, and recommendations from all groups in the community will be brought together first at several local conferences or institutes; secondly, at several regional conferences; and finally, at the national conference at the completion of the year-long program. The findings and recommendations of that meeting will find their way back to every community and serve as a basis for a continuing implementation of the project at the grass roots level.

THE EMPHASIS IS POSITIVE

Although a problem approach is proposed, the emphasis throughout will be positive. We begin with a realistic admission of the gap between our democratic prentensions and our practice, of the lag between our technical advance and our moral maturity. However, these challenging realities are sufficiently dramatized by the events of our time. What we need is not a review of our deficiencies, but a new look at our resources and a bold attempt to relate them anew to the life of our time. Thus the project anticipates both a method and an outcome which is positive.

---AND A WORD OF CAUTION

As people holding different religious convictions, we have certain beliefs and values we cling to independently of each other in the theological realm. Each group thus has something unique and important that it has contributed to the common pool of our moral and spiritual resources. These distinctive beliefs and values that are among our resources are not lost in a "melting pot." They can easily be identified, they have a distinct character that we recognize and respect and dignify for each group. But we do come together in common concern on some of these beliefs and values as they relate to civic affairs. The idea, for example, of the supreme importance of the individual personality is not an idea that is uniquely Protestant, Catholic or Jewish. It is a moral and spiritual resource that we share and one with which we might logically begin.

TIME-TABLE

In its time-table, the project falls into four major phases:

Phase One: ending in November, 1954. A period of organization, correspondence, inquiry and experiment, in order to build a body of experience and ascertain realistically and in report form what American institutions and organizations are doing and are prepared to do in this field. NCCJ local groups are already started on the project. An in-process report will be prepared by NCCJ for the national committee in September and October, 1954, and Mr. Douglas will present this preliminary report to the President of the United States on November 11, 1954. The data for this report will be secured from the answers to the questionnaire attached to this Prospectus. Only this phase requires action now.

Phase Two: At such time as the President and other interested governmental and non-governmental agencies decide to activate the project on a national basis, appropriate staffing, financial commitment, study, operation of trial programs in test cities, and the establishment of liaison contacts at all levels will be undertaken. This second phase may require six months to one year.

Phase Three: A call to the nation to participate in a one year concerted effort to reaffirm, reformulate and extend the moral and spiritual emphasis in every aspect of national life will initiate this phase. Following this call, extensive and intensive cooperative activities will be undertaken to the end that every possible interested institution and organization will realize in its own program those objectives of the project relevant to their operation. Directors of participating organizations are to assess their own organizations for purposes of: (1) self-examination -- of constituency, staff, and program; (2) clarification -- of goals, assumptions, values; (3) seeking of more effective means so that ever greater numbers may be led to act in terms of basic beliefs. Data and reports will be gathered from every corner of the nation, looking toward the national meeting which will climax the year-long program. At that time representatives of all participating groups from over the nation will assemble in Washington to assess progress, exchange

experiences and plan specifically ways of fulfilling Objective #6: " - to integrate these findings and this emphasis into the programmatic activities of American institutions and organizations in the years ahead."

Phase Four: Post-Washington Meeting period to implement Objective #6. It is expected that the data secured through the program and the recommendations based on an analysis of the findings, will find their way into the future program planning of the religious, educational, civic, social and other organizations of our nation and make an impact on programs for better human relations in the years ahead. It is also expected that the participants in discussions will be better prepared, with this experience, to assist groups to which they are related in the development of their own programs in education for better human relations. Indeed, the process of thoughtful consideration of the issues and increasing sensitivity to the values involved may well be extended to more communities and to more groups within communities. One intention in the program is to promote personal growth in individuals via a process. The implication is that not only prejudice but ignorance and bad practices may be increasingly subject to the demands of reason. Through such a process more and more citizens may begin to participate in the activities of organizations dedicated to the improvement of group relations in the community setting. The cooperative nature of the project should serve to strengthen through cumulative impact the work of these organizations in a field vital to the national interest.

WHAT MUST BE DONE TO PARTICIPATE?

Action Required Now:

1. Complete and return the attached questionnaire with supporting exhibits by August 31, 1954.

2. Secure any additional information or clarification desired concerning the project from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. The full resources of local and national offices of the National Conference are available for consultant help, guidance, etc.

Action Required if Phase Two is Activated:

1. If your organization is one having local or sectional units or chapters, alert and inform these units about the project and urge their cooperation and participation at the local, regional or state levels, whichever may be appropriate and feasible, suggesting that help may be secured by calling upon the nearest regional office of the National Conference.

2. Begin to plan for the year-long program whose dates will be announced at the time of the call to the nation, perhaps by experimentation with discussion groups in a few places, perhaps by development of a few appropriate materials and tools for use within the framework of the particular organization and suited to its needs, structure and function.

3. Complete the report form which will be distributed and return it to Mr. Douglas and the national committee.

4. See that your organization is ably represented at the national conference in Washington climaxing the year-long program.

MATERIALS AVAILABLE

Some organizations already have available materials that are directly relevant to the project and which might prove useful to study groups organized immediately. For instance, there are the Advertising Council reports of American Round Table discussions of THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF A FREE DYNAMIC SOCIETY and THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS BASIS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers has produced an excellent discussion guide called MORAL AND SPIRITUAL EDUCATION IN HOME, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY in connection with its Action Program theme for 1952-55, which is "...to emphasize moral and spiritual values." NCCJ materials available and in preparation as aids to the discovery and identification of our moral and spiritual resources are:

1) OUR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS RESOURCES

A study outline with questions for discussion. Contains pronouncements by major faiths and quotations from religious leaders on such questions as family life, civic integrity, social justice, communism, international relations and interreligious cooperation. Compiled by Benson Y. Landis, Associate Director of Research of the National Council of the Churches of Christ, under the direction of the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. 72 pages.. 25 cents per copy. (Discount on quantity orders)

2) THE GROWTH OF GOOD WILL

A sketch of American Protestant-Catholic-Jewish relations by Everett R. Clinchy. Thumbnail history of hate movement from colonial days with information about counter-action and growing concern in this country for better group relations. 72 pages... 25 cents per copy. (Discount on quantity orders)

3) TO HOLD THESE TRUTHS, Our Moral and Spiritual Resources for Brotherhood

Fifteen papers by outstanding Americans on this subject. 72 pages...25 cents per copy. (Discount on quantity orders)

4) REARING CHILDREN OF GOOD WILL

Discussion guide for parent groups by Edith Neisser, Mary Fisher Langmuir and Sister Mary de Lourdes. About 40 pages...AVAILABLE SEPTEMBER 1954.

5) FOCUS -- On Choices Challenging Youth

A kit containing five copies each of six pictures depicting typical moral dilemmas faced by today's adolescents. Discussion questions are printed on the back of each picture. Instructions for the group leaders are printed on the packet cover. 25 cents per kit.

6) MORAL AND SPIRITUAL RESOURCES FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Research work paper prepared by Dr. John O. Riedl as a part of the "Citizen Consultations" program of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO. A discussion guide for adult exploration of this area. About 84 pages...AVAILABLE September 1954.

7) ILLUSTRATED CONTINUITY BOOKLETS

The unfinished story technique in four 4 page booklets for adolescent level. An instruction sheet for the teacher or discussion leader is furnished with each packet of 100 leaflets. AVAILABLE September 1954.

8) Recordings, TO HOLD THESE TRUTHS

Four 15 minute presentations by outstanding Americans for promotion and group discussion stimulation. 12" long-playing record. AVAILABLE September 1954.

9) M S R PROMOTIONAL PIECE

A popular promotional leaflet for mass distribution prepared by NCCJ's Commission on Religious Organizations. AVAILABLE September 1954.

GAINS THROUGH PARTICIPATION

Our American community organizations tend to be rather complex phenomena. Many of them have a large staff, numerous committees and sub-committees, sometimes sub-sub-committees, and in a good many cases operate on the basis of rather formidable budgets. Their purposes tend to become multiple. They are accustomed to being invited to cooperate in this and participate in that. Their support of an idea gives that idea integrity, prestige, influence, even power. To protect themselves, our community organizations sometimes are compelled, under the sheer pressure of choices that must be made, to invent tactful ways of saying no. There is the constant problem of determining what it is that is really important, what is merely urgent.

Of all this and its ramifications the National Conference, itself a national community organization, is quite aware. But there are issues facing us in our time that are both really important and urgent. It is our firm conviction that this matter of our moral and spiritual resources for Brotherhood is in that relatively exclusive category. And the challenge of the issues implied therein is one absolutely incumbent upon every community organization in our time - not solely the challenge of organizations like the National Conference that endeavor to make every week Brotherhood Week through a year-round program. Community organizations must march forwards, and cooperatively, especially in regard to the great issues of our day. There can be no evasion, no withdrawal. Frederick Lewis Allen has helped us in our common motivation with these words in the concluding chapter of his book, THE BIG CHANGE:

> "The story of the changes in the contours of American life that we have hammered out in the first fifty years of this twentieth century, is a triumphant story, however harsh may have been some of our experiences in the interim and however obscure may be the shape of the future. We would do well to think of our accomplishment thus far as but a preface to what we may accomplish in the second half of the century if we can continue to invent, improve and change - and can keep a good heart. The courageous nation, like the courageous man, is not unhappy at the thought of dangers beside the road ahead, but welcomes them as challenges to be faced and overwhelmed along an adventurous course."

THE COMMITTEE ON
OUR MORAL AND SPIRITUAL RESOURCES FOR BROTHERHOOD
(Constituted October 27, 1953)

The Honorable Lewis W. Douglas, Chairman

Dr. Arno A. Bellack
Association for Supervision
and Curriculum Development

Mr. Arch N. Booth
Executive Vice President
Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A.

Mr. Livingston Blair
National Director
American Junior Red Cross

Dr. Francis J. Brown
Staff Associate
American Council on Education

Mr. Arthur J. Connell *
National Commander
The American Legion

Dr. Everett R. Clinchy
President
The National Conference of Christians
& Jews

Mr. William Collins
American Federation of Labor

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath *
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Mr. William J. Eagan
General Counsel
Loyal Order of Moose

Dr. Dorothy McClure Fraser *
Vice President
National Council for the Social Studies

Mr. William J. Grede
President
National Council of Y.M.C.A.

Mr. Lewis Galantiere
Writer, Consultant

Mrs. F. W. Hopkins
National Treasurer
League of Women Voters

Mr. George K. Hunton *
Catholic Interracial Council

Mrs. Clifford N. Jenkins
Chairman, Committee on Legislation
National Congress of Parents and Teachers

Dr. Richard Kennan
The National Education Association of
the US

Dr. Dumont F. Kenny *
National Program Director
The National Conference of Christians
& Jews

Rabbi Morris Kertzer
Director, Inter-Religious Activities
The American Jewish Committee

Dr. Jordan L. Larson
Superintendent of Schools
American Association of School
Administrators

Dr. Benson Y. Landis *
National Council of the Churches of Christ

Mr. Samuel Markle
President
B'Nai B'rith

Dr. Cyrus H. Maxwell
Assistant Director
American Medical Association

Mr. George B. McKibbin
Attorney, Governmental Consultant

Mrs. Douglas MacNeil *
Community Relations Division
Girl Scouts of the United States

Mr. Paul Patchin
International Director
Lions International

Mr. Harold Rosenberg *
The Advertising Council

Mr. Noel Sargent
Secretary
National Association of Manufacturers

Mr. James A. Solan
Assistant Executive Director
Boy's Clubs of America

Mr. Arthur A. Schuck *
Chief Scout Executive
Boy Scourts of America, Inc.

The Reverend Ralph W. Sockman
Christ Church Methodist

Miss Ruth Teichmann
Director of Program
Camp Fire Girls, Inc.

Mr. Eugene F. Trumble
Program Manager
U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce

Dr. Kenneth D. Wells *
President
Freedoms Foundation

Mr. Walter White *
Executive Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

The Reverend Harold E. Whittet
National Chaplain
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U. S.

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Mr. Matthew Woll
Second Vice President
American Federation of Labor

Mr. Herman E. Wornom
General Secretary
The Religious Education Association
of the U. S. and Canada

Dr. Wilbur C. Parry
Administrative Secretary
The National Council of the
Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Religious Advisors

Rabbi Louis Finkelstein
Jewish Theological Seminary

Dr. F. Ernest Johnston
Chief Consultant for the
National Council of Churches study
of Ethics and Economic Life

Rev. John Courtney Murray, S. J.
Woodstock Theological Seminary

* Member Executive Committee

Appendix

OUR MORAL AND SPIRITUAL RESOURCES FOR BROTHERHOOD

QUESTIONNAIRE

Reporting Organization: _____

Address: _____

Name & Title of Reporting Officer: _____

_____

Please attach any documents that illustrate the purposes, scope, and methods of your organization's program as it relates to developing our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood.

1. Among the over-all objectives of your organization which ones do you regard as particularly relevant to developing our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood?
   How are these objectives reflected in specific policy statements to your constituency and professional staff?

2. What programs and materials do you use in developing moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood? To what audiences are these programs and materials addressed?

3. Have you conducted any studies which show the need for programs to strengthen our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood? If so, what were the major findings of these studies?

4. Have you evaluated the effects of your programs and materials designed to develop moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood? If so, what programs and materials were found to be the most effective? The least effective?

5. What do you regard as the most pressing need of your organization in its efforts to strengthen our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood? On what do you base this estimate of need?

6. What do you regard as the job or jobs that your organization is best qualified to do in the broad field of strengthening our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood?
   What human and material resources do you have that lead you to this conclusion?

7. In what ways is your organization prepared to serve other groups in a campaign to strengthen our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood (e.g., through supplying films, books, pamphlets, program outlines, resource personnel, financial assistance, etc.)?

8. Do you have specific plans for the years 1954-1955 devoted to developing our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood? If so, will you please outline them?

9. What do you recommend as the most effective means for stimulating cooperative efforts among organizations interested in developing our moral and spiritual resources for brotherhood?

F BR

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 8-7530

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

Founded 1928

43 WEST 57TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
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JAMES F. TWOHY
ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS

PRESIDENT
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HERMAN WEIL
HOWARD E. WILSON

HERBERT L. SEAMANS
Director

DENNIS L. TRUEBLOOD
Assistant Director

*Executive Committee

March 29, 1956

RECEIVED APR 7 1956

Dear Editor:

Enclosed is a release regarding workshops in the field of human relations and intergroup education to be held during the summer of 1956 with which the National Conference of Christians and Jews will cooperate. The workshops have been grouped according to main sections of the nation with the hope that some of the listing, at least, would be included in an early issue of your publication. The cooperation of editors in giving publicity to this workshop activity in 1955 was most encouraging.

You will be interested to know that there were 1250 enrolled in the workshops with which we cooperated during the summer of 1955 and the records indicate that the quality of those participating was the best in the history of the workshop movement. A considerable percentage of those who enrolled received scholarship assistance through our various regional offices.

Please send me a copy of your publication in which an announcement regarding the 1956 workshops may appear.

Very truly yours,

Herbert L. Seamans

Herbert L. Seamans

HLS:o
Enc.

"—TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND TO ANALYZE, MODERATE AND FINALLY ELIMINATE INTERGROUP PREJUDICES WHICH DISFIGURE AND DISTORT RELIGIOUS, BUSINESS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE SHALL BECOME THE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS." (NCCJ BY-LAWS)

From: Commission on Educational Organizations
The National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57th St. - New York 19, N. Y.

Herbert L. Seamans
Director

March 1956

For Immediate Release

Through the Commission on Educational Organizations, and its 62 Regional Offices, the National Conference of Christians and Jews will cooperate with 33 colleges and universities in various parts of the nation in the conduct of intergroup and human relations education workshops during the summer of 1956. Since 1941, when the National Conference assisted the Colorado State College of Education in setting up the first specialized workshop in the field of intergroup education, the National Conference has cooperated with more than 250 workshops in 60 of the leading institutions of the nation. In 1955 alone, 1,250 educators and community leaders were enrolled in the 42 workshops with which the National Conference cooperated.

A Seminar on Intergroup Relations in the community as part of the Institute on Family and Community Living at Vassar College is an additional offering.

The 1956 workshops, grouped according to main divisions of the country, are as follows:

Northeast

Adelphi College, Garden City, N. Y.	- July 1 to July 13
American University, Washington, D.C.	- June 18 to July 9
Boston University, Boston, Mass.	- July 16 to August 10
Hillyer College, Hartford, Conn.	- June 25 to August 3
*Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.	- June 26 to August 3 July 15 to July 21 July 22 to July 28
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.	- August 13 to August 24
Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.	- July 2 to August 10
University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.	- July 2 to July 20
University of Maine, Orono, Maine	- July 9 to July 27
**Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	- July 3 to July 31

Southeast

Mercer University, Macon, Ga.	- July 25 to August 18
University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.	- June 12 to June 29
***University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.	- July 9 to July 25 June 19 to July 7

Mid-West

Kent State University, Kent, Ohio	- July 23 to August 10
National College of Education, Evanston, Ill.	- August 6 to August 17
St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Mo.	- June 22 to July 30

*Three workshops of specialized nature offered.
**Seminar on Intergroup Relations in the Community (Section of an Institute on Family and Community Living)
***Two workshops of specialized nature offered.

29 March '56

Mr. G.W. Culberson, Exec.Dir.
Commission on Human Relations
City County Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Penn.

Dear George,

We have just received a copy of We Humans; CONGRATULATIONS for a job well done. This is one of the best discussion guides I have ever seen. It can be of great value in helping laymen understand racial and ethnic differences and basic human similarities.

As you probably remember SRC has twelve state organizations and I surely would like for them to have copies of this excellent guide. Could you please send me fifteen (15) copies for distribution to them ? If there would be a cost involved we could pay for the

A University faculty friend of mine looked it ove and at once asked the question, "Can we get them for use in our summer workshops ?" So I repeat the questio to you and ask the second half of that question: if so at what cost ?

Sorry I couldn't make the last NAIRO Board meetin but hope to make the next one.

Things are happening with such rapidity here in the South that I am on the go constantly: [illegible] up to a meeting of the National Com[illegible] in Greenwich, Conn. and a [illegible] Civil Liberties Cle[illegible] teresting fo[illegible] North [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Mid-West (Contd.)

University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio	-	June 18 to July 13
University of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.	-	June 25 to July 20
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.	-	August 6 to August 17
Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio	-	June 18 to July 27
***Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee, Wis.	-	June 18 to July 27
		June 18 to July 27

Southwest

Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Tex.	-	June 4 to July 14
Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas	-	June 4 to July 6
University of Texas, Austin, Texas	-	July 19 to August 8
University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma	-	June 11 to July 6

Rocky Mountain

University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado	-	June 18 to July 20
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. Mex.	-	June 18 to July 13

West Coast

Loyola University, Los Angeles, California	-	June 18 to July 28
San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Cal.	-	June 25 to August 3
Stanford University, Stanford, California	-	August 6 to August 17
University of California in L.A.,Los Angeles,Cal.	-	June 20 to July 31
University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon	-	July 9 to July 20

Abroad

College of Mexico City, Mexico City, Mexico (Sponsored by St. Louis University)	-	August 1 to September 1

Careful evaluation of the experience of those who attend each year furnishes conclusive evidence that these workshops have made a major contribution to the improvement of group relations in America.

The 62 regional offices of NCCJ cooperate with the various institutions in securing enrollment and providing modest amounts of scholarship aid. For full information, write the nearest National Conference office or communicate with Dr. Herbert L. Seamans, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

***Two workshops of specialized nature offered.

May 4, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Max Birnbaum, the National Educational Consultant of the American Jewish Committee, and I are making a trip to several Southern communities during the week of May 14th. We plan to be in Atlanta on May 16th. Would it be possible for us to have lunch with you and Fred Routh on that day or to possibly meet you in the early part of the afternoon. If you could give us about an hour I think the meeting might be mutually rewarding. Please let me know by return mail so we can plan our itinerary accordingly.

Many thanks. Best regards.

Cordially,

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
cc: Fred Routh

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
43 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 8-7530

THE COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
LOUIS A. RADELET, *Director*
SAAL D. LESSER, *Asst. Director*

May 29, 1956

Confidential

GSM
HCF
CHP

TO: Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council

Dear Fred:

It was good to see you recently at the NAIRO Board meeting in Detroit. I promised you this letter, which I regret has been delayed because of my preoccupation with our Police Institute at Michigan State - but I told you that I would write you as soon as I could.

The Institute, by the way, was a great success, with 47 cities in 26 states represented in the total enrollment of 131 people.

You ask why NCCJ discontinued its annual national award to communities deemed to have progressed furthest in group relations within a given period of time. To begin with, such an award at Brotherhood Week time each year did have certain positive values or assets - for the community so honored, for NCCJ, etc. But I take it that you are interested in the negative side - which, of course, we finally decided outweighed the positive, so we discontinued the practice after the 1952 award. Actually, in 1953, Louisville was in line for the award - but in the final analysis, we made no award that year and discontinued the practice as of that time.

One reason was that our best advice indicated that in the Louisville case, such an award would actually have set back the clock in terms of group relations. Why? One reason was that publicity re: the award tended to play up the idea that it was an award for "good" group relations in an absolute sense, rather than in a comparative sense, i.e., a community was here a year ago, it is now here, great progress has been made in limited achievement of the goal, therefore the award. Thus, while the intention was to recognize and commend heartening progress, the tendency was to interpret it as an award for a de facto situation. I found this to be what happened in South Bend, which won the 1951 award just weeks before I transferred to Detroit. My successor in South Bend, John Kane, thus had all the headaches that went with the award - while at the same time he enjoyed certain dividends too, not to be underestimated. But the dividends tended to accrue more to NCCJ than to the community, these two elements not always being identical - as you know very well.

In short, anytime an award like this goes to a community in which there are still obvious evidences of segregation, discrimination, and injustice in group relations (and what community, North or South lacks these evidences?),

you have a terrific interpretative task on your hands. It provides ammunition for those who want to close their eyes to these problems. The Chamber of Commerce beats the drums. It puts all kinds of new pressures upon leaders and groups seriously interested in solving the real problems. It made NCCJ the target of elements in the community all too aware of the existence of problems. Who were we trying to kid?

Another related point: it left us open to the charge that the award was mainly a not too thinly-veiled instrument for NCCJ public relations and fund raising. In South Bend after I left, the award was officially presented to the Mayor at an NCCJ fund-raising dinner. We made friends and enemies by this, depending upon where one looked for evidence.

Finally, the award tended to pit one NCCJ office off against others in a competitive battle in which many of our offices simply refused to become involved - because it was a competition based upon fundamental inequities. All the typical patterns of pressure tactics, lobbying, etc. began to be evident in the competition. Bad feeling was generated, the antithesis of Brotherhood, within our own organizational family.

That is about it as I recall the discussions on this matter, dating back now more than three years. Interestingly enough, no one has since advocated that we revive the award program.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

LOUIS A. RADELET

P.S. I know you will use the contents of this letter with all discretion.

L.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
43 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 8-7530

THE COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
LOUIS A. RADELET, *Director*
SAAL D. LESSER, *Asst. Director*

June 13, 1956

TO: Selected Police and Community Relations Officials

Rec'd 6/18/56

FROM: Louis A. Radelet

SUBJECT: Survey of Interest - Your Cooperation Earnestly Enlisted.

As many of you know, we have cooperated the past two years (among other organizations) with the Department of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University, in a national Institute on Police-Community Relations. This has been a highly successful project, with this year's Institute, held May 13-18, attracting representation from 47 cities in 26 states.

You probably are familiar too with the pamphlets, on a wide variety of subjects, of the Public Affairs Committee - Maxwell Stewart, editor-in-chief. This organization has indicated to us considerable interest in the publication of a pamphlet on Police-Community Relations. It is evident that a well-prepared pamphlet on this subject by the Public Affairs Committee could be an effective instrument for advancing the objectives of desirable law enforcement-community relations. Presumably such a pamphlet would be written by one or more recognized authorities on the topic (not yet determined), and in its content would explore many of the interesting and challenging aspects of the problem. In short, we take for granted that it would be a quality piece of work.

Before undertaking the preparation of such a pamphlet, however, the Public Affairs Committee understandably desires some fairly definite indication of its potential market. They have come to us for help on this question. I have discussed with them the problem which all agencies face in the matter of reluctance to commit themselves to any number of copies of any literature item without having seen the product itself. The Public Affairs Committee understands this, but of course they have a problem too in this kind of thing. Normally they like to see a potential market for 100,000 copies of a pamphlet, before they proceed with its publication. In this case they are willing to settle for a potential market of only 50,000 copies. Our job is to determine if such a market exists, and provide them with that assurance.

All Public Affairs pamphlets sell at a basic rate of 25¢ per copy, but with quantity discounts. Thus, if an agency buys, let us say 10-99 copies of one pamphlet, the price would be 20¢ per copy; 100-249, 18¢ a copy; 250-499, 17¢; 500-999, 15¢; and 1000-4999, 14¢.

My two questions to you are now apparent: (1) Do you feel that a real need exists for such a pamphlet? and (2) If the pamphlet is produced, what is your best present estimate as to how many copies you would order from the Public Affairs Committee?

I would greatly appreciate your cooperation in writing me, by June 30 if possible, with your views on this matter.

Sincerest thanks and best wishes.

February 21, 1957

Dr. Louis A. Radelet
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
43 West 57th Street,
New York 19, New York

Dear Lou:

Many thanks for the note and the copies of your letters to Harold Fleming and George Mitchell. You mentioned that you have probably never met Harold. Let me say just a few words about him.

You will find that Harold Fleming is a most able professional person in the field of Human Relations. He does not believe in a one man show but prefers the team approach. He is a graduate of Harvard University, an old member of A.V.C., and a twentieth century liberal. He writes, speaks, and uses the King's English with great effectiveness. He is interested in close cooperation with other national agencies. Under his leadership those of us who are associated with SRC believe that we will far exceed our past performance. He is a native born Georgian who thinks like a world citizen. The entire staff and Board are well pleased with his selection as Executive Director. As two of my good friends, I am sure you will grow to know, respect, and care for each other.

Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

February 25, 1957

Mr. Roy McCorkel
The National Conference of Christians & Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Roy:

Many thanks for the copy of the minutes of the January 28th meeting regarding clergy workshops. This is a fine summary of the meeting and you are to be congratulated for having a gal like Mary Howard to produce it. I will write you more extensively in the future and seek to answer some of the questions you raised.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.

National Headquarters: 381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

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Director, Commission on Military Training Centers
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Washington 5, D. C.

Southern Chairman
FRANK PORTER GRAHAM

Southern Region Director
ANDREW W. GOTTSCHALL

Associate Director
WILLIAM A. RYAN

Georgia Area Headquarters: 1222 First National Bank Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Georgia Area Director
MARJORIE MCLACHLAN

anti-Sem

The National Conference of Christians and Jews in Georgia

"Knowing that good will, fairness and justice among those of differing religious faith is the rock upon which this Nation was founded, and that this principle is the hope that these United States carries to a war-torn world, we, as members of the Atlanta Committee, take this means of assuring you that we sincerely believe we should preach and practice this doctrine."

Co-Chairmen, Atlanta Committee,
National Conference of Christians
and Jews

Purpose

THE National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., was founded in 1928 on the initiative of Charles Evans Hughes, Newton D. Baker, S. Parkes Cadman, and other distinguished Americans.

Its purpose is defined in its By-laws in the following terms:

"Believing in a spiritual interpretation of the universe and deriving its inspiration therefrom, the National Conference exists to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the United States, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships."

Cooperation—Not Union

"The Conference is an association of individuals, not of officials commissioned by their respective religious bodies. It does not aim at any sort of amalgamation of religious bodies or at modifying any of the distinctive beliefs of its members."

The Conference holds and demonstrates that those who differ deeply in religious beliefs may work together in the American way toward mutual goals—such as amity and understanding among religious groups, social justice, religious liberty, freedom of speech, assembly, and press as provided in the Bill of Rights—ideals that can be fully realized only by intergroup cooperation.

Operating Principles

Education constitutes the keynote of the Conference program.

Many destructive prejudices derive in part from misinformation. Knowing from experience that distrust and fear can be largely dissolved and mutual confidence and respect created among Protestants, Catholics, Jews and others through effective use of the right kind of education, the Conference disseminates facts to offset rumors and untruth.

Timeliness of Effort

Attempts to blame minority groups for a country's political, economic, and social troubles have accompanied every period of calamity. The present is no exception.

There is this difference today: the propaganda of hate and division which is spreading virulent prejudice in every part of the United States is being met by counteractive efforts for understanding and cooperation.

Millions of Americans are at work for one objective: to make certain that no epidemic of rancor and bigotry shall be permitted to deprive us all of those fundamental rights which American youth are giving their lives to preserve.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews is a strategic organization by which *you* can extend *your* influence for goodwill in the most powerful institutions of society: the schools, the homes, the community action agencies, and the churches.

Recent Comment From a Founder

"This National Conference is devoted to the promotion of national unity—the unity of a free people with that respect for individual rights which makes possible the attainment of our common ends. I congratulate the members of the National Conference on its notable success in directing the thoughts of the American people to this essential objective and I trust that in the years before us, with the increasing need for that effort, the Conference will have a constantly widening influence."

—Hon. Charles Evans Hughes.

National Program

While the national program of the Conference is in a sense the aggregate of programs carried on in 3,000 cities and towns across the nation, certain projects which benefit the various local programs are undertaken on a general scale by the National Office. These projects are briefly reviewed below.

War Camp Program

Four and a half million officers and men in 497 Army and Navy camps have given earnest and appreciative attention to Conference trios of minister, priest, and rabbi. This orientation program has been given before 2,380 different war camp groups to date. The program was made possible because ranking officers in the Army and Navy, hundreds of camp commanders, and thousands of chaplains said: *"National Conference teams build morale."*

Over 4,000 pieces of literature, including Prayer Cards for three faiths, have been distributed to Army and Navy personnel.

Programs are booked and literature distributed through the Commission on Military Training Centers.

Commission on Educational Organizations

A group of leading educators, headed by Dr. Howard Wilson, of Harvard, is at work on a long range program in the schools and colleges. Their purpose is to provide a program of education for American youth which will enable them to understand and accept with enthusiasm the fact that our nation has become strong in culture, business, industry and spiritual life because of the contribution of the many peoples comprising it. A comprehensive study of textbooks used by the schools of the nation is now under way for the purpse of introducing materials designed to extend good will and understanding among religious groups.

The American Council on Education, with its 274 school administrator, teacher, and college organizations, works with the Conference for friendly relations among people of different cultural backgrounds as an important goal for all education in America.

Teachers meet in summer workshops at Harvard and Columbia Universities and in city and regional institutes to write units for teaching intergroup goodwill.

School systems, like Springfield, Massachusetts, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, have initiated extensive experiments to learn what can be done to strengthen the American ideal of fairness and mutual helpfulness.

Commission on Religious Organizations

A group of religious leaders headed by Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, Father Edward J. Walsh, and Rabbi Israel Goldstein, directs National Conference activity in churches, synagogues, and theological seminaries.

Twenty Protestant denominations with 25,000,000 members designated committees that will cooperate with the Conference to promote better intercultural and interfaith relations. The Commission gears its objectives with the church machinery for nationwide work.

Top-ranking Sunday school writers and publishers of all faiths produce study materials to create understanding and respect for all Americans.

Religious News Service

This branch of the Conference furnishes interfaith news, special articles and features to newspapers, general magazines, radio stations and the religious press.

Georgia Program

The National Conference opened an office in Atlanta on January 1, 1944, for the purpose of expanding its program in Georgia. For the past several years, all work of the Conference in Georgia has been under the direct supervision of the Southern Region Office in Washington, D. C. The new Geor-

gia Area Office is a branch of the Southern Region Office but will be in position to cooperate more closely with Georgia committees.

Brotherhood Week

Built around Washington's Birthday, Conference Committees in Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon, and Savannah, and other Georgia communities sponsored a state-wide observance of Brotherhood Week. Trios representing the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths spoke at 14 meetings, and single speakers addressed 47 meetings, reaching at least 17,000 people.

All high schools in the state—public, private, and parochial (about 700)—were asked to have programs. Many of them held assembly programs on the theme of Brotherhood, and the film "The World We Live In" was shown to thousands of high school students.

Clergymen in leading Georgia cities were asked to give Brotherhood sermons on Sunday, February 20, or the nearest Sabbath to that date; and hundreds of them stressed from their pulpits that in America men and women of every faith, with no compromise of their convictions, can and must practice teamplay for common ends which concern all Americans.

Radio stations in the principal Georgia cities donated time for broadcasts by rabbis, priests, and ministers, and by business and civic leaders on the theme of Brotherhood.

Newspapers throughout Georgia, including the weeklies, carried news stories, editorials, and President Roosevelt's message concerning the Brotherhood Week observance.

Immediate Objectives

The goal of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Georgia is to spread the ideals of amity, justice, and understanding among people of differing religious faiths as widely as possible. This will be done through sending trios representing the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths to address civic clubs, women's organizations, labor organizations, Parents and Teachers groups, religious conventions, assemblies in high schools, colleges and universities; and through the generous cooperation of the press and of the radio broadcasting stations.

It is the hope of the Conference to organize Round Tables of The National Conference of Christians and Jews in all Georgia cities. These Round Tables through their Executive Committees and general membership will deal with local problems in group relations and will cooperate in furthering the educational program.

The Atlanta Round Table is anxious that as many Georgians as possible go on record as wanting to keep America safe for differences by becoming members. There have been instances in other states where strong National Conference Round Tables have so influenced public opinion as to make the organization of certain un-American groups an actual impossibility.

It is the belief of the Conference that bigoted or intolerant people are unsuited to life in a democracy. The thinking of such people is unrealistic and their behaviour apt to be un-American.

Membership

The National Conference of Christians and Jews is essentially a laymen's organization, and anyone believing in the idea of brotherhood as exemplified in the Judeo-Christian religions is cordially invited to become a member of the Atlanta Round Table.

The work of the National Conference throughout the United States is entirely supported by voluntary contributions.

The present goal of the Atlanta Round Table is to increase its membership to 2,000. This will do at least two things: it will spread information helpful to the objectives of the Conference and it will provide the money needed to expand the educational program in Georgia and in the country as a whole.

Not less than $20,000 is needed: $10,000 for the expansion of the service in Georgia, and $10,000 for the war camp program and for national research and materials from which Georgia will directly benefit.

All members are kept informed of activities through frequent mailings of literature.

Memberships are classified as follows:

Sponsors . .	$100 and over
Contributors . .	$50 to $99
Sustaining . . .	$10 to $49
Regular	$ 5 to $ 9

Where Your Money Goes

The program of the National Conference is educational in character, and so carefully are its affairs managed that out of every $100 of funds subscribed, $86 are invested in direct and positive work to build good will and understanding among people of differing religious backgrounds. Of this $86, $40 are spent amongst our military population in army camps, naval, and air bases, and $46 amongst our civilian population (where the all-important school children are reached). Out of each $100, only $10 go for headquarters, planning and supervision, and less than $4 for public relations and cultivation of support.

Atlanta Committee

of

The National Conference

of

Christians and Jews

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Thomas O'Keefe
Dean Paden
William McM. Parker
Glen Rainey
Ollie Reeves
The Rev. J. Milton Richardson
Milton S. Rice
Louis Rittenbaum
Mendel Romm
Samuel Rothberg
The Rev. Lester Rumble
Dr. Robert Scharf
Stepheh Schiffer
L. D. Sharp
Charles A. Sheppard
The Rev. J. A. Smith
J. Tom Smith
The Rev. J. S. Thrailkill
The Rev. Herman L. Turner
W. T. Van Hecke
J. C. Wardlaw
Miss Lorraine Warnken
Mrs. Brooksie Wells
Carl Wolf
Mrs. Walter Wolff
Paul Yopp

Engagements
(October) 5.

April 9, '54

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Dear Mr. Sarratt,

Honored, and delighted to accept, for the luncheon panel on Saturday, October 9 at the Grove Park Inn at Asheville.

For others, as suggestions:

Harry Ashmore, Arkansas Gazette, whom of course you know. He has lately done an outstanding report for the Fund for the Advancement of Education on the whole schools business in the South, and is by all odd the best informed man on that subject. Books comes out from UNC Press May 16, and Ashmore will be in huge demand thereafter, but if you asked now you ought to be able to get him (and I suppose he would be at the meeting in any case?) Sound, wise views, not conservative, but judicious.

William Gordon. Managing Editor of the Atlanta World. The only Negro daily in this country, and he the only Negro Nieman Fellow. Been back on the paper about a year. Agrees that the South progresses, and lives in these parts by choice. Young, and with a modern viewpoint.

Thomas Young, of the Journal and Guide, in Norfolk. Able, informed, hard driving but balanced. His father's paper is in my opinion the best of the Negro newspapers published in this country. Often mentioned as a candidate for local office in Norfolk or Virginia.

Ashmore and either of the others, plus whatever I may put in, would give you a pretty fair presentation of the problem and the prospects.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • P. O. Box 2509 WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

24 June 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Harry Ashmore has formally accepted our invitation to moderate the race relations panel in Asheville in October. With you and Dr. Mays and him, I think we can look forward to an outstanding discussion.

Yours,

Reed Sarratt

RS:mab

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1954
Southern Regional Council

September 29, 1954

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Winston-Salem Journal
P. O. Box 2509
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

I have remembered with anticipation the Asheville date for October 9. I will drive up, probably making most of the journey on the 8th, and reaching Grove Park Inn in Asheville at least a couple of hours before the noon panel.

I will probably be heading back down the mountain toward Atlanta that Saturday evening, but I do appreciate the invitation to stay on for more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • P. O. Box 2509 WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

27 September 1954

RECEIVED 9/29/54 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

While I am sure you do not need it, I am writing to remind you of your engagement to speak before the National Conference of Editorial Writers meeting in Asheville on October 9. Your panel is scheduled for noon.

We have reserved a room for you at the Grove Park Inn, where the meeting is to be held. I hope that you will be able to stay with us for the remainder of the Conference. Of course you will be welcome for as much of the Conference prior to your own participation as your schedule will permit.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Editorial Director

RS:mab

October 14, 1954

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Winston-Salem Journal
P. O. Box 2509
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

I am back to my desk today after going from Asheville to Salisbury to talk to a woman's club group. Very nice to have your letter.

All of us were honored to be invited to appear before that group. I don't think any of us did the subject justice, but certainly each of us put on a display of honesty and sincerity.

I am sure Mr. Boyd will duly come through with a handsome check, which will certainly cover my expenses, and will certainly assist our Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

P. O. Box 2509

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

12 October 1954

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

May I again express my appreciation to you for your part on the panel at the National Conference of Editorial Writers. Your very moving talk was one of the highlights of the whole Conference and the greatest complaint I heard was that so little time was devoted to this part of the program.

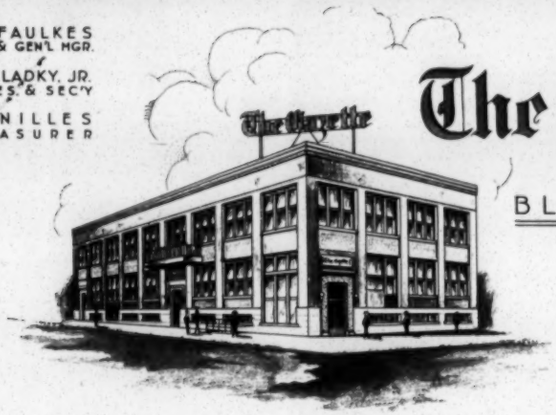
In the rush of activity, I failed to do anything about your expenses before you left. I discussed the matter later in the day with Don Shoemaker, our program chairman, and Harry Boyd, treasurer of the organization, and we agreed that Mr. Boyd should send you a check for $50 in the hope that this would cover your expenses. If you do not receive this check promptly and if it is insufficient to cover your expenses, I hope you will let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Editorial Director

RS:mab

J. N. FAULKES
PRES. & GEN'L MGR.
J. F. HLADKY, JR.
V. PRES. & SEC'Y
L. J. NILLES
TREASURER



The Cedar Rapids Gazette

BLANKETS IOWA'S RICHEST MARKET

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

October 16, 1954

RECEIVED
10/19/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

On instructions from Don Shoemaker, our program chairman, I am enclosing a check for $50 for your expenses at the Asheville meeting of the National Conference of Editorial Writers.

Your informative and stimulating address added much to the value of a very good convention program and I know our members are deeply grateful to you for your willingness to participate.

Very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harry Boyd

Harry Boyd
Treasurer

HB:dhw
Enc.

copy of ltr to Harry Boyd

Mr. Harry Boyd
The Cedar Rapids Gazette
Cedar Rapids, Iowa

Dear Mr. Boyd:

Thank you for your letter of October 16th, and the check for $50.00 to cover Dr. Mitchell's expenses to the Asheville meeting of the National Conference of Editorial Writers.

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city until Monday, October 25th, and will write you at that time.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary

eab/

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
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PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • P. O. Box 2509 WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

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Relations
Press

19 October 1954

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RECEIVED 10/20/54 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

You may not have seen the story in the Sunday Asheville Citizen-Times about our Saturday panel. I thought you might like to read it and enclose a clipping.

I agree with you that we didn't do the subject justice, and at first I was rather disturbed about the little bit of time we had. The many comments I heard later convinced me that the shortage of time had worked to our advantage. What you and Dr. Mays, in particular, had to say made a profound impression on the group.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

RS:mab

Enclosure

November 14, 1955

Mr. LeRoy King
National Conference of Methodist Youth
Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. King:

If you will arrange for the calling of some fairly early gathering of people in Atlanta who might plan the workcamp you have in mind, I will be happy to go to such a meeting and put in my advice.

Generally speaking, I am doubtful of the wisdom of such a project in this city next summer. The times promise to be agitated. A workcamp is, as it intends to be, a visual demonstration in interracial activity. I have never made it a practice to tweak the nose of prejudice; I am sure that would not be the purpose of such a group, but unfortunately, Atlanta has a lot of people who would plaster their purposes on the group.

I would think it wiser to go to some rural point, such as, perhaps, the new meeting ground being built in Buckeye Cove near Ashville, North Carolina by the Fellowship of Southern Churches. The young people would have the experience of working together and the community around is not brought to boil.

But I could be persuaded to other views and would welcome the opportunity to talk to you or any of the others closely related to the project.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
Methodist Youth

Box 871, Nashville 2, Tennessee

PROJECTS SECRETARIES:
LeRoy King
Don Winkler

November 11, 1955

NOV 14 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, SE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At the 1955 annual meeting of the National Conference of Methodist Youth top priority in projects was given to the development of an interracial workcamp in some section of the southeastern part of the United States. I was given the responsibility as Projects Secretary of exploring the possibilities of such a camp and of collecting enough data to report to the midwinter council meeting January 1-3, 1956.

Since last August personal contacts have been made with Bishop J. W. E. Bowen, Dr. James Thomas, Rev. George Tate, Rev. Julius Scott, and Rev. Earnest Smith to get their reactions towards having such a camp. They were all unanimously in favor of the idea and made some positive and constructive suggestions for the planning of such a project.

In consultation with Dr. James Thomas, of The Methodist Board of Education, he suggested names of many leading men in Atlanta, Georgia, who might be interested and sympathetic to such a workcamp. I might add that in talking with the above parties they all seemed to favor the site of the workcamp in Atlanta, Georgia. The purpose of such a workcamp is to provide opportunity for white and Negro students of our church around the country to come together for a period of a few weeks for manual labor in various communities of the city, for mutual study and sharing, and for actual work and guidance in many local MYF groups in the city. This is very similar to the pattern followed by the San Antonio racial workcamp which has been held the past two years and has been sponsored by the National Conference of Methodist Youth.

The Atlanta workcamp would provide an opportunity for the participants to make a very quiet and effective Christian witness in their interracial relationships. Any contemporary mood of the day calls for a persistent voice and effective action in witnessing for respectability of personality and acceptance of all peoples regardless of race or color as children of equal rank and opportunity under the fatherhood of our God and Lord. With this in mind the National Conference of Methodist Youth is seeking to give students an outlet for such an expression and an opportunity for service to their fellow man.

In cooperation with
Board of Education, Board of Missions, Board of Temperance,
Board of Evangelism, and Board of World Peace of The Methodist Church

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, SE
Atlanta, Georgia - 11-11-55

I am writing you this letter as a feeler. Since your name was given to us by Dr. James Thomas as a person who might be vitally interested and helpful in this project we should like to solicit your ideas and suggestions and have some reply from you relative to this proposed workcamp. Would you be so kind as to write at your earliest convenience regarding this proposed plan? Dr. Thomas will be in Atlanta in a few weeks and may be able to contact you and discuss the matter further. Meanwhile, I should appreciate hearing from you and will esteem it a privilege to have your friendship and support for this plan.

In order to make progress if there seems to be sufficient support from key people in the Atlanta area and city we shall seek to have an early meeting in Atlanta to make some definite plans. Among the many details which need to be considered are those of finances, inclusion of local youth and students as well as participating students from around the country, screening and acceptance of such workcampers from one major office, probably the office of the National Conference of Methodist Youth. These are just a few of the details which we shall be considering, but most important of all would be the purpose and primary emphasis of such a camp. I am looking forward to your reply.

Most sincerely,

LeRoy King
wj

LeRoy King

LK:wj

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
Methodist Youth

Box 871, Nashville 2, Tennessee

PROJECTS SECRETARIES:
LeRoy King
Don Winkler

Suggestions - Jurisdiction -

Churches - Methodists - Gen. Conf.

December 27, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 28 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, SE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your reply relative to our inquiry concerning the possibility of an interracial workcamp in Atlanta for the summer of 1956. It is gratifying to know of your interest and willingness to support such a project. It is equally thrilling to report that replies from all parties contacted express equal interest and desirability for such a workcamp.

Our next step is to arrange a meeting in Atlanta whereby a group of interested parties may come together for a few hours to discuss the proposal and to set the wheels moving for next summer's camp. In working closely with Dr. Jim Thomas on this matter, he has suggested that we attempt to steer clear of any meeting in January which may interfere with the closing semester of school. Initial meetings should be held in January, however, since there are so many details to discuss and clear if we are to have the camp next summer.

In order to facilitate procedure, may I suggest that we meet January 23 or 24, 1956, which is a Monday or Tuesday. If we can schedule the day, later we can arrange a mutual time for convening. If that date isn't possible, some previous weekend in January may be more desirable. Will you please indicate your preference on the enclosed post card and return post haste that we might have some definite schedule in mind? It is suggested that we meet at either Clark College or Gammon Theological Seminary. Could you state your preference on the card?

Again may I add how encouraging it is to have your word of endorsement for such a proposed workcamp which would make positive strides toward implementing the progress already being made toward better community cultural relationships in the nature and spirit of Christian fellowship. Please keep these dates in mind, and as soon as we receive replies from the various individuals contacted we shall send you word on definite time and place.

The National Conference of Methodist Youth joins me in wishing you and yours an abundantly happy and meaningful new year in 1956.

Sincerely,

LeRoy King

LeRoy King

LK:wj

In cooperation with
Board of Education, Board of Missions, Board of Temperance,
Board of Evangelism, and Board of World Peace of The Methodist Church

Church - Methodist

9C

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
Methodist Youth

Box 871, Nashville 2, Tennessee

PROJECTS SECRETARIES:
LeRoy King
Don Winkler

January 10, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 11 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., SE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Most of the group to whom we have written regarding the proposed workcamp in Atlanta for the summer of 1956 have replied. I am enheartened by the quick response and enthusiasm of each of these folks. Please accept my humble and profound appreciation for your interest in this proposed project.

Although a few of the persons contacted expressed regrets that they would not be able to meet on January 23 the majority seemed to prefer this day, so we are scheduling a meeting at Gammon Theological Seminary on Monday, January 23, beginning at 10:00 A.M. We may need to go over into the afternoon, so will plan to eat lunch at Gammon.

I hope that you can attend and will look forward with keen anticipation to our fellowship and the plans we project. Please be thinking particularly of such matters as type of workcamp needed, directorship, expenses, place for workcamp, housing, and size of workcamp, among many other factors. Your guidance and help on these matters will be most beneficial.

May this new year be the best and most abundant in every way for you.

Sincerely,

LeRoy King
wj
LeRoy King

LK:wj

In cooperation with
Board of Education, Board of Missions, Board of Temperance,
Board of Evangelism, and Board of World Peace of The Methodist Church

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
Methodist Youth

Box 871, Nashville 2, Tennessee

PROJECTS SECRETARIES:
LeRoy King
Don Winkler

RECEIVED JAN 3 1956

Methodist Youth General

February 2, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, SE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is a copy of the minutes of the preliminary workcamp planning committee which met in Atlanta on Monday, January 23. We had a very stimulating and encouraging meeting and regret deeply that you were unable to attend. These minutes will give you information on the results of our meeting.

As you will note, the next meeting date is scheduled for Monday, February 27, beginning at 10:00 A.M., and tentatively to be held at Gammon Theological Seminary. This committee is acting in an advisory capacity although certain members are exploring some of the needs and opportunities for such a workcamp for next summer. I hope that it will be possible for you to attend the meeting of this advisory committee this month. You can add much to the discussion in guiding us in the best procedures for the establishment of this interracial workcamp.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience whether or not you will be able to attend the meeting in February?

Sincerely yours,

LeRoy King

LeRoy King

LK:em

Encl.

In cooperation with
Board of Education, Board of Missions, Board of Temperance,
Board of Evangelism, and Board of World Peace of The Methodist Church

MINUTES

ATLANTA WORKCAMP PLANNING COMMITTEE

January 23, 1956

The first planning meeting for a proposed workcamp of college students in Atlanta, Georgia, was held at Gammon Theological Seminary on Monday, January 23. The meeting convened at 10:30 A.M. Those present were: Dr. G. Murray Branch, Morehouse College; Dr. B. K. Brazeal, Morehouse College: Rev. Sam Laird, Emory University; Rev. William Cole, North Georgia Conference Youth Director; Rev. John Tate, St. Mark Methodist Church; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Southern Regional Council; Dr. A. S. Dickerson, district superintendent, Central Jurisdiction; Dr. Harry Richardson, Gammon Theological Seminary; Rev. LeRoy King, National Conference of Methodist Youth; Dr. C. S. Stinson, district superintendent, Central Jurisdiction; Dr. Harry Burney, district superintendent, Central Jurisdiction.

Sam Laird was selected to preside as chairman. LeRoy King made an opening statement bringing us up to date on what has happened thus far in relationship to this meeting. Action was begun by the National Conference of Methodist Youth, with the hope that some type of southeastern interracial workcamp might be held during the summer of 1956. The most favorable city seemed to be Atlanta, hence today's meeting. He stated the purposes for this workcamp:

To provide enriching experiences for interracial group living in a workcamp situation;

To provide opportunities for community Christian service in social service agencies and local churches in the Atlanta area;

To help students and youth learn how to live together harmoniously in an interracial atmosphere;

To bear a Christian witness on an interracial basis, showing a skeptical community that men can live together as brothers.

LeRoy told about the work done in San Antonio. Some of the things done: work on the Goodwill Industries building, YMCA painted, recreation facilities built, renovated rundown church. There are endless possibilities for manual labor. A local committee would first have to spot the areas of need.

Who directs a workcamp? It might be advantageous to have co-directors. Simple housing might be provided by churches or social agencies. How large should the workcamp be? Sixteen is ideal; ten to twelve, acceptable.

Expenses for delegates: $20 activities fee plus travel to site. National Conference has set aside $1000 for workcamp. How long would workcamp last? That would be a matter to decide. It might last six or seven weeks.

Question was asked: What social agencies might work cooperatively with this workcamp? The Wesley House, Bethlehem Center, possibly Boys' Clubs, nurseries, YM's and YW's, churches.

Early discussion centered around what type of workcamp we might want: either a (1) students in industry type, where individuals would secure daytime employment, or (2) an actual workcamp in which volunteer service is emphasized. Dr. Branch emphasized that, in selecting projects, we must be sure to get a balanced sample so that we don't aceentuate the thing we are trying to conquer. Discussion turned to: Who would direct the workcamp? LeRoy said he had several possibilities, most

of them being theological students. Other possibilities: Sam Laird says Dick and Joan England, first year in theology, graduates of University of Miami, might be interested. Consensus of group is that we would want a couple, if possible. (San Antonio is paying $200 to director, $150 to co-director, plus travel)

Discussing possible housing, Dr. Richardson of Gammon explained the summer facilities. He said two apartments would be available to handle girls, and boys could stay in the dormitory. Meals would be a problem. If the Bethlehem Center gets moved into the new building, the old one would give space for keeping the group together. Gammon would have to chop the group up into segments. Clark College offers the best facilities, the group thinks.

Finances: LeRoy says there would be three main possible sources: (1) the National Conference and Board of Social and Economic Relations, (2) local groups - WSCS, etc. (3) conference agencies.

It was formally voted to have a workcamp.

John Tate made the motion that the workcamp be planned for 1957. Motion was seconded and discussed. Bill Cole spoke against motion, suggesting a workcamp for ten or twelve people in 1956 might be possible. Discussion turned to possible finances again. Everyone was definitely concerned that a favorable atmosphere be created in the conference and community agencies. Motion was defeated, four to two.

Dr. Richardson made a motion that final decision be postponed for thirty days as an exploration period to investigate type of workcamp, community acceptance and response, etc. LeRoy suggested three committees, and people were appointed:

Work projects committee - Dr. Richardson, Mrs. Tilly
Local church committee - Dr. Tate, Rev. A. S. Dickerson
Finance committee - Rev. LeRoy King

Various people were designated to contact agencies for possible financial support: Mrs. Tilly, the conference WSCS; John Tate, the conference Board of Missions; Sam Laird, the Southeastern Jurisdiction Council; Bill Cole, the conference Board of Education; Rev. Dickerson, the Negro churches.

The next meeting of this larger committee is scheduled for Monday, February 27, at 10:00 A.M. at Gammon Theological Seminary. Letters will be written to the entire committee reminding them of the meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

Bill Cole, Secretary

Church -
Meth.
Ga

RECEIVED FEB 18 1956

Dear Friends:

You will recall receiving an invitation from Mr. Leroy King, Projects Secretary of the National Conference of Methodist Youth to attend a meeting here in Atlanta within the past month concerning the possibility of holding an interracial Work Camp in Atlanta this summer. This meeting was held on January 23, 1956.

I would like to invite you to a second meeting on Monday, February 27, 1956. The meeting will start at 10:00 A.M. in the Administrative Building of Gammon Theological Seminary, 9 McDonough Blvd. SE. We hope to have lunch and adjourn in early afternoon. I hope that you will be present at this important meeting.

Sincerely,

Sam L. Laird

Sam L. Laird

SLL:jh

April 19, 1956

Miss Eulalie Ginn, State Director
Methodist Student Movement
Box 85, Univ. Br.
Miami 46, Florida

Dear Eulalie:

Thanks for the letter of April 16. I hope it will be possible for me to be with you all in August. I understand the hesitation on the part of the several cooperating groups in assuming the financial responsibilities involved and certainly would feel no affront if it were impossible. I would feel only regret that I couldn't accomodate the request. There is no immediate hurry on a decision yet invitations to speak keep coming in. But I would be reluctant to accept one at the period you mention for the Florida Convocation. I will hold open the proposed date until I hear definitely from Rev. Ashton.

Best regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone ADams 5772

July 2, 1953

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Raleigh, N. C.

RECEIVED
JUL 6
Southern R

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It is a pleasure to inform you that you have been nominated by the Nominations Committee as a candidate for a member of Section III (Services to Agencies and Communities) of the National Conference of Social Work. This nomination is for the 1954 election, and persons elected will take office at the close of the 1954 Annual Meeting in Atlantic City. The term of office is three years.

I am enclosing a pamphlet which will give you information about the National Conference. You will find references to the Sections on pages 4 and 9. As indicated, the Sections have responsibility for planning the programs conducted at the time of the Annual Meeting. Most of the work is carried on by correspondence, since the Conference does not have funds available for travel expenses of Section members. However, the Section chairmen frequently meet with some or all of their Section members if they are traveling around the country.

We very much hope that you will accept this nomination. A postcard is enclosed for your convenience in replying, and we will look forward to hearing from you. If you have any questions about this, please do not hesitate to write me.

Sincerely yours,

Joe R. Hoffer

Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary

jrh:mb
enc.

FACTS

about the

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

"The National Conference of Social Work is a voluntary association of individual and organization members who have joined the Conference to promote and share in discussion of the problems and methods identified with the field of social work and immediately related fields. The Conference is a forum for such discussion."

—*from the Preamble to the Conference Constitution*

IN 1874 . . . .

"The times called for a national clearinghouse of ideas and experience; a national medium for the exchange of opinion; a national forum in which to debate and appraise differing theories, policies, and practice; a platform from which could be presented fresh information on social problems and methods of dealing with them as the frontiers of knowledge were moved forward." (From Shelby M. Harrison's Foreword to "Trends in Social Work as Reflected in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1874-1946," by Frank Bruno.)

To serve those purposes, the Conference of Boards of Public Charities was organized by representatives of eight state boards of charities. The history of that organization, now known as the National Conference of Social Work, is the history of social work in this country.

Proof of that statement, if any is needed, may be found with all the drama of understatement in the Table of Contents of Mr. Bruno's book. Included there among the topics discussed at annual meetings are these:

From 1874-1898 . . . . protection of children; the English poor law in America; concern with the insane, the feebleminded, the delinquent; personnel in public service; the organization of charity; migration, immigration, and transiency.

From 1898-1924 . . . . child labor; the juvenile court; mothers' pensions; the recognition of social casework; the council of social agencies; the community chest; public relief emerging into public welfare; children's codes; the first world war.

From 1924-1946 . . . social insurance; social group work; prevention of delinquency; unemployment; social security; transients, immigrants and refugees; minority groups; social reform.

The Proceedings do more, of course, than record the shifting pattern of social problems. They record equally clearly the emergence of a profession.

IN 1948 . . . .

Leaders in the field felt that the time was ripe for an examination of the structure and functions of the various national organizations providing common services in the social welfare field. Members of the NCSW agreed that a study should be made of its structure and program in order (a) to determine whether it continued to serve a purpose in the total picture, and (b) if it did, to assure the social welfare community of a significant and vital organization geared to the national economic and social setting.

A Conference Study Committee, composed of 12 outstanding names in social welfare, was appointed to make this study.

IN 1949 . . . .

After a year of intensive work, that committee reported that the social welfare community in mid-twentieth century continued to need:

1. An autonomous organization, national and broadly inclusive in character, to assume primary responsibility for the forum and discussion function in the field of health and welfare.

2. An organization with unrestricted membership—paid and volunteer, lay and professional, sectarian and non-sectarian, individual and organizational—with officers and committees democratically chosen by majority vote.

3. An organization which would emphasize generic and basic subject matter in the field of health and welfare, leaving national functional agencies and other more restricted membership organizations responsible for specialized technical subject matter.

AND TODAY . . . .

The NCSW is an organization composed of individual and agency members representing all aspects of health and welfare. Its major function is to provide a dynamic educational forum for the critical examination of basic social welfare problems and issues.

In order that the NCSW may continue to provide a democratic forum for so wide a field and so many diverse elements, it is prohibited by its Constitution from taking positions on social issues.

As a basis for defining its particular service to the social welfare field, the membership agreed to accept the recommendations of the Study Committee on its major aims and objectives:

a. To provide a medium for the interchange of ideas and techniques between laymen and professional workers, sectarian and non-sectarian groups, racial groups, specialties within the field and public and voluntary agencies;

b. To assist in improving standards of performance in social welfare and to increase the effectiveness of the individual agencies.

c. To develop a better public understanding of welfare problems, needs, social welfare objectives, programs and methods;

d. To develop citizens' support of and participation in social welfare activities;

e. To emphasize the common elements present among workers and organizations concerned with social welfare programs and services;

f. To assist in sustaining morale among volunteer and paid workers of social welfare organizations;

g. To provide a chronological and cumulative record of basic developments in the field of social welfare;

h. To provide auspices and machinery for related groups.

THE SERVICES OF

1. The Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting is scheduled in the Spring in one of those few cities which can provide adequate facilities and proper conditions. The Conference attempts to rotate the meetings from east to midwest to west and south, wherever proper facilities are available.

The Annual Meeting extends five or six days. It attracts 4,500 to 6,500 persons from 48 states and 2,000 communities. About 300 different meetings are scheduled with 500 speakers, discussants and presiding officers.

The Annual Meeting is a complex institution. The program is extremely diversified and many kinds of services and activities take place there. It reflects not only the complexity of social work, but also the thrift of social workers who seem to reason that since a basic forum is needed as many other services and purposes as possible should be combined with it.

Anyone may attend the meetings whether a member of the Conference or not. All must register. The Annual Meeting serves the entire social welfare community and not just the members of the NCSW.

A. The Central Meetings

Three types of meetings are planned by, and held directly under the auspices of, the NCSW:

GENERAL SESSIONS, addressed by nationally known figures on broad topics of basic concern to all in the health and welfare field.

SECTION MEETINGS dealing with generic subject matter in the fields of services to: (1) individuals and families; (2) groups and individuals in groups; (3) agencies and communities.

COMMON SERVICE MEETINGS dealing with specific non-technical content in the fields of social research and social studies, personnel, public relations, methods of social action, professional education for social welfare, and financing of social welfare services—subject material with which the practitioner, supervisor, administrator, consultant and board members should become acquainted.

THE CONFERENCE

B. Associate and Special Group Meetings

About 60 Associate and Special Groups plan their own meetings in conjunction with the Conference, making up a large part of the program meetings. These Associate and Special Groups are national organizations which can make real contributions to the enrichment of the Conference as a whole and which have met certain requirements. Some of these meetings are held separately in advance of the Annual Meeting; more are scheduled during it and on days assigned to them.

C. Extra-Program Meetings

There are hundreds of meetings held which do not appear in the program, as many groups and organizations take advantage of the presence of their constituents to hold their own meetings.

D. The Exhibits

There are over 100 consultation and exhibit booths set up by national and state social welfare organizations, and a few commercial organizations. There are special exhibits such as the Combined Book Exhibit, the Case Record Exhibit, the Library Exhibit, and the Film Showings. The Combined Book Exhibit is a relatively new book service; in it the Conference exhibits several hundred publications of leading social welfare and commercial publishers. Outstanding films in social welfare are selected and shown by a special committee of the Conference.

E. Consultations, Conferences, Interviews

Many attending the Annual Meeting take the opportunity to confer with outstanding experts in their particular fields in order that they may take back to their jobs and their communities the counsel of those with broader experience.

F. Employment Service

A special employment service is being provided by the U.S. Employment Service and state employment services at the Annual Meeting. Agencies seeking personnel and individuals attending the Annual Meeting who are seeking positions may register in advance at local offices of their state employment service or at the Annual Meeting.

Some of the national agencies in specialized fields also conduct employment activities at their exhibit booths at the Annual Meeting.

2. *Publications*

The Proceedings of the Annual Meetings constitute one of the most important publications in social work. They incorporate the General Sessions papers and selected papers from the Sections and Common Service Committee meetings. The Proceedings are distributed without charge to all members who pay dues of $7.50 or more. Additional Annual Meeting papers are published in low-cost volumes, conveniently grouped according to interests and sold at discounts to members.

In 1948 the NCSW published *Trends in Social Work — as Reflected in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work — 1874-1946* by Frank J. Bruno.

3. *Book Service*

Significant books in social welfare are selected and offered at discount to members who pay dues of $7.50 or more. This service is growing in popularity. A list of these books and current volumes of selected papers is available on request.

4. *Services to State Conferences*

Although state conferences of social work do not have any administrative relationship with the NCSW, they often pattern their meetings after it and look to the national staff for advice and counsel. The national office serves as the secretariat for the National Association of State Conferences for whom it conducts regional and national meetings. State conference materials are collected and distributed, an operations manual has been prepared for their use, and studies are occasionally made at their request. The NCSW is making every effort to offer increased service to state conferences and to establish closer working relationships with them.

5. *Services to the International Conference of Social Work*

The NCSW has had much to do with originating and fostering the ICSW, a worldwide forum organization for individuals and organizations concerned with meeting the social welfare needs of people. The Executive Secretary of the NCSW serves as Secretary-General of the International Conference.
The U.S. Committee of the ICSW is provided secretarial service by the National Social Welfare Assembly. ICSW memberships in the U.S.A. are serviced by the NSWA.

6. *Regional Meetings*

A new pattern of meetings was begun in 1950 and is expected to develop further. These are regional meetings held in cooperation with state conferences, drawing attendance from a region and leadership from anywhere. The subject matter which probably relates to some one specific subject or problem has national implications. Other national organizations may cooperate in sponsoring these meetings. They may be held anywhere and give various regions opportunities to participate in the discussion of important problems. These discussions may be preparatory to meetings scheduled later at national meetings.

7. *Interpretation*

The NCSW recognizes the unique opportunities provided by its Annual Meeting for the broadest kind of interpretation of the social welfare field. In order to make the most of this, as well as to secure increased public understanding of the specific problems and services discussed in as many of the meetings as possible, plans for publicity coverage are made with participating organizations well in advance of the Annual Meeting. During the meeting, an adequately staffed press room is maintained, and an increasing number of newspapers are assigning full-time reporters to its coverage.

> "The NCSW may be regarded properly as one of the most important forces in American social welfare. Throughout its history, its annual forums and publications have had significant educational values for workers and volunteers in welfare, health, recreation and related fields. It has had a constructive influence on the entire field of social welfare."
>
> *from the Study Committee Report*

HOW IT OPERATES

Officers and principal operating committees are elected by mail ballot of the members. These and the appointed committees bring nearly 200 members into active participation in administration or program, not including the 500 speakers, discussants and presiding officers in the program of the Annual Meeting.

The national office, located in Columbus, Ohio, is made up of a small year-round staff augmented at the time of the Annual Meeting by temporary personnel.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, composed of the officers and twenty-one other members, has overall responsibility for the program of the organization.

THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE is responsible for planning and organizing the Annual Meeting, and programs are based on their suggestions. Program building is a year-round process, in which the Program Committee, the Sections and the Common Service Committees enlist the participation of the entire Conference membership.

THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS seeks to identify new leadership developing in all parts of the country in order to fulfill most adequately the elective and appointive positions in the NCSW. Members are asked to submit the names of those whose local performance indicates a capacity to contribute to the enrichment of the program of the NCSW. First consideration for such posts is usually given to individual members of the Conference, although anyone who is either a paid or volunteer worker with a member agency is eligible.

MEMBERSHIP PARTICIPATION

Where program must stem from the grass roots and leadership must represent such a heterogeneous constituency, membership participation is of vital importance. It is imperative to have suggestions flowing in from all sections and all fields.

To facilitate membership participation and to assure representation from all sections of the country, nine members of the Executive Committee and nine members of the Committee on Nominations are to be elected on a regional basis according to a plan adopted in 1952 and being instituted progressively, 1, 4 and 7 in 1953, 2, 5 and 8 in 1954 and 3, 6 and 9 in 1955.

REGIONS OF THE NCSW

1 Connecticut
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
Rhode Island
Vermont

2 Delaware
New Jersey
New York
Pennsylvania

3 District of Columbia
Maryland
North Carolina
Virginia
West Virginia
Puerto Rico
Virgin Islands

4 Kentucky
Michigan
Ohio

5 Illinois
Indiana
Minnesota
Wisconsin

6 Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Mississippi
South Carolina
Tennessee

7 Colorado
Idaho
Iowa
Kansas
Missouri
Montana
Nebraska
North Dakota
South Dakota
Utah
Wyoming

8 Arkansas
Louisiana
New Mexico
Oklahoma
Texas

9 Arizona
California
Nevada
Oregon
Washington
Alaska
Hawaii

HOW IT IS FINANCED

The Conference has a budget of approximately $100,000.00. It operates with a slender margin of reserve. The budget has been examined and approved by the National Budget Committee. Contributions to the Conference are tax exempt.

Membership dues constitute the principal source of support. Attendance or registration fees at the Annual Meetings provide a necessary income which nevertheless falls far short of paying the cost of the meetings. Charges for exhibit booths and program space and other charges meet the costs of these specific services. Membership dues must meet most of the rest, including most of the cost of the Proceedings and the Conference Bulletins, which are distributed to members. Proceedings sold to non-members produce some income. Books offered at discount pay the cost of the service.

Efforts are being made to increase income from various sources.

> "Conferences and conventions are characteristic phenomena of the American way of life. Social welfare as a modern form of expression of society's concern for human beings is no exception to the rule . . . The NCSW should be continued in its present form . . . If the forum function is to be performed properly, it requires democratic control, broad individual and organizational participation and planning and independence of control."
>
> *from the Study Committee Report*

MEMBE

QUALIFICATIONS—BENEFITS

Anyone interested in the purposes of the Conference may be a member. There are at present about 5,500 members, 4,300 individuals and 1,200 agencies. The individual members are remarkably heterogeneous, including many lay board members and volunteers, many doctors, ministers, educators and others in related fields, as well as a substantial proportion of paid social workers in all kinds of positions, in all fields and from over 2,000 communities in 48 states. There are no educational or other such requirements—except an interest and a basic agreement with the purpose.

Most members, coming to realize that the Conference is a continuing force and that it needs and deserves their continuing support, have become continuing members. The number of continuing members is increasing.

The more tangible benefits of membership are listed here:

Voting
(All members—individuals and agencies of all classifications.)

Quarterly Conference Bulletin
(All members—individuals and agencies of all classifications.)

Special Registration Fees at Annual Meetings
(Individual members, $4.00 and $7.50 classifications.)
(Certified staff and board members of member agencies.)

Free Registration at Annual Meetings
(Individual members paying dues of $15.00 or more.)

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the current calendar year
(Members paying dues of $7.50 or more.)

Discounts on books offered, including volumes of selected papers
(Members paying dues of $7.50 or more.)

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES*

Regular—with full privileges	$ 7.50
Associate—without the Proceedings and book discounts	4.00
Sustaining—free registration	15.00
Contributing—free registration	25.00 or more

RSHIP

AGENCY MEMBERSHIP DUES*

The Regular Membership

Class C Membership $35.00

Allowing five staff or board members to register at Annual Meetings at special rates.

A Special Offer for Smaller Agencies

Class D Membership $15.00

Allowing two staff or board members to register at Annual Meeting at special rates.

For Larger Agencies

Class B Membership $50.00

Class A Membership ..... 100.00 or more

Allowing one staff or board member to register at Annual Meetings at special rates for each $5.00 paid in dues.

* Memberships are due for renewal on January 1 or July 1 of each year. No special form or Conference action is required in becoming a member. Send name and address with check to the national office, 22 West Gay Street, Columbus 15, Ohio.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

A limited number of Life Memberships are available at $100.00 or more. These are building a Life Membership Rotating Fund to buy time-saving cost-saving equipment, and to attract more support by extending services. Life Members have the privileges of regular $7.50 members.

REGISTRATION

Registration for the Annual Meeting is necessary for those who attend. Registration fees are determined by the Executive Committee each year. The general practices in regard to registration are as follows:

Fees for individual members are considerably less than for non-members. Those individuals paying dues of $15.00, $25.00, or more do not pay fees. Agency members pay less for those staff and board members certified to attend the Annual Meeting under the introductory offer system described elsewhere. Certificates or forms provided by the Conference are necessary for this purpose. Students have special rates but must be certified on special forms by their Deans or some faculty member. One-day attendance is allowed at a special fee. There are charges for attendance at single general sessions for persons who have not registered. Advance registrations may be made through the national office. The regular registration fees apply, but there is advantage in time saved.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

The Conference makes arrangements for the Convention Bureau or hotels to take care of hotel accommodations at the time of the Annual Meeting. Information may be secured by writing to the national office in Columbus.

THE PRESIDENTS
from 1933 to 1953
and the place of the Annual Meeting
the year of presiding

FRANK J. BRUNO
Detroit—1933

WILLIAM HODSON
Kansas City—1934

KATHARINE F. LENROOT
Montreal—1935

MSGR. ROBERT F. KEEGAN
Atlantic City—1936

EDITH ABBOTT
Indianapolis—1937

SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN
Seattle—1938

PAUL KELLOGG
Buffalo—1939

GRACE COYLE
Grand Rapids—1940

JANE M. HOEY
Atlantic City—1941

SHELBY M. HARRISON
New Orleans—1942

FRED K. HOEHLER
New York, St. Louis—1943

ELIZABETH WISNER
Cleveland—1944

ELLEN C. POTTER
One-day meetings in 139 cities—1945

KENNETH L. M. PRAY
Buffalo—1946

ARLIEN JOHNSON
San Francisco—1947

LEONARD W. MAYO
Atlantic City—1948

RALPH H. BLANCHARD
Cleveland—1949

DR. MARTHA M. ELIOT
Atlantic City—1950

EWAN CLAGUE
Atlantic City—1951

LESTER B. GRANGER
Chicago—1952

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
Cleveland—1953

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET
COLUMBUS 15, OHIO

Printed in U.S.A.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone ADams 5772

October 9, 1953

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Raleigh, N. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 12
Southern Per

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The National Conference of Social Work and the Louisiana Conference of Social Welfare is sponsoring an Institute on "Methods of Social Action" in New Orleans, November 4 - 6 of this year.

We are very anxious to organize an exhibit of specially selected materials which would be helpful to the approximately 300 participants who will be attending from the six southern states. These materials should include examples of successful social action projects as well as resource material which would be helpful to an individual or organization with responsibilities in social action.

I am enclosing an outline of the program which will give you some further detail about the Institute to enable you to make a better selection of materials from your organization.

I would appreciate it if your contribution could be sent to Mrs. Jean Benson, c/o Y.W.C.A., 929 Gravier St. New Orleans, Louisiana. The materials should be mailed so that it will arrive on Thursday, October 29.

I will be most grateful for any other suggestions that you may have in respect to the program or special films or recordings which would make a contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Joe R. Hoffer

Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary

jrh:mb

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
LOUISIANA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WELFARE

September 28, 1953

Outline of Program

Regional Institute on Methods of Social Action - New Orleans, La.

Theme: Improving Your Community and State - Blueprint for Action in Social Welfare

November 4 - 6, 1953
Y.W.C.A.

Tuesday, November 3

10:00 A.M. National-State Conference Institute Committee - Mrs. Benson, Chairman

4:00 P.M. Meeting of Discussion Leaders and Reporters

4:00 P.M. Set up Exhibits

Wednesday, November 4

9:00 A.M. Registration

9:00 A.M. Meeting - All program participants (Resource persons, discussion leaders, reporters, etc.)

10:30 A.M. - 12:00 General Session #1

Chairman

Reporter

Speakers

a. Purpose and Plan of Institute - Joe R. Hoffer (15 min.)

b. The Meaning and Nature of Social Action - Arthur R. Dunham, (30 min.)

In what sense is social action the responsibility of everyone? What demands does this place on leaders in the social welfare field? What should we accept as our social policy?

c. Techniques for Identifying the Selecting Action Targets or Goals - Warren Schmidt (30 min.)

What techniques are the most effective for identifying and selecting action targets or goals? How can we best reach group decisions about needed action?

12:15 - 1:45 Luncheon

Chairman

Reporter

Program

The attendees will be distributed in buzz groups of 8-12 persons. Each group will select a chairman and reporter and address itself to a few selected questions. During the General Discussion the Chairman will call on the reporters for brief statements which will be directed to the panel composed of the national resource people.

a. Buzz Groups (45 min.)

b. General Discussion - General Session #1 (30 min.)

2:15 - 4:15 Clinic Sessions

The general program for the clinic shall include the following: The Discussion Leader shall begin the session with (a) brief statement regarding the plan to be followed; (b) introduce the resource people and reporters; (c) explain the purpose of the selected project and other materials, i.e. to provide concrete illustrations for the consideration of methods and techniques of social action.

Clinic A Services to Children

Discussion Leader

Resource Persons

Regional

National - A. Dunham

Reporter

Clinic B Housing

Discussion Leader

Resource Persons

Regional

National - Nelson Jackson

Reporter

Clinic C Health and Medical Services

Discussion Leader

Resource Persons

Regional

National - Joseph Anderson

Reporter

Clinic D Services for the Aging

Discussion Leader

Resource Persons

Regional

National - Geneva Mathiason

Reporter

4:30 - 5:30 General Session #2

Chairman

Reporter

Speakers

a. Initiating Social Action - Geneva Mathiason

How can we mobilize community and state resources? How can we overcome apathy? How can we develop interest by individual and groups? How can we influence people to change their attitudes and awaken their interests in matters of vital concern in the improvement of our communities and states?

b. Methods of Social Action - Nelson Jackson

What are the distinctive elements which can be identified in the various methods employed in social action? How can these methods be adapted to rural communities or small towns? How can we program social action over a period of time (a year or more)?

Thursday, November 5

9:30 - 10:30 General Session #3

Chairman

Reporter

Speaker

a. Social Action and Social Work - Joseph Anderson

Should social action be considered one of the major processes in social work? Is social action a logical outgrowth of the fundamental belief in the worth and well-being of the individual, and therefore as important as the more direct services to individuals, groups and communities?

10:45 - 12:15 Clinics

12:30 - 1:45 Luncheon

Chairman

Reporter

Program

Buzz Sessions
General Discussions (General Sessions #2 and 3)

2:15 - 4:15 Clinics

4:30 - 5:30 General Session #4

Chairman

Reporter

Program

Movies and Recordings - Social Action Projects

Friday, November 6

9:30 - 11:00 Clinics

11:15 - 12:30 Final General Session #5

The final General Session will be devoted to an exchange on the part of the discussion leaders and national resource people. They will emphasize the common elements presented in the four clinics as well as the distinctive differences relating to the functional areas, i.e. services to children, etc., and the community and state levels. Opportunity will be provided for the audience to participate.

Chairman

Reporter

Program

Panel Discussion - Discussion Leaders and national resource people

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone ADams 5772

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ELLEN WINSTON
Raleigh, N. C.

Please reply to —
345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.
Telephone — MUrray Hill 2-7551

May 28, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It is a pleasure to inform you that you have been elected a member of Section III (Services to Agencies and Communities) for a three-year period (1954-57).

As you probably know, Mr. Leo Perlis, National Director of the National CIO Community Services Committee, will be chairman of Section III for the coming year, and you will undoubtedly be hearing from him in the near future concerning his plans for carrying on the work of the Section. In the meantime, I am enclosing a copy of a Handbook for Section and Common Service Committee Members, which we hope you will find helpful. The other enclosure is a statement on basic issues for forum treatment prepared by the Executive Committee for the assistance of the Program Committee. You will find a reference to this on page 9 of the Handbook.

To Anna Hayden

Please do not hesitate to let us know if you have any questions about your assignment or if anything comes up in which you think we might be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth M. Williams

Ruth M. Williams
Asst. Executive Secretary

RMW:lb
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Agenda
Attachment #2
May 9, 1954

PROGRAM COMMITTEE - MEMORANDUM NO. 2

Listed below are some basic issues and problems for forum treatment which the Executive Committee has outlined for the consideration of the 1955 Program Committee. In preparing the list the Committee took for granted that we have a continuing interest in the fields and subjects which have traditionally been the concern of the National Conference. This statement attempts to highlight some of the current concerns suggested by members of the Executive Committee. No attempt has been made to list the points in any priority order. It should be noted that the list was drawn just prior to the opening of this year's Annual Forum.

I. Gaining public understanding of the basic character of social welfare services in our social order; achieving wider public appreciation of the total constellation of welfare services in the nation.

II. How can we have a planned approach to meeting social need together with the preservation of voluntary citizen initiative and of the rights of specialized interest groups?

III. How can we assure that social welfare services receive the maximum benefit from citizen participation and from the contribution of the expert?

IV. Creative social planning in relation to the changing character of our population, family structure and communities. Social workers are in an excellent position and have a responsibility to know what is going on in relation to these changes and what the needs are and to interpret these changes. How can agencies meet the need for flexibility and adaptation? What are the implications in terms of decentralization of administration within the community, from one level of government to another (Federal-State), etc.?

V. Need for a dynamic restatement of government's responsibility for the welfare of the people. Need for a strategy of statesmanship in relating to other groups concerned with the same social ends -- housing, education, etc. How to stimulate social workers to recognize this?

VI. Recruitment for the field. How to make the most effective use of available personnel.

VII. The pursuit of the broad social objective of serving people involves both a concern for refining and improving our practice and relating ourselves to the larger social concerns of this period. How can we answer this challenge and fulfill these inseparable obligations?

VIII. Problems of support and financing.

6TH

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone ADams 5772

December 10, 1954

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Gates Mills, Ohio

BESSIE TOUZEL
Toronto, Canada

MRS. LOUISE BRISCOE TRIGG
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

WAYNE VASEY
New Brunswick, N. J.

Dear Agency Executive:

Do you believe that your agency benefits from the Annual Forums, the Proceedings and the other services of the National Conference of Social Work? Of course everyone in the field of social welfare benefits, and even the country as a whole gains in a broad general way, but I wonder whether you believe that you derive some more tangible and more direct benefits.

Do you send staff and board members to attend the Annual Forums? If so, can you do this regularly or only occasionally? How many times have you sent someone to the Annual Forum since 1949? Do your delegates come back with new ideas, with information about the way in which others meet problems comparable to yours, with solutions to some of your problems, better prepared to do their job in your agency?

If you benefit from the program of the Conference, I am sure you will agree that your agency ought to be a member, especially when I tell you that those who simply attend the Annual Forums pay only a small part of the cost of this service.

The Conference is supported largely from dues of individuals and agencies which hold continuing memberships whether they attend or send delegates to the Annual Forums regularly or not. As a matter of fact, very few of our members attend all of our meetings. They support the Conference because they realize the Conference is vital to them, that it must be kept going and that in the last analysis they benefit every year indirectly if not directly.

Perhaps budgetary problems have kept your agency from being a member. And this may be a bad time to try to secure approval for an item of this kind. If these are problems, won't you let us know? We hope you will seriously consider the matter and earnestly support our request that you become a member. A little membership folder which incorporates a schedule of membership dues and an application form is enclosed. If you want our twelve page folder giving you facts about the National Conference of Social Work, let us know.

82nd Annual Forum — San Francisco, Cal., May 29-June 3, 1955

May we hear from you soon? We hope you will become a member of the Conference beginning January 1, 1955. Whether you do or not, won't you tell us something of your experience with the Conference and answer some of my questions? Your answers will help us better serve social welfare.

Sincerely yours,

Joe R. Hoffer

Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary

JRH:km

YOU NEED IT

The NATIONAL CONFERENCE of SOCIAL WORK

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Since 1874, the only forum for the consideration and discussion of basic problems in all fields of health and welfare

IT NEEDS YOU

The NCSW Is a Voluntary Association of Indi
the Problems and Methods Identified with the
in Its Purposes — Paid and Volunteer,

The NCSW brings You.....

THE ANNUAL FORUM, regarded as one of the most important forces in American social welfare, is held every spring in selected cities from coast to coast, bringing together more than 5000 persons to participate in over 300 meetings held during a six-day period. These include:

GENERAL SESSIONS addressed by nationally known figures on broad topics of concern to all.

SECTION MEETINGS dealing with generic subject matter in the fields of services to (1) individuals and families (2) groups and individuals in groups (3) agencies and communities.

COMMON SERVICE MEETINGS dealing with specific content in the specialized fields of personnel, methods of social action, financing, social research and social studies, public relations, and meetings in social welfare, the first three in 1954, the last three in 1953.

ASSOCIATE AND SPECIAL GROUP MEETINGS planned by national organizations belonging to the Conference on topics of special interest to their affiliates.

EXHIBITS AND OTHER SERVICES . . . Combined Book Exhibit, Case Record Exhibit, consultation services, film showings, job interviews

ndividual and Organization Members Who Have Join
he Field of Social Work and Immediately Related Fiel
er, Lay and Professional, Sectarian and Non-Sectaria

Publications

The SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, official proceedings of each Annual Forum, is distributed without charge to all members paying dues of $7.50 or more.

Two or more additional books, containing selected papers presented by the functional fields, are available to members at reduced price.

The CONFERENCE BULLETIN is sent to members quarterly, carrying information about NCSW plans, policies and programs.

•

Book Service

Selected professional books are made available to members at discount. Annual revisions of the list insure the addition of current titles.

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Additional Services

To STATE CONFERENCES, the NCSW offers help in planning meetings and programs, in collecting and distributing material, in undertaking necessary studies.

To the INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, the NCSW offers personnel and office facilities, and cooperation with the U.S. Committee.

•

ed It to Promote and Share in Discussion of
ds. Its Membership Is Open to All Who Believe
n, Individual and Organizational.

The NCSW needs You . . .

Because it is almost entirely dependent upon individual and agency dues for its support.

Because it needs your participation if it is to be a truly democratic forum representing all phases of health and welfare.

Because it needs the benefit of your experience and your participation to be an effective unifying force in social work.

Types of Membership available to You

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIPS

REGULAR—with full privileges	$ 7.50	☐
ASSOCIATE—without the Proceedings and book discounts	4.00	☐
SUSTAINING—free registration	15.00	☐
CONTRIBUTING—free registration	25.00	☐
	or more	☐

AGENCY MEMBERSHIPS

CLASS A	20*	$100.00	☐
		or more	☐
CLASS B	10*	50.00	☐
	15*	75.00	☐
CLASS C	5*	35.00	☐
CLASS D	2*	15.00	☐

*Agencies may desginate specified number of staff or board members for special registration fees at annual forum. This privilege is designed primarily to introduce new persons to the conference who may become individual members.

SELECT ONE . . . FILL IN THE FORM ON THE BACK . . . SEND IT IN TODAY . . . AND BECOME PART OF THE NCSW, THE UNITED FRONT OF HEALTH AND WELFARE.

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work is a voluntary association of individual and organization members who have joined the Conference to promote and share in discussion of the problems and methods identified with the field of social work and immediately related fields. The Conference is a forum for such discussion. It does not take an official position on controversial issues and adopts no resolutions except occasional resolutions of courtesy.

•

Membership Application

DATE: _____

This is an application for membership in the National Conference of Social Work as indicated on back.

Name of Individual
or Agency _____

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22 WEST GAY ST. COLUMBUS 15, OHIO

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IF YOU ARE EMPLOYED IN HEALTH AND WELFARE, because it represents all aspects of your field and works toward greater understanding of its basic knowledge and skills; because it also offers each functional field the opportunity for self-analysis, for examination of differing points of view, and for determination of future emphasis.

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IF YOU ARE A BOARD MEMBER OR VOLUNTEER, because it provides a medium for the interchange of ideas and experiences between laymen and professional workers; because it is an opportunity to develop citizens' support of and participation in social welfare activities.

•

IF YOU ARE AN AGENCY EXECUTIVE, because in addition to the opportunities for staff development offered at the Annual Meeting, it serves as a clearing house of basic educational materials, bringing its services to you through state and local conferences and forums as well as through its publications.

March 3, 1955

TO: GTH

What should I say?

GSM

May 30

March 3, 1955

Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer
President
National Conference of Social Work
1508 Sumac Drive *
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Altmeyer:

I am much honored by the invitation to appear before the National Conference of Social Work in San Francisco on Monday evening, May 30th, to talk on "Segregation, Desegregation, and Integration."

That is a great opportunity and I of course accept.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

* For the rest of March Mr. Altmeyer will be at the Carolina Inn, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

This letter sent to that address.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone ADams 5772

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March 2, 1955

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
1508 Sumac Drive
MADISON, WISCONSIN

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAR 3 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have been authorized by the National Conference of Social Work to invite you to address one of the General Sessions at its meeting in San Francisco on Monday evening, May 30. The subject we would like you to speak on is "Segregation, Desegregation, and Integration." This is one of the five important questions which the Program Committee desire to have discussed at the General Sessions.

Free
ab

I am not sure how familiar you are with the National Conference of Social Work, whose purpose is to provide a dynamic educational forum for the field of social welfare. The enclosed leaflet, "Facts About the National Conference of Social Work," contains additional information about the organization. The Annual Forum covers a period of a week, and we expect that the attendance in San Francisco will be between four and five thousand -- social workers and persons from related fields from all parts of the country. The theme of this year's Annual Forum is "Social Welfare 1955 - Progress, Problems, and Prospects."

In view of the tremendous significance of the Supreme Court decision regarding desegregation in the public schools, the Program Committee felt it was important to have one of the major speeches at San Francisco devoted to an over-all view of the situation as of that date, the problems and prospects and perhaps some indication of the implication of the decision for other aspects of community life. There would be no other speaker on the program of the General Session at which you would speak.

If it appears probable at this time that your schedule will permit you to accept, we do hope that you will consent to do so, because of the widespread desire of our members to hear you. If you have any questions before reaching a decision, I would be happy to answer them. I will be staying at the Carolina Inn in Chapel

Hill, North Carolina, for the rest of this month and you could call me there. In any event, I will appreciate your sending me your reply at that address.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Altmeyer

Arthur J. Altmeyer
President

AJA:lb

P. S. The Conference will be glad to pay your expenses in connection with this speech. I am sorry to say that we have no funds for an honorarium for our speakers.

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March 7, 1955

MAR 17 1955

TO: All Members of Section III,
National Conference of Social Work

I am pleased to report to you the current status of sessions sponsored by Section III at the forthcoming annual forum in San Francisco:

Monday, May 30, 11:15 AM

General Subject: Juvenile Delinquency

Presiding Officer: Joseph L. Taylor, Executive Director
Jewish Family Service of St. Paul

Panel: Mrs. Rollin Brown, Chairman
California State Recreation Commission

Felix Gentile, Executive Director
Big Brothers of America

Monday, May 30, 11:15 AM

General Subject: Citizen Participation in Public and Private Social Services

Presiding Officer: Ralph Blanchard, Executive Director
Community Chests and Councils of America

Panel: Miss Elizabeth Goddard, Supervisor of Staff Development
Oregon State Public Welfare Commission

C. F. McNeill, Executive Director
Health and Welfare Council of Philadelphia

(over)

Monday, May 30, 2:00 PM

General Subject: Community Action for the Prevention of Slums

Presiding Officer: Arthur R. Hellender, Director
CIO Community Services Committee of San Francisco

Panel Miss Catherine Bauer, Vice President
National Housing Conference

James C. Downs, Jr., Housing and Redevelopment Coordinator
City of Chicago

Monday, May 30, 2:00 PM

General Subject: Desegregation

Presiding Officer: Dean Benjamin E. Youngdahl
George Warren Brown School of Social Work
Washington University of St. Louis

Panel Miss Margaret W. Ryan
Texas Research League
Austin, Texas

M. Leo Bohanon, Executive Director
Urban League of St. Louis

Monday, May 30, 2:00 PM

General Subject: Medical Care for the People

Presiding Officer: Dr. Edward Rogers, Dean of School of Public Health
University of California
Berkeley, California

Panel Dr. Russel V. Lee
Palo Alto Clinic
Palo Alto, California

Winslow Carlton, Chairman of the Board
Group Health Insurance, Inc.
New York, N.Y.

Others will be announced.

(Sponsors: Sections I, II, III) (over)

Wednesday, June 1, 11:15 AM

General Subject: Total Health Education for the Community

Presiding Officer: Dr. Edward D. Greenwood
The Menninger Foundation
Topeka, Kansas

Panel

Miss Florence MacNeill, Medical Consultant
Hennepin County Welfare Board
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Philip E. Ryan, Executive Director
National Health Council
New York, N. Y.

Wednesday, June 1, 11:15 AM

General Subject: International Social Welfare

Presiding Officer: Robert E. Bondy, Executive Director
National Social Welfare Assembly
New York, N. Y.

Panel

Charles I. Schottland, Commissioner
Social Security Administration
Washington, D. C.

Melvin A. Glassner, Assistant to the President
National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis
New York, N. Y.

A representative of United Nations point of view
to be announced.

Wednesday, June 1, 11:15 AM

Lindeman Lecture

General Subject: Relatedness of the Science of Government and the Field of Social Work

Speaker: Dr. T. V. Smith, Maxwell Professor of Citizenship
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York

Presiding Officer: Arch Mandel, Director
Labor Participation Department
Community Chests and Councils of America
New York, N. Y.

(over)

Friday, June 3, 9:15 AM

General Subject: The Rule of Welfare Councils in Total Community Organization and Planning

Presiding Officer: Seaton W. Manning, Executive Secretary
San Francisco Urban League

Panel C. W. Pfeiffer, Executive Secretary
Welfare Planning Council of
Los Angeles

Arnold Callan, Director of Education
UAW-CIO, Region 6
Oakland, California

Friday, June 3, 9:15 AM

General Subject: Automation: A Challenge to Social Work

Presiding Officer Dr. Arlien Johnson, Dean of School of Social Work
University of Southern California
3518 University Avenue
Los Angeles 7, California

Panel Stanley H. Ruttenberg
Director of Education and Research
Congress of Industrial Organization
Washington 6, D. C.

John B. Shallenberger
Manager of Institute Relations
Stanford Research Institute
Stanford, California

N O T E S

(1) With the exception of the sessions on International Social Welfare and Medical Care, there will be only two members on each panel.

(2) It is hoped we can devote at least an hour at each session to audience participation and discussion.

(3) All presiding officers and panel members were asked to correspond among themselves and to meet in San Francisco prior to their sessions.

(4) A number of questions related to the general subject matter were submitted to all participants of each session.

(5) I would hope that you may wish to raise other questions and offer suggestions directly to the presiding officers or panel members.

I would appreciate all comments.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Leo Perlis

Leo Perlis, Chairman
Section III, NCSW

GCEOC 1735 CIO

March 10, 1955

Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer
Carolina Inn
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Altmeyer:

Monday morning, May 30th, is as good as Monday night as far as I am concerned!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
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MAR 9 1955

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New Brunswick, N. J.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
~~1508 Sumac Drive~~
MADISON, WISCONSIN

Chapel Hill, N.C.
March 8, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I received the good news that you would address the Conference here in Chapel Hill where I am lecturing for a month.

We are delighted and know that the Conference will benefit greatly from your discussion of this difficult but challenging subject.

Since I wrote you on March 2 we have found it necessary to switch some of the General sessions, the one at which you speak from Monday evening to Monday morning, May 30. I do hope this is satisfactory to you. If not, please write me Knollcot c/o Carolina Inn.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

A J Altmeyer

March 25, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: GTH

FROM: GSM

The San Francisco Conference of Social Work wants a manuscript out of me by or before May 16th.

I would appreciate having your suggestions about May 1st about what ought to be said. This is not asking anybody else to draw up the speech: I just want some hints.

GSM/eab
cc: HCF

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22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
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Since 1874, a national forum for social welfare

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Please reply to —
345 East 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.
Telephone — MUrray Hill 2-7551

April 12, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Hoffer has asked me to answer your letter of March 25th. Thank you very much for sending us the biographical material and the photograph which we requested. We will make a hotel reservation for you for the nights of May 29th and 30th, and will be in touch with you again to let you know details about this.

Enclosed is a copy of the preliminary program for the San Francisco meetings which I hope you will find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Williams

Ruth M. Williams
Asst. Executive Secretary

RMW:lb

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone CApital 4-5772

Since 1874, a national forum for social welfare

Miss Eliz
For you to translate to your helpful vademecum.
Em.

May 11, 1955

Please reply to —
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New Brunswick, N. J.

MAY 13 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of the memorandum which we are sending to all those who will be on the platform at the General Session when you are speaking. Mr. Benjamin Youngdahl, Dean of the School of Social Work at Washington University in St. Louis, will preside.

I also wanted to let you know that the group who will be dining with Mr. Altmeyer on Monday evening will meet in his suite at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel at 6:15 P.M.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth M. Williams

Ruth M. Williams
Asst. Executive Secretary

RMW:lb

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

22 WEST GAY STREET • COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
and
345 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Memorandum To: Platform Party - Monday Morning General Session

From: Joe R. Hoffer, Executive Secretary

Subject: Plans for General Session

May 11, 1955

We are glad to know that you will be able to be on the platform at the General Session on Monday morning, May 30. This is just to let you know that the platform party will assemble in Room 111 of the Civic Auditorium at 9:00 a.m., so that the meeting can start promptly at 9:15 a.m. Room 111 is located to the right of the Arena stage.

I am looking forward to seeing you then.

May 12, 1955

Mr. Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary
National Conference of Social Work
345 East Forty-Sixth Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hoffer:

You wrote me March 24th that my talk before the General Session in San Francisco, May 30th, ought to be in your hands by May 16th.

Here it is.

We sent you earlier a biographical sketch and a photo.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

March 25, 1955

Mr. Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary
National Conference of Social Work
345 East Forty-Sixth Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hoffer:

Yes, please do save me a spot in a hotel in San Francisco. I will arrive by plane the afternoon of Sunday, May 29th. Will need the hotel room the night of the 29th and the night of the 30th. Unfortunately in the course of the 31st I have to get back East.

I accept with much appreciation Mr. Altmeyer's invitation to be his guest at dinner for Monday evening, May 30th.

I will send you a manuscript by or before May 16th.

Here's a picture and some biographical material.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

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March 24, 1955

Please reply to —
345 East 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.
Telephone — MUrray Hill 2-7551

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAR 25 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I was delighted to learn from Mr. Altmeyer that you had accepted his invitation to speak at our General Session in San Francisco on Monday morning, May 30th.

I hope it will be possible for you to prepare a manuscript in advance, both for the use of our press service and for use in the preparation of the official Proceedings. We should like to have your manuscript by May 16th, or as soon thereafter as possible. We would also appreciate it, if at your convenience, you would send us a biographical sketch and a glossy print of your photograph for publicity purposes.

We will be happy to make a hotel reservation for you in San Francisco, if you would like us to do so. For this purpose we would need to know when you plan to arrive and how long you expect to stay. Mr. Altmeyer would like to have you as his guest for dinner on Monday evening. We will let you know the exact time and place a little later, but hope you will keep it in mind in planning your schedule.

I am looking forward very much to meeting you in May. In the meantime, if you have any questions concerning plans for the meeting in which you will participate, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Joe R. Hoffer

Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary

JRH:lb

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
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May 20, 1955

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Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAY 23 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is merely a note to say that I understand the Sheraton-Palace Hotel in San Francisco has sent you a confirmation of your hotel reservation directly. If there should be any question about this when you arrive in San Francisco, please communicate with Mr. Proctor of our staff. He will be staying at the Hotel Whitcomb, and his office telephone number is HE 1-5742.

EB
✓ note

I am looking forward to meeting in San Francisco.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Williams

Ruth M. Williams
Asst. Executive Secretary

P.S. Many thanks for sending us your manscript so promptly. You are a popular man with our Press Service for having met our dead-line!

June 1, 1955

Mr. Joe Hoffer
Executive Secretary
National Conference of Social Work
345 East Forty-Sixth Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hoffer:

Safely back from your excellent meeting.

Here are the expenses:

Plane fare to San Francisco and back	=	$290.07
To airport in Atlanta & return	=	1.00
From airport in San Francisco and return	=	2.40
Tips	=	.25
Taxi	=	2.50
Meals	=	5.37
Hotel	=	20.70
Total	=	$322.29

'Tis a goodish bill, but I am sustained by the recollection of the pleasure of that great audience in having that particular subject opened before them.

You and your staff and Mr. Altmeyer and all the others were kindness itself to me, and I am very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

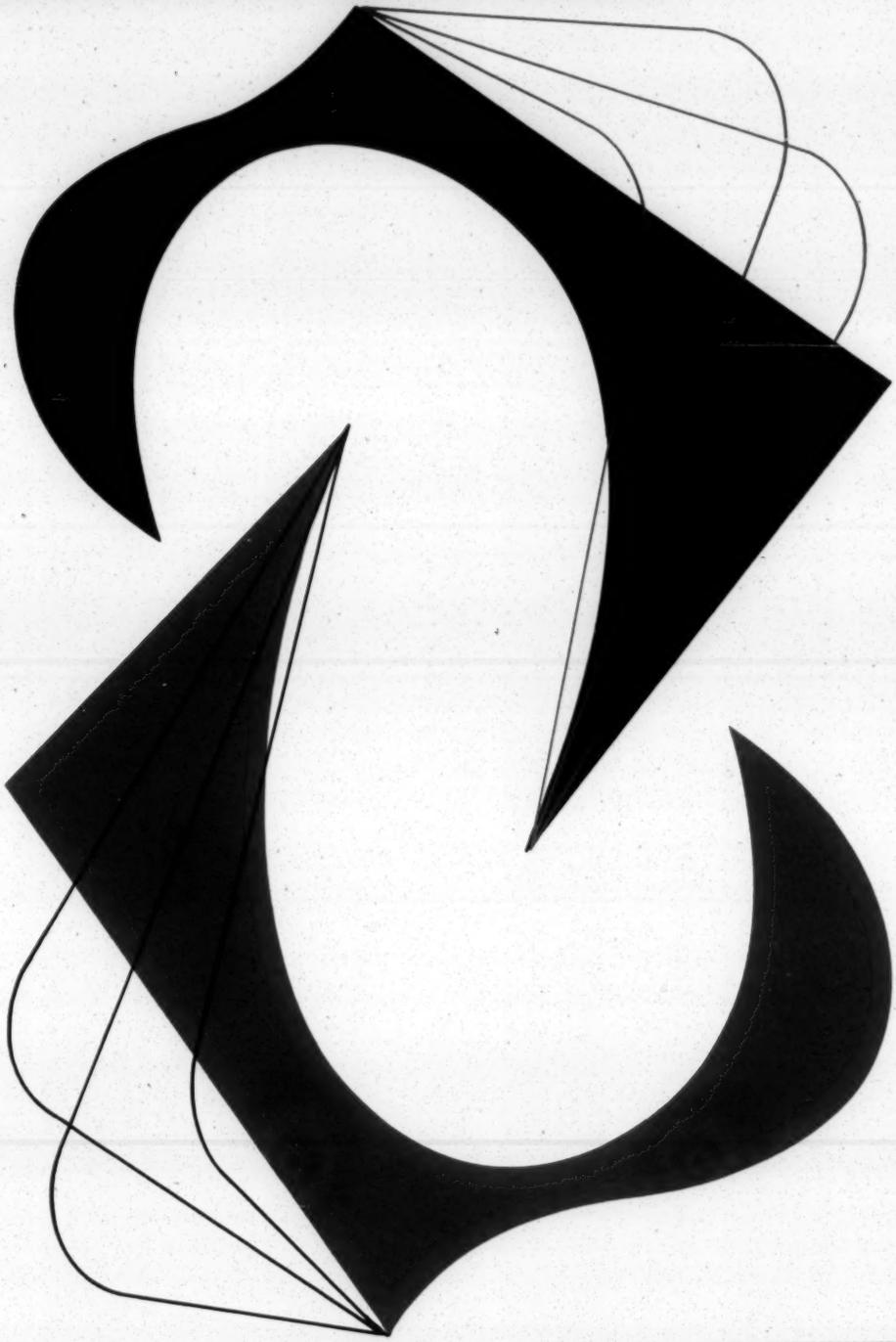
GSM/eab

National Conference of Social Work

Serving — Social Welfare

san francisco california

may 29 • June 3 1955



82nd annual forum

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

22 WEST GAY STREET • COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
and
345 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Memorandum To: Members of Section III

From: Ruth M. Williams, Assistant Executive Secretary

Subject: Work of the Section for 1956

JUN 27 1955

June 14, 1955

Enclosed is a copy of the new issue of the Handbook for Section and Common Service Committee members. We hope you will find it helpful. If you have any questions after looking through it, please do not hesitate to let me know.

The second enclosure is a statement of basic issues for forum treatment prepared by the Executive committee for the assistance of the Program Committee. You will find a reference to this on page 9 of the Handbook.

As you probably know, Miss Selene Gifford of the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior, is chairman of Section III for the coming year. You will undoubtedly be hearing from her in the near future concerning her plans for carrying on the work of the Section.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

HANDBOOK FOR SECTION AND COMMON SERVICE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

For Year 1955 - 1956

22 West Gay Street
Columbus 15, Ohio

and

345 East 46th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

May 1955

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INTRODUCTION

The 1956 Annual Forum of the National Conference of Social Work will follow the general plan of organization recommended by the Conference Study Committee and described on pages 7 and 8 of the January 1949 issue of the Conference Bulletin. *

In its report the Study Committee had this to say about the role of the Conference:

> "If the forum function is to be performed properly, it requires democratic control, broad individual and organizational participation and planning, and independence of control."

The work of the Sections and Committees is of great importance in achieving this.

The purpose of this Handbook is to give the Section and Committee members in convenient form the basic information they will need in carrying on their work for the year. The Conference staff will be happy to receive comments on the Handbook and suggestions for ways in which it can be improved.

Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary

April, 1955

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*Copies of this issue are available on request from the Conference office.

I. THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The Committee which is particularly concerned with planning for the Annual Forum of the National Conference is the Program Committee. This Committee, subject only to final approval by the Conference Executive Committee, has full responsibility for the National Conference meetings at the Annual Forum. It has no control over the meetings of the Associate and Special Groups.

The Program Committee is composed of the President, Past President and Executive Secretary of the Conference, six members-at-large elected by the Executive Committee, the chairman of the three Sections and chairmen of the three Common Service Committees holding meetings in any given year.

The Program Committee has the following responsibilities in connection with the Annual Forum:

a. Selection of the theme, if there is to be one;

b. Outlining the subjects to be covered in the General Sessions and selection of a slate of speakers for the guidance of the President;

c. Developing a schedule of the time and number of meetings for the Sections and Committees;

d. Approval of the general outline of the programs being planned by the Sections and Committees.

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE ANNUAL FORUM

As indicated on page 3, the Program Committee is responsible for the General Session and the Section and Common Service Committee meetings at the Annual Forum. These are held on Sunday evening, Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

The three Sections are:

1. Section I - Services to Individuals and Families;
2. Section II - Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups;
3. Section III - Services to Agencies and Communities.

The three Sections will meet during the same meeting periods, and each Section may schedule several simultaneous group meetings.

At times when the Sections are not meeting, there will be meetings sponsored by the Common Service Committees. The following Committees will arrange meetings in 1956.

1. Financing of Social Welfare Services;
2. Methods of Social Action;
3. Personnel and Administration.

In order to relieve the over-crowding of the program which has developed in recent years, the other three Common Service Committees will not arrange meetings until 1957.

The time schedule of the 1956 meetings has not been finally settled and will have to be decided on by the Program Committee, probably at its October meeting. The time schedule in 1955 was as follows:

Monday	11:15 A. M.	-	12:45 P. M.	Sections
	2:00 P. M.	-	3:30 P. M.	Sections
	4:00 P. M.	-	5:30 P. M.	Committees
Wednesday	11:15 A. M.	-	12:45 P. M.	Sections
	2:00 P. M.	-	3:30 P. M.	Committees
Friday	9:15 A. M.	-	10:45 A. M.	Sections

Tuesday and Thursday at the Annual Forum are devoted to meetings of the Associate and Special Groups of the Conferene. These are of three types:

1. **Combined Associate Group meetings.** These are meetings which in recent years over forty of the Associate Groups have joined in sponsoring and planning. The idea of these meetings originated in the Joint Committee on Program Planning of the Conference and the National Social Welfare Assembly. They have been so well received that they have been adopted as a regular part of the Annual Forum structure. The organizations which participate in these meetings agree not to hold their own meetings in competition with the Combined meetings. A committee composed of representatives of eleven of the Associate Groups has the responsibility for selecting the subjects and appointing the program chairmen for the Combined meetings.

2. **Joint Meetings.** These are meetings sponsored by two or more Associate Groups having interests in a particular subject.

3. **Individual Meetings.** These are meetings arranged by a single organization.

III. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SECTIONS AND COMMITTEES*

The Sections consist of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and twelve members, all of whom are elected by the Conference membership. Each Section chairman has the privilege of adding up to three members to his Section if he considers that certain areas of interest, geographic regions, etc. should be represented.

The Common Service Committees are composed of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and ten members, all of whom are appointed by the Conference President. As in the case of the Sections, the chairmen may appoint up to three additional members to their Committees.

Each Section and Common Service Committee also has an Associate Group representative in its membership. The chief function of this representative is to serve as a channel between the Section or Committee and the Committee on Combined Associate Group Meetings.

The Sections and Committees are responsible for arranging the programs for the Section or Committee sessions at the 1956 Annual Forum of the Conference.** This includes planning the program content, selecting and securing speakers and other program participants and preparing descriptive material about each meeting for the preliminary and final printed programs.

Each chairman is responsible for arranging for active participation of his Section or Committee members to carry out this responsibility. This may be done by correspondence, by meetings with small groups of the members or by meetings of the entire group. Unfortunately, no funds are available for meeting the expenses of Section or Committee meetings. Individual members may be given responsibility for developing segments of the program, but all material should be sent to the Conference office by the chairman.

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* All references to Committees refer only to the three Common Service Committees which will be arranging sessions at the 1956 Annual Forum.

** An outline of the subject matter considered to fall within each Section or Committee appears in Appendix I (page 13)

IV. PROGRAM CONTENT

Criteria for Guidance of the Program Committee*

The following statement has been approved by the Conference Executive Committee for transmittal to the Program Committee. It contains no original material but is a presentation in an orderly form of statements which are set forth in the Study Committee report and elsewhere.

1. **The meetings arranged by the Conference Program Committee should emphasize generic and basic subject matter, leaving to national functional agencies and professional membership associations (the Associate Groups) responsibilities for specialized and technical subject matter.**

   Note: The final decision as to whether subject matter should be included in regular Conference sessions should be based on whether it is of sufficient interest and importance to warrant a general audience.

2. **The program of the Annual Forum should provide for the following:**

   a. **Critical examination of basic social welfare problems and issues:**

   b. **Consideration, appraisal and discussion of current economic and social conditions affecting the field of social welfare;**

   c. **Reporting of accomplishments and undertakings;**

   d. **Submitting the results of studies and research;**

   e. **Raising questions, offering ideas, suggestions and recommendations which may be used by interested organizations as a basis for the formulation of platforms and the endorsement of specific proposals;**

   f. **Sharing of experiences.**

3. **In selecting subject matter for inclusion in the program of the Annual Forum, the Program Committee should consider the extent to which it will help in achieving one or more of the following objectives of the Annual Forum:**

*** Data as to why people attended certain meetings and what they thought of those meetings were collected at 24 meetings in Atlantic City in 1954. A summary of the results is given in Appendix III.**

a. To provide a medium for the interchange of ideas and techniques between laymen and professional workers, sectarian and non-sectarian groups, racial groups, specialties within the field and public and voluntary agencies;*

b. To assist in improving standards of performance in social welfare and to increase the effectiveness of individual agencies;

c. To develop a better public understanding of welfare problems, needs, social welfare objectives, programs and methods;

d. To develop citizens' support of and participation in social welfare activities;

e. To emphasize the common elements present among workers and organizations concerned with social welfare programs and services;

f. To assist in sustaining morale among volunteer and paid workers of social welfare organizations;

g. To provide a chronological and cumulative record of basic developments in the field of social welfare.

4. It is not practicable to cover all aspects of the field of social welfare and all the special interests in each Annual Forum, the Program Committee should not attempt to do so.

5. In planning program content, the Program Committee should keep in mind that the Annual Forum audience consists of;

a. Individuals operating at all levels of responsibility, i. e. practitioners, supervisors, consultants, administrators, board members;

b. Individuals operating at all geographical levels, i. e. rural, small communities, large communities, state, regional, national and international

c. Individuals operating in agencies under public and voluntary auspices;

d. Paid and volunteer workers;

e. Professionally trained and non-professional workers.

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* Information about the kinds of people that attend the Annual Forum was secured through a questionnaire distributed to all registrants at Cleveland in 1953. A summary of the results appears in Appendix II

6. In planning Section programs*, the Program Committee should attempt to cover the subject matter which would normally fall under the heading of (1) Services to Individuals and Families, (2) Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups, and (3) Services to Agencies and Communities. In addition, attention should be given in each Section to:

   a. Social welfare in special settings, e. g. courts and law enforcement, church, business and industry, formal education, health (hospitals, clinics), public programs (unique aspects), housing, disaster situations, etc.;

   b. Special problem areas (requiring a multi-functional approach), e. g. the aged, children, physically handicapped, youth, veterans, minority groups, migrants and transients, unmarried parents, alcoholics, delinquents, immigrants, etc.

7. In planning Common Service Committee programs*, the Program Committee should bear in mind that these sessions are not for the specialists in the various fields but are to cover subject matter which should be known and of concern to all social workers no matter what their specialty or level of operation.

Basic Problems and issue

To assist the Program Committee in its task of developing the Program for the 1956 Annual Forum, a statement on some of the basic issues and problems in the social welfare field which the Executive Committee believes particularly need attention in 1956 will be distributed to the Program Committee and to all members of the Sections and Common Service Committees.

Plan for Contributed Papers

An announcement has already appeared in the Conference Bulletin that persons who believe they would have a useful contribution to make to the 1956 program may submit an abstract or not more than 300 words summarizing the proposed paper. This should reach the Conference office by October 1, 1955. It should be accompanied by (1) an assurance that a full text of the paper will be made available in advance if requested; (2) an assurance that a final text of the paper will be ready in April, 1956, if the paper is to be on the program; and (3) a statement as to whether or not the author could, if invited, be in St. Louis to deliver the paper in person.

All abstracts received will immediately be forwarded to the members of appropriate Section or Committee for consideration along with other program suggestions. It is proposed that any such papers accepted for inclusion on the program whould be scattered through the regular sessions, indistinguishable from papers which may have been written at the explicit request of the Section or Committee.

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* See Appendix I (page 13)

V. CONDUCT OF MEETINGS AND INSTRUCTIONS TO PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

The Joint Committee on Program Planning in 1951 became concerned about improving the conduct of meetings held at the time of the Annual Forum. A subcommittee was appointed to consider the subject, and a preliminary report was presented to the Joint Committee in May, 1951. Following discussion of that report, a revised report was prepared and approved by the Joint Committee at its meeting in October, 1951.

While recognizing that audience participation in meetings is not always possible or desirable, the Committee agreed that in general the greater the participation, the greater the impact or learning value of a meeting. It felt that people should not be asked to listen to the delivery of papers which can just as well -- or often better -- be read at home.

The suggestions in the report of the Joint Committee are contained in a leaflet on "Conduct of Meetings", which will be sent to members of the Program Committee and to all members of the Sections and the Common Service Committees.

Presiding Officers

The results of steps taken to date to evaluate the Annual Forum indicate that Conference members feel that in the past sufficient attention has not always been given to choosing well qualified presiding officers for meetings and instructing them adequately. Some suggestions on this point appear on page 4 and 5 of the leaflet "Suggestions for Conduct of Meetings" mentioned above.

Staff Aides

There will be a volunteer staff aide appointed for each meeting to check on the meeting room facilities, report on attendance and, in general, relieve the chairman of mechanical details so he will be free to devote himself to the successful conduct of the meeting.

Speakers

When speakers are invited, they should be told they will be asked to submit 5 copies of their manuscripts and 5 copies of a 300-word abstract by April, 1956. These are for the use of the Press Service and for consideration by the Editorial Committee for publication in the Proceedings and in the volumes of Selected Papers.

The leaflet "Information for Speakers" contains information about the preparation of manuscripts. A supply of these leaflets will be sent to each chairman for distribution to the speakers on his Section or Committee programs.

Approximately six weeks before the manuscripts are due, the Conference office will write to each speaker giving detailed instructions concerning the preparation and submission of papers and abstracts.

The Conference takes no responsibility for seeing that advance copies of main papers are sent to discussants. Where this is desired, the Section or Committee chairman must arrange it.

At the time of the Annual Forum it is the responsibility of the Section or Committee chairmen to secure any manuscripts which may not have been submitted on the date requested.

VI. LONG-RANGE PROGRAM PLANNING

The Conference Study Committee established several principles which bear a relationship to long range program planning. These include:

1. That it is impractical to attempt to cover all the subject matter in the social welfare field during any single Annual Forum.

2. That the effectiveness and value of the Conference will be increased if more continuity can be introduced into the Annual Forum programs;

3. That it is inefficient to plan an entire new program each year;

4. That the responsibility of the Program Committee will be lessened and its task brought into bounds if there are some continuing meetings;

5. That some subject and/or problem areas need to be treated over a period of several Annual Forums.

In line with these principles it is expected that the Program Committee and Sections and Common Service Committees will proceed with their program planning after careful consideration of what has appeared on the Annual Forum and other programs in previous years. It is hoped that it will also give attention to what may be appropriate for several years ahead.

It is anticipated that a systematic and continuous method of collecting program suggestions will be instituted. These will be presented to the Program Committee, and the Committee, keeping in mind the principles listed above, will have the responsibility for approving tentative commitments for the future programs. The Committee's recommendations are to be incorporated in the minutes of its final meeting.

APPENDIX I.

Suggested Classification of Subject Matter Based on Structure of the Annual Forum Program

The present Annual Forum structure was devised in order to provide for as much flexibility as possible, and therefore no hard and fast rules can or should be laid down as to what subject matter should be covered by each Section and Committee. On the other hand, it is felt that this suggestion classification may be helpful to members of the Program Committee, the Sections and the Committees as a basis for checking to see that important subjects are not left uncovered.

It was agreed by the Study Committee in developing the present structure that the General Sessions should be devoted to broad national and international social and economic issues including such questions as civil liberties. The primary criterion for determining shether a subject should be taken up in a General Session is whether the Program Committee considers it is of sufficient importance so that all those attending the Annual Forum should be informed about it. In view of this, the Sections and Committees should try to keep in mind the subjects to be covered in the General Sessions when formulating their own plans.

Sections

The Section Programs may include the following:

Section I - Services to Individuals and Families

1. Financial assistance and related services
2. Social casework principles, process, methods and techniques
3. Counselling and guidance services
4. Institutional care
5. Legal aid services
6. Health services (e.g. maternal and child health, medical care, public health, nursing, etc.)
7. Insurance (old age and survivors, unemployment)
8. Psychiatric services
9. Rehabilitation services
10. Correctional services
11. Homemaker services
12. Public assistance
13. Special services to children (e.g. foster care, adoptions, etc.)
14. Family life education
15.

Section II - Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

1. Social group work principles, process, methods and techniques
2. Camping
3. Group dynamics
4. Group and play therapy
5. Informal education
6. Recreation
7. Parks and play areas (large-scale)
8. Physical education
9. Group psychotherapy
10. Adult education
11.

Section III - Services to Agencies and Communities

1. Local planning
2. Statewide organization in social welfare
3. National organization in social welfare
4. City and town planning (physical), housing
5. Field representative services
6. Exchanges and indexes
7. Foundations and community trusts
8. Budgeting and distribution of funds
9. Employment services.
10. Community organization principles, process, methods and techniques
11. Citizen participation
12. Forum function in social welfare
13. Public and voluntary agency relationships
14. Education for social work*
15.

Generally speaking, the subject matter of the six Common Service Committees, some of which might be considered to fall within the scope of the Sections, should be left to the Common Service Committee concerned.

Common Service Committees

The Common Service programs may include the subject matter which falls within the general areas covered by their titles. It is anticipated that each Common Service Committee will utilize material from the related specialty outside the field of social welfare:

Committee on Public Relations - public relations
Committee on Planning Meetings in Social Welfare - adult education
Committee on Social Research and Social Studies - social science research
Committee on Personnel and Administration - personnel and management
(note: This Committee should deal with the role of the professional and the volunteer worker.)

*Section III may join with other Sections in dealing with this problem

Committee on Financing of Social Welfare Services - public financing foundations

Committee on Methods of Social Action - political science

Special Settings

Social work as practiced in the following special settings should be the concern of any or all of the Sections and Committees, depending on the particular problem involved:

1. Courts and law enforcement agencies
2. Church
3. Business and industry
4. Labor unions
5. Public schools
6. Hospitals, mental health clinics, rehabilitation centers, etc.
7. Housing
8. Institutions
9. Employment and placement
10. Armed Services
11. Colleges and universities
12. Governmental programs
13. Disaster situations
14. Rural areas
15.

Special Problem Areas

1. Adult offenders
2. Aging
3. Alcoholics
4. Children
5. Chronically ill
6. Immigrants from other countries
7. Industrial workers
8. Juvenile delinquents
9. Migrants within the U. S., transients and travelers
10. Minority groups - racial and religious
11. New communities
12. Physically and mentally handicapped
13. Unmarried parents
14. Veterans
15. Youth
16.

Other Professions

All Sections and Common Service Committee programs should, where appropriate, contain material on the contributions of and relationships to other professions, such as:

1. Social sciences (sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics)
2. Medicine
3. Education
4. Law
5. Clergy
6. Nursing
7. Home Economics
8. Business administration
9.

International

All Section and Committee programs should, where suitable, reflect the increased importance of international social welfare. This may take the form of introducing examples and illustrations from other countries (by speakers from those countries, if possible). In addition, attention should be given to the nature of international welfare programs and the role of American social work in these programs.

OPERATION QUESTIONNAIRE

by Merriss Cornell

A Report on the Cleveland Analysis of Attendees

At Cleveland – 1953

This report is a summary of the study of registrants at the Cleveland Annual Meeting, 1953. The study was designed to help in the process of evaluating the National Conference, by providing information about the people who attend and some of their reasons for attending. Your Program Committee will use the results in planning future Annual Meetings. We are indebted to the many persons who participated in planning and carrying out the study to its completion as well as the registrants who provided the basic data. (See the *Bulletin*, Summer 1953 for more background on the study).

Most registrants cooperated in filling out the questionnaires. The 4698 questionnaires that were sufficiently complete to tabulate represented 9 out of 10 of the registrants. Some of the attendees in the rush to complete registration turned in blank or nearly blank questionnaires. Others went to the other extreme and checked too much.

WHO ATTENDS?

A little less than 90 per cent of the attendees reported that they were employed in social work. Lay attendance was small — 272 persons or 5.8 per cent. The only sizeable group among the lay persons were 97 housewives who were board members or volunteers. The following percentages are based on the 4698 attendees reporting:

	Per cent
Employed in social work	88.8
Other occupations—lay persons	5.8
Students	5.4

The 88.8 per cent who reported that they were employed in social work represented 4174 persons. The largest part of this group was employed in voluntary non-sectarian agencies:

		Per cent
Voluntary		60.6
Sectarian	17.6	
Non-sectarian	43.0	
Governmental		37.5
Others (and no report)		1.9

SPECIALTY

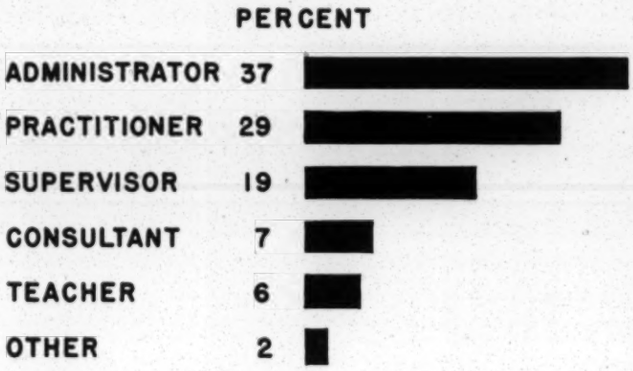
Specialty in social work was difficult to classify. One out of 8 attendees checked more than one specialty. Others did not find their specialty listed and may have checked a class that was not appropriate. In the following tabulation each specialty was counted whether checked alone or with another:

	Per cent
Child welfare	22.4
Group work and recreation	15.4
Family service	13.5
Medical social work	12.8
Community organization	12.6
Mental health services	12.6
Public assistance	9.6
Research	2.9
School social work	2.7
Other	11.3

Among the "others" were a variety of persons such as, teachers, administrators, clergy, and probation, correctional, and rehabilitation workers.

POSITION

Some have said that the administrator is about the only person who attends the Conference. The administrator did account for a little over one-third of the registrants but he was closely followed by the practitioner. The percentages in the following chart were based on the 4174 registrants employed in social work:



SALARY

The annual salaries of social workers attending the Conference were well above the salaries of all social workers reported in the Bureau of Labor Statistics study in 1950:

	Per cent Cleveland 1953	B.L.S. 1950
Under $3,600	19.1	71.0
$3,600 to $5,999	56.5	25.4
$6,000 and over	24.4	3.6

EXPENSES PAID?

The employing agency paid the expenses of nearly one-half of all the social workers attending at Cleveland. If the attendees from Cleveland Metropolitan Area were excluded, the proportion with all expenses paid would be increased by about four per cent. The following percentages are based on 4085 social workers who answered the question:

	Per cent
All or nearly all	49.3
Partial	21.9
None	28.8

Could we not find a way for more practitioners to attend this Social Welfare Forum? Many of our higher-salaried administrators have their expenses paid.

HERE, THERE, AND EVERYWHERE

The Conference can be proud of the wide geographical representation of its attendees. Of course, there were:

	Registrants	Per cent
From Cleveland Area	702	14.9
From Ohio	1161	24.7

But represented among the registrants were:

4 out of 5 of the 168 U. S. Metropolitan Areas
46 of the 48 States and the District of Columbia
4 U. S. Territories
3 Canadian Provinces
18 Foreign Countries

Besides Ohio there were seven other states with more than 100 registrants, they were in order:

	Registrants
New York	732
Michigan	341
Illinois	339
Pennsylvania	318
District of Columbia	140
Indiana	128
Massachusetts	111
California	86

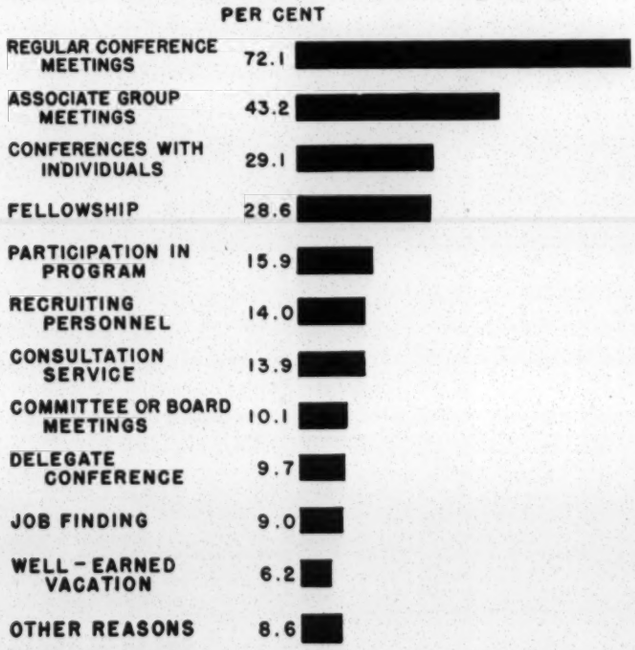
GEOGRAPHIC LEVEL OF OPERATION

The Conference reaches down to the grass roots and at the same time has wide geographic representation. Nearly three-fifths of the social workers report that their agency operates on the local level:

	Per cent
Local level	56.9
State or district	24.4
National or regional	13.2
International	5.5

WHY ATTEND?

One of the biggest questions for the Conference planner is - why do people attend? Each person was asked to check three major reasons. A few persons checked more than three but more tended to check less than three. The percentages in the check are based on the total of 4698 attendees reporting:



MEMBERSHIP

Over two-thirds of the persons attending the National Conference reported affiliation thru either individual or agency membership. Many of the attendees failed to answer the questions about membership or did not know whether their agency had membership in the National Conference. The results were as follows:

Individual or agency membership	Per cent
Both	16.1
Individual only	21.6
Agency only	29.9
Neither	14.8
No report	17.6

DAILY ATTENDANCE

Closely related to reasons for attendance is the daily pattern. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday June 1, 3, and 5 were set aside for regular Conference Meetings with the opening session coming on Sunday evening Tuesday and Thursday June 2 and 4 plus the three early meeting days of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday were for Associate and other special Group Meetings. The average attendee stayed about four and one-half days. The days from Sunday thru Friday were by far the biggest. About 7 out of 8 persons were in attendance on Tuesday - the peak day. These percentages are also based on 4698 attendees:

		Per cent
Friday	May 29	9.0
Saturday	May 30	14.9
Sunday	May 31	50.8
Monday	June 1	78.8
Tuesday	June 2	87.3
Wednesday	June 3	83.5
Thursday	June 4	71.5
Friday	June 5	49.0

PAST ATTENDANCE

We were curious to learn what if any relationship existed between attendance at Cleveland in 1953 and attendance during recent years. Registrants were asked to check each of the last five meetings they had attended (1948 to 1952) or some earlier meeting. About 30 per cent of the 4698 attendees reporting checked no previous meeting. But among the other 70 per cent, every possible pattern of attendance was represented—from 322 persons reporting at least 6 straight years to 878 persons with but one prior year. The summary of all previous years checked is as follows:

	Per cent
No previous meeting	30.0
Chicago 1952	34.4
Atlantic City 1951	27.4
Atlantic City 1950	26.7
Cleveland 1949	31.7
Atlantic City 1948	22.6
Some earlier meeting	35.1

BUT WHAT NEXT?

We could now put together the imaginary "typical" attendee but we need to know something more important in our evaluation of Annual Meetings. We need to know how he thinks and reacts toward the various meetings and sessions, we need answers to such questions as:

Do you approve of the choice of topics for discussion? of speakers? of discussants? of panel participants? Which topics attracted large attendance? Did the group participate actively in the discussion?

These and many other questions would form a framework for a more complete evaluation. Let's learn more in '54!

Evaluation of 1954 Annual Forum – Operation QM.

by Merriss Cornell and Harold DeRolph

Editor's Note:

The second step in the evaluation of Annual Forums was taken in Atlantic City, following the analysis made in 1953 of the people who attended the forum in Cleveland. This second study is an attempt to answer some of the questions which developed out of that evaluation, specifically why persons attend certain meetings and how they evaluate these meetings.

Many individuals contributed to conducting this study. Credit is due particularly to Mrs. Sophia M. Robison, New York School of Social Work, Mrs. Elizabeth Herzog, Research Consultant Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Edward B. Olds, Adult Education Association of America, who set up the method for the study and formulated the questionnaire. The results were tabulated and summarized at the School of Social Administration, Ohio State University. The following article was prepared and written by Dr. Merriss Cornell, research professor, and Harold DeRolph, graduate assistant, who prepared tables of the tabulations for the program committee for use in their preparation for the 1955 Annual Forum.

Plans are being made to continue this study in San Francisco, the Conference believing that we need more information on what attenders want on the program of the various meetings they attend. Evaluation studies will be a continuous part of the Conference activity.

The questionnaires were distributed among the attenders at the four Common Service Committee meetings on Monday at 4 p. m. and the 20 Section meetings on Wednesday at 11:15 a. m. A total of 2389 completed questionnaires were received for the two days. The Wednesday meetings had the higher attendance as well as the larger percentage of questionnaires returned:

	Estimated Attendance	Questionnaires Number	Per cent
Monday	1450	601	41.4
Wednesday	2545	1788	70.3

More confidence can be placed upon the evaluations for the Wednesday meeting because of the 70 per cent returns. Possibly the late afternoon hour of the Monday meeting caused attenders to hurry out to other activities.

WHO ATTENDS?

In answering this question we must keep in mind that our information is based on questionnaires filled out by attenders of meetings on two days, not the total registrants. About one person in six attended both the Monday and Wednesday sessions.

SPECIALTY—The line-up of specialties is about the same as it was in 1953. The child welfare specialty leads with 20.4 per cent as compared with 22.4 per cent, the previous year. If we add up the specialties concerned with services to individuals and families we find that more than two-thirds are in this broader class. The following percentages are based on the 2309 persons reporting that they are employed in social work:

	Per cent
Child welfare	20.4
Family welfare	13.8
Medical social work	11.4
Psychiatric social work	11.1
Group work and recreation	10.5
Community organization	9.2
Public assistance	8.5
School social work	2.0
Public relations	1.8
Research	1.4
All other	9.7

POSITION—The administrators still lead among attenders but they dropped from 36.8 per cent at Cleveland to 31.5 at Atlantic City. This reduction may indicate that the administrators were out recruiting personnel rather than attending one of the meetings. The percentages are based on 2302 attenders reporting specialty:

	Per cent
Administrator	31.5
Practitioner	30.7
Supervisor	19.8
Consultant	7.3
Teacher	3.7
Other	7.0

AGENCY AUSPICES—The distribution here is almost identical to the report for the previous year. In this report we show a more detailed tabulation of the percentage of social workers employed in sectarian agencies:

Voluntary — non-sectarian		42.9
Voluntary — sectarian		18.8
Protestant	9.6	
Jewish	5.0	
Catholic	4.2	
Governmental		34.4
Other		3.9

GEOGRAPHIC LEVEL OF OPERATION — The Annual Forum can well be pleased that nearly two-thirds of the attenders represent agencies operating on the neighborhood or local level. These attenders not only represent the largest group, 63.4 per cent, but also show an increase from 56.9 per cent for the 1953 Forum. The detailed percentages by level of operation are as follows:

	Per cent
Neighborhood (within a city)	11.1
Local (city or county)	52.3
District (within a state)	9.6
State	13.4
Regional	4.9
National	6.3
International	2.4

WHY CHOOSE THIS MEETING?

The key item in this study gave the attenders an opportunity to choose two reasons from a list of twelve statements. The percentages in the chart below are based on 2389 attenders, but each took their two choices. In any such selection it is difficult to determine how much the choices are affected by the order of the statement. One factor which seems to indicate that the attenders were discriminating, is that the reason checked most frequently was tenth in the list.

Reason	Per cent
To get some background or knowledge about a field which is not my specialty but which I'd like to be informed on	61.3
For my own continuing professional education	43.7
To keep in touch with modern thought in my own field of interest	40.3
To get specific help or answers to problems I am facing on my job	22.2
To see and hear a particular speaker—for example, a colorful or controversial figure, an outstanding leader, a gifted orator	12.9
To hear a controversial issue discussed, so that I can check my attitudes and make some analysis of the pro's and con's	8.8
I am expected to report back to my own agency on this particular meeting	3.7
All other reasons	7.1

More than three out of every five attenders chose a particular meeting to learn about a field other than their own. This general educational theme is carried on into all the leading choices — to continue learning — to keep in touch — to get answers. The more specific reasons, related to specific problems—to a particular speaker—to a controversial issue—are left to the lower choices. The surprise to the Program Committee is the small per cent checking—"I am expected to report back to my own agency . . . ."

This pattern of reasons for choice of meeting was consistent through all 24 meetings on both Monday and Wednesday. In 18 out of 24 meetings (three-fourths) the same first reason was picked. All other leading reasons would vary only one or two places.

HOW WERE THE MEETINGS RATED?

By circling the appropriate answer, each attender was asked to rate the individual meeting on the following scale: EXCELLENT;—GOOD;—AVERAGE;—BELOW AVERAGE;—POOR.

Each meeting was rated first, on an over-all basis; second, on physical arrangements; third, on audibility of speakers; and fourth, on competence of speakers. For obvious reasons, individual meetings are not identified. Ratings will be given for the following classes of meetings:

	Number of meetings
Monday, 4:00 P.M.	
Common Service Committee Meetings	4
Wednesday, 11:15 A.M.	
Section I—Services to Individuals and Families	12
Section II—Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups	5
Section III—Services to Agencies and Communities	3

In order to simplify, only the rating *most frequently* given for each meeting will be reported. In practically all cases it will represent the rating of from one-third to two-thirds of the attenders.

OVER-ALL RATING—These ratings are generally high for all 24 meetings. The Section I Meetings — received the highest set of ratings:

Classes of meetings	Meetings with rating of Excellent	Good
Common services		4
Section I	6	6
Section II	1	4
Section III	1	2
All 24 meetings	8	16

PHYSICAL ARRANGEMENTS—Much dissatisfaction is indicated with such things as ventilation, noise, acoustics, and seating comfort. In one meeting more poor ratings were given than any of the higher ratings.

Classes of meetings	Meetings with rating of Excellent	Good	Average	Poor
Common services		2	2	
Section I	2	8	1	1
Section II		1	4	
Section III		2	1	
All 24 meetings	2	13	8	1

Two critical comments that appeared many times were the discomfort from heavy smoking and the noise made by late-comers. One attender puts it—"Why not close the door on late-comers? Symphony orchestras do it!"

AUDIBILITY OF SPEAKERS — Few meetings were criticized because of difficulty in hearing the speakers. However, one attender suggested the use of a portable microphone for questions from the floor.

Classes of meetings	Meetings with rating of Excellent	Good	Average
Common services		4	
Section I	9	2	1
Section II	4	1	
Section III	2		1
All 24 meetings	15	7	2

COMPETENCE OF SPEAKERS — The Program Committee was pleased with the consistently high ratings of the speakers. Many attenders lamented the fact that attendance at such an excellent meeting should be so poor. Some negative criticisms indicated material was too technical or that a good paper was spoiled by poor delivery.

Classes of meetings	Meetings with rating of Excellent	Good
Common services	1	3
Section I	10	2
Section II	4	1
Section III	1	2
All 24 meetings	16	8

TIME ALLOCATION — For this rating the attenders were asked to check: — TOO MUCH; — ENOUGH; — TOO LITTLE.

The time for speakers, discussants, and discussion from the floor was rated. The following percentages summarize the attenders reports for all 24 meetings:

	Percent rating		
	Too much	Enough	Too little
Speakers	10.5	82.3	7.2
Discussants	21.5	70.4	8.1
Floor discussion	2.4	52.2	45.5

Here we have three important recommendations in planning future meetings:

1. For speakers the time allocation appears to be satisfactory. Only a slightly higher per cent of the attenders said "too much" rather than "too little."
2. The attenders lean toward the opinion that too much time is allocated for discussants. One person said papers were excellent and no discussants were needed. Others felt that discussants should discuss, not present a paper of their own.
3. For floor discussion, nearly one-half of the attenders agree that too little time is given. No single reason for this stands out. Some reported that too many papers were presented which left no time for discussion, or that the presiding officer consumed too much time. At one meeting, many people felt that the material presented was of a controversial nature which should have been resolved through discussion.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION — The attenders were asked—"Would some other form of organization have been preferable for this meeting?" Nearly all attenders at the 24 meetings agreed that the form was satisfactory. A few said that they would prefer the form of panel used on TV, with short presentations and more time for discussion among the panel and from the audience. The following percentages are based on 1950 attenders who answered the above question:

	Per cent
Yes — some other form	13.8
No — OK as it is	86.2

KIND OF SUBJECT—The last question asked was — "Does the subject of this meeting represent the kind of subject you want to hear discussed in Annual Forum sessions?" The 2167 attenders who answered this question were almost unanimous in their approval of the subject discussed:

	Per cent
Yes — approve	97.8
No — disapprove	2.2

Of course the attenders, in most all cases, had chosen the particular meeting because of its subject. Only a few said that a friend had persuaded them to come, or that they could not get to the meeting of their first choice for some reason or another.

To Conclude—The Attendees at the Annual Forum:

- Represent all areas of social work practice with the largest numbers in the family and child welfare specialties.
- Come to learn what's new in all fields of social work.
- Like the subjects chosen for discussion.
- Give high ratings to most all speakers.
- Complain about delivery of some speakers, heavy smoking in small rooms, and noise made by late comers.
- Would like more time to discuss the issues themselves.
- Think the TV type panel might be used to advantage to bring out more discussion.

Agenda
May 30, 1955

PROGRAM COMMITTEE - MEMORANDUM NO. 2

Statement on Basic Problems and Issues

At its meeting on May 29, 1955, the Executive Committee discussed the preparation of a list of basic problems and issues needing forum treatment. It was agreed that the questions on the list which had been prepared last year for the 1955 Program Committee were of continuing concern and should be brought to the attention of the 1956 Program Committee for consideration. The items are:

1. Gaining public understanding of the basic character of social welfare services in our social order; achieving wider public appreciation of the total constellation of welfare services in the nation.

2. How can we have a planned approach to meeting social need together with the preservation of voluntary citizen initiative and of the rights of specialized interest groups?

3. How can we assure that social welfare services receive the maximum benefit from citizen participation and from the contribution of the expert?

4. Creative social planning in relation to the changing character of our population, family structure and communities. Social workers are in an excellent position to have a responsibility to know what is going on in relation to these changes and what the needs are and to interpret these changes. How can agencies meet the need for flexibility and adaptation? What are the implications in terms of decentralization of administration within the community, from one level of government to another (Federal-State), etc.?

5. Need for a dynamic restatement of government's responsibility for the welfare of the people. Need for a strategy of statesmanship in relating to other groups concerned with the same social ends -- housing, education, etc. How to stimulate social workers to recognize this?

6. Recruitment for the field. How to make the most effective use of available personnel.

7. The pursuit of the broad social objective of serving people involves both a concern for refining and improving our practice and relating ourselves to the larger social concerns of this period. How can we answer this challenge and fulfill these inseparable obligations?

8. Problems of support and financing.

In addition, the Executive Committee wishes to call the following points to the attention of the 1956 Program Committee for special consideration for the 1956 program:

1. It would be desirable to have a positive approach throughout the program with some assessment of accomplishment. One possibility would be to have the keynote speech along these lines.

2. Since the members appear to favor changing the name of the organization to National Conference on Social Welfare, the implications of this change should be reflected in the program. Such a change would indicate that there should be considerable emphasis on broad social issues.

3. The perennial question of the emphasis in the program on broad social problems and issues and on strengthening methods and techniques is not and "either/or" question. The important thing is to see that the program represents a balance between the two and does not go too far in either direction.

4. There are a number of timely problems which should be receiving greater attention from the social welfare field, or the field will lose them entirely. They are such things as: the chronically ill, vocational rehabilitation, corrections (probation, parole, protective services), administration of social services. It would be desirable to give special attention to some or all of them at the 1956 Annual Forum.

5. A stock-taking of social work in rural areas is needed, as this whole subject has been neglected in recent years.

6. The implications of suburban life for family should be analyzed and assessed. This is broader than the question of providing services for new communities and involves consideration of the problems created by the increasingly general pattern of the father working in one community and living in another.

7. Consideration of freedom and responsibility in a democratic society. It might be helpful to have a thoughtful analysis of this as there seems to be a good deal of confusion about the relationship between the two doctrines.

Note: No attempt has been made to list the points above in any priority order.

June 20, 1955

Mr. Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary
National Conference of Social Work
22 West Gay Street
Columbus 15, Ohio

Dear Mr. Hoffer:

Mighty kind of you to send the big check.

I had a grand time, and I am extremely grateful to you and all the others.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone ADams 5772

June 17, 1955

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Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JUN 20 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing our check for $322.29 for your expenses to San Francisco.

May I say again how happy we were that you were able to accept our invitation and the masterful way you presented a very difficult subject. I think we owe you a special debt of gratitude for getting our Annual Forum back on the rails after our disappointment due to the absence of Mrs. Hobby on Sunday night.

Our Editorial Committee has selected your manuscript for inclusion in the official proceedings and I will send you a copy as soon as it comes from the printers.

Thanks again and I hope our paths will cross again in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Joe R. Hoffer

Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary

jrh:mb

July 5, 1955.

Rev. Joseph Frankel
128 - 12th Avenue NO.
Seattle 2, Washington

Dear Mr. Frankel:

Dr. Mitchell, who has been out of the office a good deal, has asked me to acknowledge your good letter of June 28 and to send you the enclosed copy of his speech before the National Conference of Social Work. ?

I think you might also be interested in the list of the Council's various publications, also enclosed.

We are interested to learn of your study of faculty integration in Seattle. If it is published, we hope you will send us a copy.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

Encs2.

Rev. Joseph Frankel
CANTOR - MINISTER
128 - 12TH AVENUE NO.
SEATTLE 2, WASH.

HCF to Sec'y & GSR

June 28, 1955

JUN 30 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Sir:

I have heard what a wonderful talk you gave at the National Conference of Social Work, on "Segregation, Desegregation and Integration," on May 29th. May I ask you to send me a copy of this fine talk?

attached card

At present, I am engaged in research on a Master Thesis with the title "Seattle Public Schools Contribution to the Integration of its Minority Teaching Personnel." I am sure that I can get worthwhile information from your talk, and insight into the work of other communities.

Thanks for your cooperation in this matter.

Respectfully yours,
Joseph Frankel

August 4, 1955

Dictated August 1

Miss Ada B. Huncke
Public Relations Representative
Illinois Public Aid Commission
Room 2000, 160 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Miss Huncke:

You were just as kind as could be to send the slide. I took it right home to my wife, who says that it is very nice, and she is delighted.

Loula Dunn is my old friend, and I am delighted to be at her side at the National Conference of Social Work in San Francisco.

Come down to Atlanta and come to see the Mitchells, and the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

STATE OF ILLINOIS

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ROOM 2000 – 160 NORTH LA SALLE STREET

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July 22, 1955

JUL 25 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

During the recent National Conference of Social Work held in San Francisco, I took a colored slide of you with Miss Loula Dunn - a copy of which I am enclosing. I am sending it with my compliments and as a memento of the good company you were in at the Conference.

Should you have use for a copy of the slide itself, I will be most pleased to have one made for you.

Very cordially yours

Ada B. Huncke

(Miss) Ada B. Huncke
Public Relations Representative

ABH:IC

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

22 WEST GAY STREET • COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
and
345 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Memorandum To: Section III

From: Ruth M. Williams, Assistant Executive Secretary

Subject: Abstract of Paper

AUG 29 1955

August 10, 1955

On page 9 of the Handbook for Section and Common Service Committee members sent you earlier you will find a brief description of the plan by which interested individuals can submit abstracts of papers they would like to have considered for presentation on the program of the Annual Forum. This plan is described in greater detail on the enclosed sheet.

Also enclosed is an abstract which has been received in our office. In submitting it Mr. Murase said the ideas for this paper developed from his preparation for, and experience from, a Fulbright assignment to Japan (1952-53), and from subsequent study in connection with teaching responsibility for a seminar in international social work at the school. He also indicated that:

1. A full text of the paper would be available in advance if requested;

2. The final text would be ready in April, 1956, if the paper were selected for the program;

3. He could be in St. Louis to deliver the paper in person.

Since it appears from the abstract that this paper might be of interest to any of the Sections, copies are being sent to the members of Sections I, II and III. You will undoubtedly be hearing from Miss Gifford about it.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Abstract of Some Considerations From International Social Work

Submitted by: Kenneth Murase, Graduate School of Social Work,
University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington.

American social workers have contributed generously to international social welfare through participation in programs of technical assistance. In our concern, however, to be giving of our social work knowledge and skills, are we overlooking ideas and experiences that we may take from foreign countries to enrich our own social welfare programs, practice and training?

Social Welfare Programs

If our public social services continue to expand, much can be learned from countries where public programs are advanced. For example, we may learn:

(1) how, under programs of broad social security measures, the individual is protected from the depersonalizing impact of state welfare services (e.g. Australia);

(2) how social services, including family and health services, are integrated into a social insurance program (Brazil);

(3) how public programs and trade unions jointly administer services such as nurseries, kindergartens, children's theaters, summer camps and clinics (Poland); and

(4) how industries, where public programs are lacking, assume responsibility for health and welfare services (France).

Social Work Practice

As problems of basic human needs throughout the world are being met increasingly through social planning, what is the role of the social worker? Are there implications for practice in such developments:

(1) Skills from all three processes of casework, group work and community organization are utilized by multi-purpose social workers in community centers in many countries (e.g., Egypt).

(2) In community development programs, social workers coordinate their activities with those of nurses, mid-wives, nutritionists, teachers, etc., (India). Can we develop similar skills in the multi-discipline approach to community problems as well as to individual problems?

Social Work Education

The wide diversity of curriculum patterns of social work education in other countries may suggest certain adaptations:

(1) Students are rigorously trained to use social science tools for insight into the cultural, political, social and economic sources of social problems (e.g., Switizerland). In Columbia, the thesis is based upon an experiment that is not only new but also needed in the community. How can we identify and use more effectively appropriate materials from the social sciences to strengthen the scientific base of social work practice in this country?

(2) Social workers in other countries take an active role in the development of social policy. What can we learn from these countries about training for leadership?

5/1/55

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Plan for Submitting Abstracts of Paper

Despite every effort of National Conference Program Committees to secure as speakers at the Annual Forum not only the acknowledged leaders in the field but also qualified people who may not yet have achieved national recognition, it is inevitable that many with genuine and important contributions to make have been overlooked.

In an effort to remedy this situation and to extend participation in the Annual Forum programs as widely as possible, the Conference Executive Committee has approved a plan of "talent scouting." It goes without saying that there is a great deal of fine experimental work going on in local and state communities throughout the country. Because the purpose of the National Conference is to provide a democratic forum in which all diverse points of view may be heard, and in which all advances of professional knowledge may be shared, the Conference urges that individuals and organizations cast aside their traditional cloaks of modesty and make their experiences available to the field as a whole.

The procedure to be followed is this:

1. Any individual in the field of health and welfare, or in a related field, who believes that he or his organization has a contribution to make is asked to submit to the National Office of the Conference an abstract of not more than 300 words summarizing the proposed paper.

2. This abstract should be accompanied by:

   a. an assurance that a full text of the paper will be available for consideration in advance if requested;

   b. an assurance that a final text of the paper will be ready by April, 1956, if it is to be on the program;

   c. a statement as to whether or not the author could, if invited, be in St. Louis to deliver the paper in person.

3. To receive consideration for the 1956 Annual Forum, abstracts must reach the Conference office by October 1, 1955. Abstracts received after that date will be held over for the 1957 Program Committee.

4. All abstracts received will be forwarded to the appropriate Section or Committee for consideration along with other program suggestions. They will also be sent to the appropriate Associate Group when the subject matter falls within the range of interest of an organization. Any papers accepted for inclusion on the program will be scattered through the regular sessions, indistinguishable from those which have been written at the explicit request of the Section or Committee.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone CApital 4-5772

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September 29, 1955

Staff - for info + action if needed
OCT 1 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am very glad to inform you that the paper you presented at the 82nd Annual Forum of the National Conference of Social Work was selected for inclusion in the volume "Minority Groups: Segregation and Integration" published by Columbia University Press.

We hope this will be available in November. You will hear directly from Columbia University Press at a later date about the availability of reprints.

An exception is being made this year and your paper will appear in this volume as well as in the "Social Welfare Forum".

Let me say again that the Conference appreciates your fine contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Joe R. Hoffer

jrh:mb

Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

22 WEST GAY STREET • COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
and
345 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Memorandum to: Section III

From: Ruth M. Williams, Assistant Executive Secretary

Subject: Abstract of Paper

October 10, 1955

Enclosed is another abstract of a paper which has been submitted for consideration for the program of the 1956 Annual Forum.

In his letter accompanying the abstract Mr. Steneck indicated that:

1. A full text of the paper would be available in advance if requested.

2. A final text will be completed by April, 1956, if the paper is selected for the program.

3. He would be able to be in St. Louis to deliver the paper in person.

This memorandum is being sent to all members of Section III.

National Conference of Social Work

Abstract of A Method of Psychiatric Consultation with Community Agencies: A Progress Report

Submitted by: Jack Steneck, M. S. W., Barbara J. West, M. S. W., Nyla J. Cole, M. D., and Leonard H. Taboroff, M. D., from the Departments of Psychiatry and Pediatrics and The Utah Child Guidance Center, University of Utah College of Medicine, Salt Lake City, Utah

How can one relatively small Child Guidance Center meet the ever increasing demands of community and state agencies for Psychiatric services?

The Utah Child Guidance Center has been faced with this problem since its inception in 1949. Due to economic pressures, the number of professional staff has remained relatively unchanged in the face of increased referrals for diagnosis and treatment with the popularization of psychiatry. Many of these referrals were either inadequately prepared for psychiatric service or else could have been handled by the referral source itself or by other community agencies.

We have devised a somewhat unique method by which agencies are offered regularly scheduled psychiatric consultation on an "in-unit" basis, with follow-up consultation by the psychiatric social work staff. This paper will describe in detail our experiences and progress to date.

September 19, 1955

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

22 WEST GAY STREET • COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
and
345 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Memorandum to: Section III

From: Ruth M. Williams, Asst. Executive Secretary

Subject: Section Chairmanship

OCT 15 1955

October 10, 1955

Miss Selene Gifford has found it necessary to resign as Chairman of Section III for the 1956 Annual Forum. Mr. Daniel Elliott, Associate Executive Secretary of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, who has been the Vice-Chairman, is now the Chairman.

You will undoubtedly be hearing directly from Mr. Elliott in the near future concerning plans for carrying on the work of the Section.

N.C.S.W.

THE WELFARE FEDERATION of CLEVELAND

1001 HURON ROAD • SUperior 1-2944 • CLEVELAND 15, OHIO

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R. P. OVERMYER, *Director of Public Relations*

October 12, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE,
Atlanta, Georgia.

OCT 15 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was with extreme regret that we learned of Selene Gifford's resignation as Chairman of Section 3 -- Services to Agencies and Communities, of the National Conference of Social Work. As Vice Chairman of this section, I was drafted to take her place, and I hope I can do only half as good a job as she would do. We are fortunate in that she is going to remain a member of our Section.

As I understand our assignment, it is to plan for four different Section meetings, two to be held on Monday of the conference, one on Wednesday, and one on Friday. We will have to relate the planning of these meetings to the programs of the various conference committees and associate groups, and to decide whether or not we wish to sponsor joint meetings with any committees or groups. I now have, in my possession, the conference programs for the past three years, together with conference program suggestions which have been received for our section for the past three years, program suggestions which have been received from the social research group which relate to our Section, the report of the Committee on Combined Associate Group Meetings, and the suggestions which were made for our Section at the Conference Program Committee meeting held last week.

It is admittedly quite an assignment to fit all of these things together, particularly within the framework of the total Conference program.

I think it would be highly important to have at least one meeting of our Section, but I am fearful of not being able to do this because of the wide geographical spread of our committee membership.

However, I would like to explore this matter further with you and the other members of the Committee. I would appreciate it therefore, if you could return the enclosed card to me at your earliest convenience indicating whether or not you could attend a Section meeting to be held on Friday, November 11, 1955.

If it turns out that enough members of the group could meet on that date, we would hold it then, and if not, we would have to set up a procedure to handle the assignment by correspondence.

October 12, 1955

I know that you have received some material from the conference office which may or may not make it clear as to what our assignment is. I therefore would plan to cover this in an all-day meeting, if we have one. If not, we would have to work out some plan of doing it by correspondence.

I am very happy that you are a member of our Section, and I hope that you will bear with me in carrying out our assignment. Thanks a lot.

Cordially yours,

Daniel R. Elliott

Daniel R. Elliott,
Associate Director

DRE/bb

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

22 WEST GAY STREET • COLUMBUS 15, OHIO

Memorandum to: Section III

From: Ruth M. Williams, Assistant Executive Secretary

Subject: Abstract of Paper

OCT 19 1955

October 14, 1955

Enclosed is an abstract which has been received in the Conference office for consideration as a part of the program of the St. Louis Annual Forum.

In his letter accompanying the abstract, Mr. Woolf said that the full text of his paper would be available by April, 1956, and that he could, if invited, deliver the paper in person.

This memorandum is being sent to all members of Section III.

National Conference of Social Work

Abstract of The Interplay of Constructive-Minded Professional and Non-Professional Citizens in Laying the Groundwork for a Youth Bureau in a City of 75,000

Submitted by: Paul J. Woolf, Executive Director, Family Service Association, Mt. Vernont, N. Y.; Chairman, Sub-Committee #2 of the Mayor's (Mt. Vernon) Committee on the Needs of Youth; Chairman, Mental Hygiene Committee, Community Welfare Council, Mt. Vernon, New York

How often have we heard someone excuse himself from action by asking "What can one person do about it?" This paper tries to answer that question, giving a detailed account of what went on in the community, together with an analysis of factors favoring and militating against the success of such interplay.

The stimulus was a fire started in a High School by some children. Spontaneous and immediate use of community resentment was the opportunity for a constructive act: the formation of the Mayor's City-wide Committee to Combat Juvenile Delinquency. Later constructively revised as the Mayor's Needs of Youth Committee.

Construction of the Mayor's Committee, and the subcommittees. Method of running the subcommittees, with special emphasis on the one assigned to evaluate current resources and to make recommendations as to how to supplement these.

Mutual education by committee members. Reading assignment. Frequency of meetings. Interviews with key people in Youth agencies: Board of Education, Children's Court, Juvenile Aid Bureau, SPCC. Use of GAP Questionnaire, and of research by the Leisure Time Committee of the Community Welfare Council. Collaboration with the Mental Hygiene Committee of the Welfare Council, including some joint meetings.

Reports of the subcommittee to the Mayor's Executive Committee. The major final recommendation set forth in the final report was suggested in the first report, but subsequent time was spent evaluating existing facilities, matching these against needs, evaluating alternative plans, building up respect for the committee in the Executive Committee, in the community. Working with the State Youth Commission.

Presentation of the final report to the Executive Committee, and by the latter to the Mayor. Problems of timing, and of politics. Preparation for meeting with the Chairman of the Health and Welfare Committee of the Common Council. Final outcome.

Lesson to be learned: While most people cannot do much alone, in collaboration with other construtive-minded citizens, working as a team, each contributing his own particular skills, several individuals can achieve a great deal.

September 29, 1955

Natl. Conference

Mr. Joe R. Hoffer,
National Conference of Social Work,
22 West Gay Street,
Columbus 15,
OHIO.

December 19th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Hoffer,

I will be most grateful for the fine free copy of the "Social Welfare Forum", with the S.F. speechlet all in print. Christmas mails have got the book, but she'll come along.

Appreciatively yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
22 WEST GAY STREET, COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
Telephone CApital 4-5772

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December 15, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 19 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, U. L.
63 Augurn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have asked Columbia University Press to send you a complimentary copy of the "Social Welfare Forum" the official proceedings of the 82nd Annual Forum held in San Francisco during May, 1955.

May I say again how grateful we are for the contribution which you made at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Joe R Hoffer

Joe R. Hoffer
Executive Secretary

jrh:lh

P. O. Box 276
New Orleans 9, Louisiana
August 1, 1956

To: Members of Committee of Section III
Program Committee of National Conference

From: Lillie H. Nairne, Chairman

I have compiled the reports about the convenient dates for a meeting.

The consensus of opinion is that the meeting of the Program Committee will be held in New Orleans on Friday, September 21, 1956, at 3:00 p.m., 700 Lafayette Street, Welfare Department Board Room.

The National Conference cannot pay expenses for anyone to come to this meeting. If you happen to be in New Orleans, I sincerely hope you can plan to come to the meeting.

If you cannot come to the meeting, will you please send me comments because the discussion will be on those subjects which the Committee wants me to present to the National Program Committee for approval for the conference.

LHN:CS

RECEIVED OCT 19 1956

P. O. Box 276
New Orleans 9, La.
October 17, 1956

To: Committee Members, Section III

From: Lillie H. Nairne, Chairman
Section III, Program Committee, NCSW

Re: Abstracts Received from Rilma Buckman, Gertrude Binder and Sylvan S. Furman

I noted on my return to the office that abstracts from the above named persons have been sent to all members of the Committee.

I have received a comment from Mr. Pettit in regard to the one from Gertrude Binder.

I have reviewed the abstracts of these people. My personal opinion is that the ones from Gertrude Binder and from Sylvan Furman would not be of general interest and I question whether there would be an audience sufficient to giving the time for these subjects.

I have not arrived at any decision in regard to the abstract from Miss Buckman. Perhaps the content of her paper is not within my area of competency and I hesitate about making any decision as to whether we could use Miss Buckman for one of the meetings, have her give the abstract of her paper and then open the meeting for discussion. I do not know whether this discussion would lead to problems of community organization in small communities for we do not have a meeting scheduled for this group, or whether you think this subject would be of interest to the attendance of people at the Conference. I am asking for your help in evaluating Miss Buckman's paper.

May I hear from you as soon as possible because if you believe that it is advisable to accept her offer, we do have to begin to make immediate plans. I shall abide by your decisions.

LHN:CS

RECEIVED OCT 2 2 1956

Nairne (?).

P. O. Box 276
New Orleans 9, La.
October 18, 1956

To: Committee Members, Section III

From: Lillie H. Nairne, Chairman
Section III, Program Committee, NCSW

I have just received a copy of the abstract regarding Co-ordinating Councils and of the letter from Mr. Pennock. I have been informed by Miss Ruth Williams, Assistant Executive Secretary of the National Conference on Social Welfare, that each member of the Committee has received a copy of this material.

Will you please advise me of your thinking on this matter.

LHN:CS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

22 WEST GAY STREET • COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
and
345 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Memorandum To: Section III

From: Ruth M. Williams, Asst. Exec. Sec'y.

Subject: Abstract of Paper

RECEIVED NOV 9 1956

November 2, 1956

Enclosed is an abstract received by the Conference for consideration for the program of the 1957 Annual Forum.

In his letter accompanying the abstract Mr. Austin said that the paper was prepared as the initial lecture in the second-year course on community organization at the Boston University School of Social Work. He also indicated that:

1. A copy of the complete text can be provided in advance, if requested;

2. He expects to be in Philadelphia and would be able to present the paper in person if it were selected for the program.

Copies of this memorandum and the abstract are being sent to all members of Section III.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

Abstract of Community Organization is Social Work Process

Submitted by: David M. Austin, Chairman, Eastern Massachusetts Chapter, NASW, 43 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

Social work is a service profession. Historically social work has developed three major service areas.

1. Service to individuals
2. Service to groups
3. Service to communities

In each area there is a problem, a client, and a professional worker. Communities have problems when a large number of individuals have similar problems. A community can be considered as a client with a developing awareness of a problem and requesting help. The professional social worker serves the client community through the inter-group.

Community organization has often been identified with a series of supportive activities such as fund-raising, research, etc. These activities are part of the work of a community welfare agency but are not basic community organization service.

Community organization service involves three major stages. First, analysis and diagnosis; second, development of a plan of action; third, carrying out the plan of action.

The basic skill of the social worker is a skill in human relationships. This can be used in a one-to-one situation, in a one-to-group situation or in a worker and inter-group situation. The community organization worker uses the worker and inter-group situation primarily but he also operates in the other two situations. The community organization worker uses the generic skills common to all of social work plus special knowledge required by the agency setting.

September 21, 1956

February 22, 1965

Miss Ethlyn Christensen
Chairman - Section VI
National Conference on Social
Welfare
Young Women Christian Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Christensen:

Thank you for your call and your letter of February 15. I look forward to being with you on May 24 in Atlantic City. I see no reason why I could not stay for the afternoon session.

I believe you said that Mr. Taylor would send me a copy of his paper in advance.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: William L. Taylor

Rec'd 2/16/65

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10022
212 PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

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General Secretary

February 15, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This will confirm our telephone conversation and tell you how delighted we are that you can participate in a session of our section in the National Conference on Social Welfare. Section VI in the Conference deals with Methods of Social Action and in six sessions during the week, May 23 to May 28, issues of concern to social welfare leaders will be discussed.

The first session of our Section will be Monday morning, May 24, 11:15 - 12:45. The general title for the session is Civil Rights and Civil Disobedience. Mr. William L. Taylor, General Counsel for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will speak on the subject "An Appraisal of the Strategies of Protest." He will have thirty minutes for his presentation after which we would like to have you, in the role of discussant, take twenty minutes to make comments, highlighting certain points, raising questions and helping sharpen the issues as a basis for a general discussion during the last thirty minutes of the session when participants will have an opportunity to ask questions.

Monday afternoon from 2:00 - 3:30 the second session is scheduled. The general subject is "Implementing Civil Rights Laws: Legal Enforcement and Voluntary Compliance." Mr. Taylor and Mr. Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP will be speakers in this session, Mr. Taylor dealing primarily with responsibilities for legal enforcement and Mr. Mitchell with voluntary aspects of enforcement, also indicating areas where further legislation is needed. There will be thirty minutes following their presentations for discussion and questions from the floor. We would like very much to have you in this afternoon session, serving as an additional resource during the discussion and question period.

The Conference will be held in Atlantic City. I do not yet have information about where our sessions will be held so will have to

YWCA ®

send this information later. We appreciate so much your willingness to participate in these important sessions and look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Ethlyn Christensen

Ethlyn Christensen, Chairman
Section VI
National Conference on Social Welfare

EC/eq

P.S. We will take care of your travel and living expenses and I will make a reservation for you at one of the Conference hotels for the night of May 23.

COPY

February 15, 1965

Mr. William L. Taylor
General Counsel
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

This will confirm the conversation I had with you in your office and tell you how gratifying it is to know that you will speak in two of our section sessions in the National Conference on Social Welfare.

The first session Monday morning, May 24, 11:15 to 12:45 has been given the general title Civil Rights and Civil Disobedience. In the preliminary program the subject for your paper has been listed as "An Appraisal of the Strategies of Protest." If you decide on a different title as you develop your talk, we can substitute it in the final printed program. If your paper were ready by the first week in May it would give Mr. Dunbar an opportunity to read it and prepare his remarks as a discussant.

The second session, Monday afternoon, May 24, 2:00 to 3:30 focuses on "Implementing Civil Rights Laws: Legal Enforcement and Voluntary Compliance." We would like to have you deal with enforcement under the law - what the law requires and the government methods and resources for securing compliance. We have asked Clarence Mitchell to deal with ways of securing voluntary compliance and the role of voluntary agencies and organizations in helping to implement the law along with securing additional legislation where needed. We are suggesting that each of you take twenty-five minutes for your presentations, leaving thirty minutes for questions from the floor.

I am enclosing copies of the letters I have sent to Leslie Dunbar and Clarence Mitchell about these two sessions.

We appreciate so much your cooperation and the kind of leadership you are giving in the Civil Rights Commission.

Sincerely,

Ethlyn Christensen, Chairman
Section VI
National Conference on Social Welfare

EC/eq
Encs.

COPY

February 15, 1965

Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director
Washington Bureau
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will confirm our telephone conversarion and tell you how delighted we are that you can participate in a session of our section in the National Conference on Social Welfare. Section VI in the Conference deals with Methods of Social Action and in six sessions during the week, May 23 to May 28, issues of concern to social welfare leaders will be discussed.

The first session of our Section will be Monday morning, May 24, 11:15-12:45. The general title for the session is Civil Rights and Civil Disobedience. Mr. William L. Taylor, General Counsel for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, will speak on the subject "An Appraisal of the Strategies of Protest." Following his presentation, Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council will respond as a discussant. There will be thirty minutes at the end of the session for questions from the floor.

Monday afternoon, May 24, from 2:00 - 3:30 the second session is scheduled. The general subject is "Implementing Civil Rights Laws: Legal Enforcement and Voluntary Compliance." It is in this session in which you and Mr. Taylor will be speakers, Mr. Taylor dealing primarily with responsibilities for legal enforcement and you with the voluntary compliance aspects, also indicating areas where further legislation is needed. In order to have thirty minutes following your presentations for discussion and questions from the floor we are asking that you and Mr. Taylor each take twenty-five minutes for your presentations. It always helps if our speakers have prepared papers. I am aware of the difficulty of finding time to write a paper, but if it is at all possible we would be grateful because we use these after the Conference as resource material in many useful ways.

I have asked Mr. Dunbar to stay for the afternoon session and participate as a resource in the question period. It would be very good if you could be with us in the Monday morning session, 11:15 to 12:45 to serve as a resource in a similar way.

The Conference will be held in Atlantic City. I do not yet have information about where our sessions will be held so will have to send this information later. We appreciate so much your willingness to participate in these important sessions and look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Ethlyn Christensen, Chairman
Section VI
National Conference on Social Welfare

EC/eq

SECTION VI - METHODS OF SOCIAL ACTION
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE, MAY 23-28
Schedule of Sessions

Monday, May 24

11:15-12:45 A.M. - Civil Rights - An Appraisal of the Strategy of Protest
Chairman - Paul Mendenhall, AFL-CIO Liaison Staff with UCFCA
Speaker - Mr. William L. Taylor, Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Discussant - Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

2:00-3:30 P.M. - Implementing Civil Rights Laws - Legal Enforcement and Voluntary Compliance
Chairman - James Brindle, President, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York
Speakers - Mr. William L. Taylor, Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau of the NAACP

4:00-5:30 P.M. - Lindeman Lecture - Is There a Moral Right to Violate the Law
Chairman - Miriam Ephraim, National Jewish Welfare Board
Speaker - John de J. Pemberton, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union

Wednesday, May 26

9:00-10:45 A.M. - Community Action Programs - Methods of Participant Involvement

Group I
Chairman - Mitchell Ginsberg, Associate Dean, Columbia University School of Social Work
Speaker - Stephen Plumer, Assistant Professor, School of Social Work, University of Syracuse, Syracuse, N.Y.
Discussants - David Austin, Professor, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Bernard Schiffman, Director, Program Development and Training, Community Progress, Inc. New Haven, Conn.

Group 2
Chairman - Helen M. Harris, Executive Director, United Neighborhood Houses of New York, New York, N.Y.
Speaker - Charles Fraggos, Community Organization, Director, United South End Settlements, Boston, Mass.
Discussants - Franklin Harbach, Executive Director, Neighborhood Centers Association of Houston and Harris County, Texas
Sidney Pinsky, Assistant Chief, Development Division, Mobilization for Youth, New York City

2:00-3:30 P.M. - Joint Session with Section III -
Subject: Organizing the Poor to Act on Their Own Behalf
Speakers - George Brager, Director, Mobilization for Youth, New York City
Harry Specht, Director, Richmond Youth Project, California
Warren C. Haggstrom, Professor, School of Social Work, Syracuse University

Friday, May 28

9:00-10:45 A.M. - Combatting Extremist Tactics
Chairman - Gordon Manser, Associate Director, National Social Welfare Assembly
Speakers - Oscar Cohen, National Program Director, Anti-Defamation League
Subject: The Radical Right - Its Influence on the American Scene

Mr. C. Lloyd Bailey, Executive Director, U.S. Committee for UNICEF
Subject: A Strategy for Meeting Extremist Attacks

RFR-eq
4/26/65

4/27/65

YWCA

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10022
212 PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

Reserve Room
Sun
May 23
~~Ambassador Hotel~~

Conf. registration form
Mailed 4/30/65
MWJ

Sent to: NCSW Housing Bur.
16 Central Pier
Atlantic City N.J.

April 26, 1965

MRS. LLOYD J. MARTI
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MRS. AMBROSE L. CRAM, JR.
Vice President

MRS. EARL D. THOMAS
Vice President at Large

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Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You have received a copy of the Conference Bulletin which contains the preliminary program of the Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare to be held in Atlantic City, May 23-28. Since it is difficult to find ones way through such an extensive program, I am enclosing a copy of the schedule for Section VI sessions.

The session in which you will participate on Monday, May 24, 11:15-12:45 does not have a meeting place listed. All speakers and leaders are asked to register as soon as they arrive. At that time they will receive a copy of the final program which will contain information about the location of meetings. The information desk located in the registration area will be glad to answer any questions. I will be at the Ambassador Hotel. For your convenience in making hotel reservations you will find a reservation information form on the back of the Preliminary Program sent you from the National Conference office.

I have written Mr. Taylor to ask if he could send us his paper as soon as possible so that you would have an opportunity to see it in advance. We knowhow many demands there are on his energies and the difficulty of finding time to prepare a paper. I am hopeful, however, that we will have one soon. You, of course, already know something of Mr. Taylor's approach since you have been in other meetings with him.

We look forward to seeing you in Atlantic City. If you arrive Sunday evening, we may have an opportunity to get together before the Monday morning session.

Sincerely,
Ethlyn Christensen
Ethlyn Christensen, Chairman
Section VI
National Conference on Social Welfare

EC/eq

P.S. Will you please send me biographical material which the chairman can use in introducing you?

YWCA

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

Rec'd 5/3/65

April 29, 1965

Nat'l. Conf. on Soc. Welfa

file

Miss Ethlyn Christensen
Chairman, Section VI
National Conference on Social Welfare
YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Miss Christensen:

Thank you for your letter of April 26. I am enclosing a biographical sketch and, as you suggested, copies of my speech of last year at the Civil Liberties Clearing House conference. Mr. Dunbar, I believe, has a copy because he has commented on it in a speech of his own. But you may want to send him an additional copy anyway.

I intend to bring the speech up to date, but I may not be able to do so until shortly before the session. In this connection, you will recall that when we first talked of the conference, I suggested that it might be helpful in updating the speech if you could identify some of the particular problems faced by social workers in this area so that I might try to address myself to them. I know this may be difficult to do since you are in the midst of making preparations for the conference, but if you have any thoughts on the matter I would appreciate receiving them.

Thanks also for your kind words and good wishes. I look forward to seeing you on May 24.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

William L. Taylor
Staff Director-designate

Enclosures

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

(2)

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10022
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Vice President at Large

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Vice President, Chairman, Central Region

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Vice President, Chairman, Eastern Region

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MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

April 26, 1965

Mr. William L. Taylor
General Counsel
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

I am enclosing a copy of the schedule and program for the Section VI - Methods of Social Action sessions at the National Conference on Social Welfare. We believe that in light of current developments we did well in determining that the focus for this year's sessions should be on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. It is especially gratifying to know that you will be speaking in two of our most important sessions, those at 11:15 - 12:45 and at 2:00 - 3:30 on Monday, May 24.

At the morning session, 11:15-12:45, Mr. Paul Mendenhall, Staff Representative, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, will preside. The afternoon session 2:00-3:30 will be Chaired by James Brindle, President, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York. Would you please send me biographical material which they can use in introducing you. I have sent a copy of my February 15th letter to you to each of the chairmen so they are familiar with the plan for the sessions. Mr. Dunbar will be the discussant following your presentation in the morning and you and Clarence Mitchell will share the time in the afternoon.

When I talked with you I suggested that the paper you gave at the Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference a year ago on Civil Rights and Civil Disobedience could very well be the basis for your presentation in our morning session at the National Conference on Social Welfare. You thought at the time that it might need some revision because of changes in the situation since then. If you have had an opportunity to make revisions and have a paper prepared, I would appreciate having three copies, one for Mr. Dunbar, one for Mr. Mendenhall and one for me. I know the many demands on your time and can well understand that you may not have had an opportunity to rewrite your original paper. If not, I wonder if you think the paper you have could be sent to Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Mendenhall as the basis for your presentation, with the understanding that you would make some revisions. I will see that they get copies if you

YWCA®

will send them to me.

For your convenience in making hotel reservations you will find a reservation information form on the back of the Preliminary Program sent you from the Conference office. All speakers are asked to register as soon as they arrive. At that time they will receive a copy of the final program which will contain information concerning the location of meetings. The Information desk located in the registration area will be glad to answer any questions. We look forward to having you with us in Atlantic City.

I want to take this opportunity, though belatedly, to congratulate you on your appointment as Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights. We are grateful to have a person of your qualities directing the Commission.

Sincerely,

Ethlyn Christensen

Ethlyn Christensen
Chairman
Section VI
National Conference on Social Welfare

EC/eq
Enc.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE
NCSW

national conference on social welfare

a national forum for social welfare since 1874

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PLEASE REPLY TO — COLUMBUS OFFICE

May 3, 1965

Rec'd 5/5/65

MEMORANDUM

TO: Program Participants of the 92nd Annual Forum

FROM: Joe R. Hoffer, Executive Secretary

The enclosed card will admit you to the first Annual Forum meeting in which you are scheduled to participate. We sincerely hope that you will register for the balance of the Forum and will enjoy, in full, the benefits of your Conference experience.

If your manuscript has not already been mailed, we remind you that it was due on May 1st. They may be mailed to our Columbus office until May 12th, after which they should be delivered personally to the Conference Executive offices at Convention Hall in Atlantic City.

SOL MORTON ISAAC
President
Columbus, Ohio

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First Vice-President
Chicago

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Second Vice-President
Baltimore

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New York City

MILTON G. RECTOR
New York City

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MRS. ANNIE LEE SANDUSKY
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Representative, Public Relations Committee
Detroit

WILSON H. POSEY
Representative, National Association of Statewide Health & Welfare Conference and Planning Organizations
Columbus, Ohio

CHARLES I. SCHOTTLAND
Representative,
U. S. Committee of ICSW
Waltham, Mass.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

22 West Gay Street Columbus 15, Ohio Phone: 224-5772

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Date _____

_____ _____
(Name of participant) (Address)

_____
(Occupation)

will be a participant in the 92nd Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare in Atlantic City, May 23-28.

_____ will be _____
(Speaker, Chairman, Panelist, Discussant)

for the meeting on _____
(Subject of meeting)

to be held on _____ His) Her) topic will be _____

The 1965 theme of the world's largest forum on social welfare is "Social Change through Social Welfare and the Law." Over 5,000 persons are expected to attend the week-long conference of nearly 200 meetings.

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States, will address the closing session of the Forum on the topic, "Social Change through the Legislative and Administrative Process." Other General Session speakers on the program include Sargent Shriver, Whitney M. Young, Jr., Walter Reuther, The Honorable Leroy Collins, The Honorable Orman W. Ketcham, NCSW President, Sol Morton Isaac, and a panel of state welfare administrators.

TO ALL FORUM PARTICIPANTS:

Please fill in and tear off the above release and send it to your local newspaper. This will facilitate nationwide publicity coverage for the Forum. It is good to get word out to the local papers that you are taking part, and if you can send a picture of yourself along with this, all the better. Remember - send it to your local newspaper! Thank you so much!

Public Relations Director - NCSW

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

22 WEST GAY STREET • COLUMBUS 15, OHIO
and
345 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Memorandum To: Program Participants, Atlantic City Annual Forum

From: Joe R. Hoffer, Executive Secretary

Subject: MAJOR FEDERAL LEGISLATION AFFECTING SOCIAL WELFARE 1961 - 1965

May 3, 1965

The Welfare Administration, at the invitation of the NCSW Program Committee, has prepared a seventy-five page booklet summarizing twelve recent Federal Laws which we feel are most likely to receive attention at the Annual Forum. Copies will be distributed without charge to all Forum attenders at the Registration Desk.

Since printing schedules have made it impossible to provide copies to program participants prior to their registration in Atlantic City, we are including an outline of its contents so that you may avoid duplicating the material covered in preparing your manuscript. The twelve laws summarized are as follows:

1. Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961-P.L. 87-274
2. Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 - P.L. 87-415
3. Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 - P.L. 87-543
4. Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963 - P.L. 88-156
5. Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Hea lth Construction Act of 1963 - P.L. 88-164
6. Vocational Education Act of 1963 - P.L. 88-210
7. Manpower Development and Training Amendements of 1963 - P.L.88-214
8. Civil Rights Act of 1964 - P.L.88-352
9. Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act Extension - P.L. 88-368
10. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 - P.L. 88-452
11. Foster Care for Dependent Children - P.L. 88-641
12. OASDI, and Other Amendments to the Social Security Act - P.L. 88-650

The purpose of the pamphlet as stated by the Welfare Department "is to summarize those Federal Laws which have substantial and significant import for the welfare community". We believe that it will be especially important in relation to the theme for this year's Annual Forum - "Social Change through Social Welfare and the Law".

May 19, 1965

Dear Mrs. Christensen:

Enclosed is a biographical data sheet for Mr. Dunbar sent at your request of this morning.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

May 20, 1965

Mr. William N. Hay
Reservation Manager
The Claridge Hotel
Atlantic City, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Hay:

I have just now been able to work out definite travel arrangements for Mr. Dunbar, hence the delay in sending you this information.

Mr. Dunbar will be arriving in Atlantic City late Sunday night, May 23 (about 10:50 or so), and will leave Atlantic City during the early morning on Tuesday, May 25. His plane from Philadelphia departs at 8:55 a.m.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

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PHONE 345-1271

Date MAY 6,
1965.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia - 30303

We are pleased to confirm your request for a reservation as follows:

Name	MR. LESLIE W. DUNBAR		
Accommodations	Single room with tub-shower bath		
Rate	$13.00daily, European Plan		
Arrival	MAY 23, 1965	A.M.	P.M.
Departure	Kindly advise by return mail	A.M.	P.M.
Remarks	NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE.		

cc: housing bureau

CLARIDGE HOTEL

By Wm N. Hay

WILLIAM N. HAY, RESERVATION MANAGER.

Room reservations are held until 6 p.m. unless a later hour of arrival is requested. As check out hour is 3 p.m. rooms may not be ready earlier.

Rec'd 5/4/65

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10022
212 PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

Nat'l. Conf. on Soc. Welfare Conf.

May 3, 1965

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Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing a copy of a paper Mr. Taylor gave a year ago. He is revising it to bring it up to date in terms of developments since then, but he will be dealing with some of the basic ideas in this paper in his presentation in Atlantic City. He is trying to get his written revision to us before the Conference begins but, understandably, the pressure of his work makes it diffixult to find the time needed. He says he thinks you already have a copy of this paper and that you are familiar with his thoughts on the subject.

If you by any chance have time to write your comments, it would be helpful because of our desire to use Conference papers for educational purposes in a variety of gatherings and training sessions.

We look forward to seeing you in Atlantic City.

Sincerely,

Ethlyn Christensen

Ethlyn Christensen, Chairman
Section VI
National Conference on Social Welfare

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YWCA®

See Nat'l Conf. on Social Welfare

May 25, 1965

Miss Ethlyn Christensen
Y W C A
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Miss Christensen:

I enjoyed being with you on May 24 at the National Conference on Social Welfare. Enclosed are two copies of my remarks.

My expenses were:

Air travel (tourist)	$ 94.29
Hotel (two nights, one dinner)	33.61
Airport transportation	14.55
Taxi	.75
Breakfasts	3.50
Tips	1.00
	$147.70

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosures - 2.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Remarks on William I. Taylor's
Presentation,
"An Appraisal of the Strategies
of Protest,"
National Conference on Social Welfare,
Atlantic City, May 24, 1965

I heard Mr. Taylor deliver this paper, in its earlier form, last year, and I have since then had occasion to speak of it as the most valuable recent statement on this subject that I know of. I have, as Mr. Taylor knows, some quite substantial disagreements with it, but they have not deterred him from saying the same things again. So I have not persuaded him, and shall not attempt to persuade you. My reason for declining another debate with him is twofold: In the first place, my disagreements are essentially philosophical, and I hesitate to presume on the attention or time of social workers to discuss philosophy. In the second place, my agreements with Mr. Taylor are larger and more important than my disagreements.

His is a good analysis because it strikes against loose thinking and loose terminology. The term "civil disobedience" has become lately hardly more than a tag, a verbal hiccup, used interchangeably with a lot of other words, such as "demonstrations," "mass protests," "picketing," "sit-ins," etc. Mr. Taylor has told us clearly what is the truth, that much of the civil rights direct action movement has been an appeal for the protection of the law or a use of the law's privileges, and not a disobedience of the law.

The idea of civil disobedience is an old one, going back at least to the Biblical account of the refusal of Daniel and his friends to bow down to Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol, and to Sophocles' great play, Antigone. In the later, patient working out of western ethics, the idea secured the sanction of natural law, and became part of the moral tradition of western civilization. I see no point in arguing again or anew the case for it. Few if any of us would deny that there is a moral right and, in some cases, a moral duty to disobey morally vicious laws, at least when they issue from illegitimate governments. I think it is safe to say that an ultimate right of civil disobedience is part of the moral consensus of western civilization, recognized by all its great religions.

At the same time, that moral consensus and those religions have instructed us not to engage in civil disobedience lightly, without urgent cause. So I think we should not talk lightly or loosely about the subject, and Mr. Taylor's paper is good for us because it says to many of us, stop your loose talk. It says to us that we should not indulge in the conceit of believing and asserting that we act on a great and hallowed moral principle when in fact what we are doing is something quite different. Most of the so-called civil disobedience of the last few years has been simply a use of one kind of power against other kinds of power.

But something has been taking place these late years which has been different, and which is not, I think, fairly captured by Mr. Taylor's analysis. We are all greatly dependent on the lawyers to guide us, to keep us out of trouble and get us out of trouble, and, in America at least, to govern us. But we need not necessarily concede to the lawyers the right to describe our world and its values for us.

The old moral principle of civil disobedience is very hard to track down in the complexities of American law, with its federal system and its doctrines of judicial review. But it is not hard to track down the fact that during the past decade thousands of individuals have offered themselves for arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, and have done so undertain of their personal fates or the law's outcome. They have, in short, been willing to suffer, and many, many of them have suffered. They have thought of themselves as civilly disobedient, and if the lawyers wish and will later came along and say that they were not disobedimnt, that is nice, but somewhat after the fact.

I think that what we have seen in the direct action movement has been an appeal not to the moral conscience of the nation, but to its political principles. I think we have seen the development of mass protest as a method of political change. I think we have been told that for many Americans the established processes of political change are considered worthless. I think that many people besides Negroes have received the message, and that direct action demonstration and protest has become a part of American political life, at least for the present and immediate future. I think that from the University of California to Westchester County highway construction to New York City

tennis courts, the message has been picked up.

We need to ponder this. We need to recognize that the legal and political institutions we have so proudly built up do not work satisfyingly for many people in many situations. We need to ask why, and while we are looking for an answer, we need sympathetically to concede that those who make their protests in novel and even radical form may be laying the groundwork for a new and better democracy.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE NCSW

Conference Bulletin

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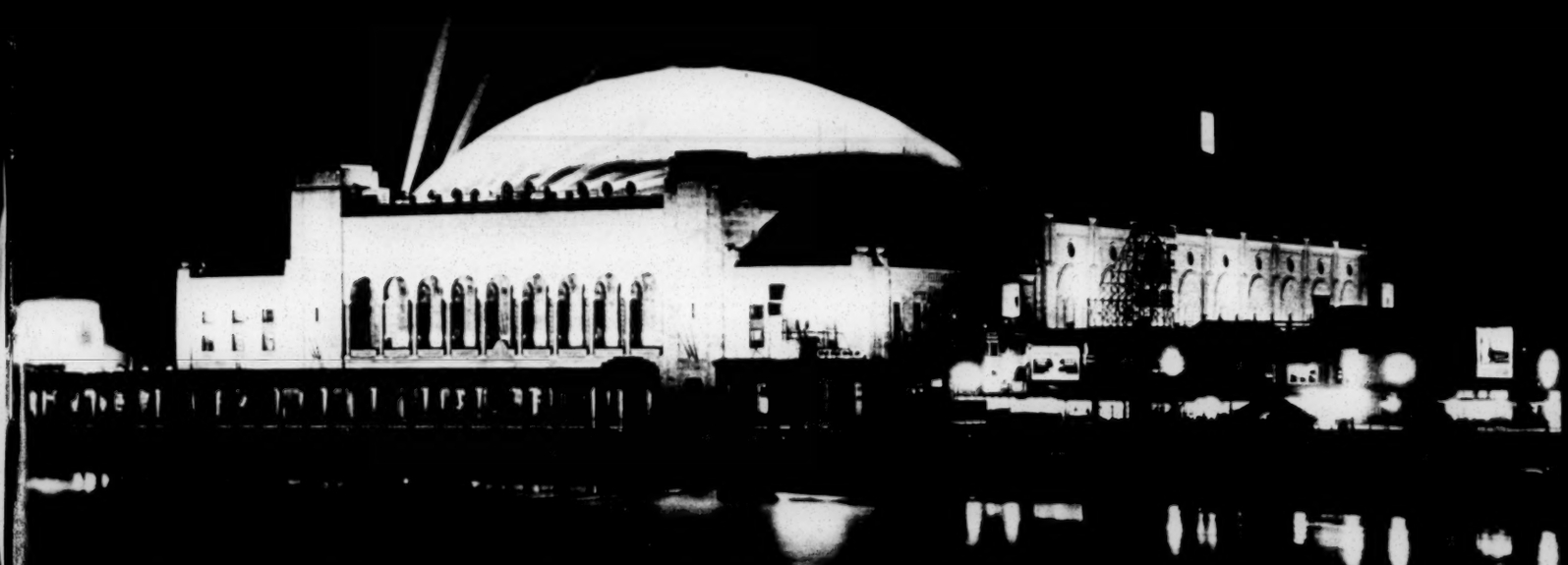
Volume 68 SPRING, 1965 Number 3

Preliminary Program • 92nd Annual Forum
Atlantic City • May 23-28, 1965



"Social Change through Social Welfare and the Law"

United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc.

LABOR PARTICIPATION DEPARTMENT LIAISON WITH

AFL-CIO Community Services Activities

820 Second Avenue
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Rec'd 6/7/65

File → Nat'l. Conf. on Soc. Welfare

June 4, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

This is the first opportunity I have had to express my personal appreciation for your participation in the meeting on "Civil Rights and Civil Disobedience" at the National Conference on Social Welfare in Atlantic City last week.

I also enjoyed the pleasure of meeting you for the first time.

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul Mendenhall
AFL-CIO CSA Liaison Staff

PM/mp

Read 6/28/65

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National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

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file — Nat'l Conf on Soc Welfare

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Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

June 24, 1965

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for sending your comments on Mr. Taylor's paper. We appreciate somuch your taking time to write these comments for us. They' are very helpful and we will be using them along with the paper in some of our YWCA Training sessions.

I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Pemberton's paper on "Is There a Moral Right to Violate the Law?". I know you heard his address, but I thought you might like to have a copy of his paper.

Thank you so much for your contribution in the sessions at the Welfare Conference. What you did there has value beyond the sessions themselves, since we will be using the material in many groups.

Sincerely,

Ethlyn Christensen

Ethlyn Christensen
Director
Bureau of Research and Program
Resources

EC/eq
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YWCA

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

SECTION III - SERVICES TO AGENCIES AND COMMUNITIES
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

MONDAY, MAY 21st - 11:15 A.M.

"Forces Affecting Trends in Community Organization"

A review of the current social, economic, and physical changes which are influencing community organization, with special emphasis on international aspects of community development.

Presiding:

Speaker: Ernest F. Witte, Director, Council on Social Work Education, New York.

MONDAY, MAY 21st - 2:00 P.M.

"What is Community Organization Practice in Social Work?"

A critical analysis of current thinking in the practice of community organization as differentiated from services. This session is planned to contribute to the basic knowledge and skills required for effective practice, as well as to help determine the future contribution of community organization to social work.

Presiding:

Speakers: Arthur H. Dunham, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Bertram Beck, Assistant Director, National Association of Social Work, New York.

John B. Turner, Field Worker, Welfare Federation of Cleveland.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23rd - 11:15 A.M.

(1) "The Public Agencies' Responsibility for Community Planning"

What are state and local welfare departments doing, and what should they do in community planning in those communities where there is no local welfare planning council? How can citizens' committees be used effectively by public welfare departments?

Presiding:

Speakers: Mrs. William S. Kilborne, Consultant on Volunteer Service, Social Security Administration, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Nelson Stephenson, State Consultant on the Development of Community Service, State Department of Welfare, Raleigh, North Carolina.

(2) "Relationship of Social Welfare Planning to Physical Planning in the Local Community"

A discussion of ways in which workers from the welfare and physical planning fields can cooperate in meeting the human needs of people, and also conform to

acceptable standards in the field of city planning.

Presiding:

Speakers:

(3) "A New Dimension in Inter-Agency Communication"

A review of the changing concept of inter-agency communication, and of ways in which health and welfare agencies can work more closely with schools, police, and clergy.

Presiding:

Speakers:

(4) "Relationship of Planning for Health and Welfare Services on National, State and Local Levels"

Presiding:

Speakers:

(5) "Dealing With Health and Welfare Problems in Newly-Formed Communities"

A review of the forces at work in newly-organized defense communities, or industrial areas, and ways in which community organization practices can be made effective in these areas.

Presiding:

Speakers: Reginald Robinson, U.C.D.S.

(6) "Dealing With Health and Welfare Problems in Changing Metropolitan Areas"

A review of the impact of such things as population movement, including new persons coming into a community and persons moving from the inner-city, into the suburbs, on community organization practice.

Presiding:

Speakers: C. F. McNeil, Philadelphia Health and Welfare Council

(7) "Dealing With Health and Welfare Problems in Rural Areas"

This would include discussion of factors in those small areas where there is little change, or where the leadership may be moving out of the area, and in what way community organization techniques can be used effectively in such situations.

Presiding:

Speakers:

FRIDAY, MAY 25th - 9:15 A.M.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN MEMORIAL LECTURE

The tentative plan for this meeting is to have a discussion on identification of social problems and the way in which the community organizes itself to meet these problems. The original presentation would be given by a qualified professor of Political Science, with a social work discussant.

January 14, '54

Dear Mrs. Williams,

We do thank you for your kind letter about the Q and A pamphlet. Twenty were sent to you at Miami yesterday.

I'll hope mightily that you persuade many of the State groups to order good big blocks. The matters needs <u>understanding</u> and just a little of that will melt a lot of confusion and some prejudice. And I can see local discussion groups on this issue building a first bridge between PTA's, and t eachers, and everybody. Further, I can see a lot of signs of cities and counties being ready now to elect or appoint Negro persons to local school boards. They tell me my remarks on that point at Miami were disliked by some present, but surely that's right and ought now to be done.

Oklahoma in June is beyond any present probabilities, but I like Oklahoma and will hope for some way to show up!

Let us know when you come to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

MRS. CHARLES L. WILLIAMS, *President*
1200 N. W. Sixth Avenue
Miami 36, Florida

MRS. ODESSA MCKINNEY, *Vice-President*
61 South 17th Court
Birmingham 5, Alabama

L. A. TONEY, *Treasurer*
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

JEANNETTA CHASE, *Secretary*
State Teachers College
Bowie, Maryland

MRS. [illegible] W. KIGHT, *Asst. Sec'y.*
403 Depot Street
LaGrange, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 13
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS & TEACHERS

NATIONAL OFFICE
123 South Queen Street
DOVER, DELAWARE

January 9 1954

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter concerning the two pamphlets that state the case so well for the case now before the Supreme Court. I have studied both of them with a great deal of interest and I do not hesitate to say that they should be in the hands of all who will be affected by any decision that is made.

Sent 1-13-54 Get Eshmanpt don't know if be billed

The budget of our national organization has been made and approved by that body and we have no item that would cover the cost of these copies in large numbers to our state branches. Our is not a rich body and I hesitate to go over the ruling of the body. But this concise and helpful material must reach our constituency.

I am therefore ordering 20 copies of " Questions and Answers" from you. I will in turn forward one to each state president and ask that they order them. I will also acquaint them with the excellent checklist. It so happens that our Executive Committee will sit as our Intergroup Committee and meet with the comparable group of the white national P.T.A. ina meeting in Montgomery, Ala. Feb. 6 and 7. I will take my copies to present to them (other group) with the hope that they will be interested in using them too. It would be superb if I could place a copy with each of them. There will be about 5 of them.

I will go to Langston University the week-end of January 29-30 th to check plans for our national convention there about the third week of June. Would you by any chance be in that area during that time? (I refer to the June date).

It was with sincere regret that I had to be in New York when you visited here in November. The Community Council is still plugging away. It will be my privilege to appear on a panel in our local school board building this month. The program is sponsored by the Council and our discussion will be on the segregation case with all its implications.

Please accept my humble congratulations . You and the Southern Region Council are rendering invaluable service to this great country.

Cordially, (Mrs) Maynie E. Williams

December nine, 1953

Mrs Mayme Williams, President
National Congress of P T A
Booker Washington High School
Miami, Florida

Dear Mrs Williams:

You will see what I have written Mrs Pegram for Virginia.

Could you not get the National Congress of PTA to do something of this kind in each at least of the Southern states?

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 3

December nine, 1953

Mrs Thelma S Pegram, President
Virginia Congress P T A
Covington, Virginia

Dear Mrs Pegram:

A recent issue of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE gave us news of your election as President of the Virginia Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. We would like to propose that the Virginia Congress buy enough copies of the enclosed two pamphlets - or the QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS one only if need be - for each or at least many of your local groups to get them. The pamphlets are geared to local discussion group use. The first one develops the issue and the second enables a group to move on fact finding about their local school differences.

The Virginia Council of Churches has already sent out sixty or so and the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Richmond has sent out a goodly quantity. The Virginia State Teachers Association expects to get several hundred and send them out. Reverend W Carrol Brook, at Staunton, Virginia, Acting Chairman of a special subcommittee of the Virginia Council of Churches has mailed out forty or so to county school board people in the state.

Elsewhere in the South, the two booklets have been sent about amazingly. The Mississippi State Department of Education bought a thousand of each. The Southern Presbyterians have bought about two thousand. The Board of Education of the Methodist Church has sent them out to Superintendents for Southeastern and South-central jurisdictions. The Southern Baptist Convention got two hundred fifty. The Girl Scouts and the YMCA and the YWCA and the National Council of Negro Women and a whole long list of organizations have similarly helped in getting it spread around.

The QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS goes at ten cents each in quantity and the CHECK LIST at eight cents.

These are the precious weeks for getting sound understanding of the issues. People are still open minded in a way that they won't be after the Supreme

Court's decision comes out.

I do hope that you will consider carefully whether you can be helpful with this effort.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures - 2

Journal and Guide

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1953

Portsmouth Site Of 1954 PTA Sessions

Prizes Awarded At Lawrenceville To Outstanding Units In State

By P. BERNARD YOUNG JR.

LAWRENCEVILLE, Va.

The 26th annual convention of the Virginia Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers closed its three-day session here at Russell High School Friday afternoon after choosing Portsmouth as its next year's meeting place and adopting resolutions encouraging support of anti-segregation cases, payment of poll taxes, and voting in all elections.

The two hundred registered delegates and visitors, representing over five thousand active members in scores of PTA units throughout the commonwealth, concerned with the official theme, "For each child an equal chance", declared in the resolutions that:

"Whereas the NAACP has been carrying on a fight to end segregation on public carriers and in public programs, be it resolved that we as individuals support the organization with its efforts."

* * *

THE CLOSING SESSION was highlighted by the election of officers and the distribution of various prizes to outstanding member units for membership growth and other accomplishments.

New by-laws and constitution were adopted by the convention, eliminating the post of executive secretary as an elective office and providing for an executive committee to replace a formerly elected board of managers. Mrs. S. M. Burrell of Richmond had been serving as the executive secretary.

Mrs. Grayce S. Hudley, of Chase City, resigned as vice-president, and Mrs. Clara Faulcon, of Hampton, and Mrs. Eunice Minnis, of Norfolk, resigned as recording and corresponding secretaries, respectively. Under the new by-laws, the corresponding secretaryship was dispensed with and a new post created, that of historian.

* * *

THE ELECTION OF the following was by unanimous standing vote:

Mrs. Thelma M. Pegram, Covington, president; Alfred K. Talbot Jr., Purcellville, first vice-president; Ira Warmack, Roanoke, second vice-president; Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson, Lawrenceville, recording secretary; Mrs. Juanita Peyton, Newport News, treasurer, and Henry A. Davis Jr., Norfolk, a past president, historian. The executive committee will choose an executive secretary.

In other resolutions the PTA Congress decided that unit names that are similar be hereafter identified by name and number to simplify identification; urged more support of the organization's Founder's Day programs; advocated that a state wide radio or TV program, or both, be a feature of future Founder's Day celebrations during February; directed that reports in the future be mimeographed and provided delegates to reduce the time consumed by verbal reports, or the reading of written reports.

* * *

TROPHIES WERE awarded as follows:

Clara L. K. Bailey Cup, donated by the Portsmouth Council, for increased membership, to Greenbriar School, Hampton.

John M. Gandy Cup, donated by the Roanoke Council, for the largest increase in membership by a local council, to the Richmond and Vicinity Council, which added 939 members during the past year.

Past Presidents' Cup, for the largest percentage of increased membership, to District Nine, accepted by Ira Warmack of Roanoke for Harrison School there.

The John M. Bott Cup, provided by his widow, for the largest council membership, to the Richmond and Vicinity Council.

The Founder's Day Cup went to the Hampton PTA Council for having raised the largest amount of money during Founder's Day celebration. This cup was donated by the Lynchburg PTA Council.

* * *

CERTIFICATES RECOGNIZING high percentage increases in active membership also went to the Greenbriar and Harrison Schools of Hampton and Roanoke.

Banners went to the Lylburn Downing School of Lexington and the Harrison School of Roanoke PTAs.

Prizes went to Mrs. Floria Friend of Richmond as the oldest delegate present. She is 63. Mrs. Velora Johns of Hopeville was recognized as the youngest delegate. She is 22. The prize for the delegate having the largest number of children went to Mrs. Ethel Duckett, Roanoke, and Mrs. Ethel Williams, of Portsmouth, both of whom have eight children.

THE PUBLIC SESSION held Thursday night, featuring an address by President Earl H. McClenney of St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute here, drew a capacity audience of over 600 to the auditorium of Russell High School.

Among the special guests were Mrs. A. S. Younger, president of the West Virginia Colored PTA Congress, and Mrs. Mayme Williams of Miami, Fla., president of the National Congress of PTA.

Fichler - Mon. 1

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS & TEACHERS

Office of the President
MRS. CHARLES L. WILLIAMS
1200 N. W. Sixth Avenue
Miami 36, Florida

January 23,1954

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta,Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This note is to acknowledge with thanks your prompt response to my request for the booklets on the Schools and the Courts. Please find enclosed $2.31 to pay for them.

Thanks,too,for the letter. I agree wholeheartedly with your opinion expressed about school board members. Our progress in this area is certainly too spotty. No doubt you heard that one of our civic leaders was a candidate for a trustee (school) post here last fall. No,he did not win. But it was a start in the right direction.

Sincerely yours,

Mayme E. Williams

check & bill gotten from letter KS

RECEIVED
JAN 26
Southern Regional Council

eptum copy.

December 27, 1954

Mrs. Charles L. Williams
National Congress of Colored
Parents and Teachers
1200 N.W. Sixth Avenue
Miami 36, Florida

Dear Mayme:

I was down home for a very few days for Christmas. Tried to get in touch with you but no luck. I did get to talk with Mike Ross and he told me about the good developments in the Dade County Council on Community Relations. I'm really quite impressed with our "baby."

The work with the Southern Regional Council goes well and I find it very enjoyable working with George Mitchell. He is a guy, as you know, of great vision and unusual courage and terrific endurance. The relationship in the office is a free and easy democratic one in which we all feel free to discuss what is going on. It is a real pleasure to work with an organization of this persuasion. While I miss you all and Miami very much, I am thankful that I took this job even though it meant living in Atlanta.

Mayme, I was wondering if it would be possible for your group, the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, to use our pamphlet on the public school decision, Answers for Action, through your state organizations. I have been traveling over the twelve Southern states from Virginia out to Texas and from Florida up to Kentucky and I discover that in both the white and Negro teachers groups there is not a very thorough understanding of what is involved in the transition that faces us at this time. I believe this pamphlet in the hands of the proper Negro and white leadership would greatly assist the South to make a peaceful and timely transition to an integrated school system. We still have several thousand copies on hand and can supply them to your group at sixteen cents each in bulk quantities.

As you are well aware, the rough states are going to be South Carolina, Georgia, Northern Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and upper Louisiana. I believe that Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, most of Virginia, and North Carolina and also the large metropolitan areas of Florida and New Orleans can make this transition without too much difficulty. It would be my hope that we can utilize every step of progress any place in the South to speed up the process throughout the rest of the South.

If we can make considerable progress in the more progressive areas the "hold-back" areas will feel pretty much alone and are far more apt to come along.

Drop me a note and let me know what you are doing at Booker T. and what is happening in Date County in general. I surely miss the opportunities we used to have to get together and talk about what is going on. There is an advantage to having a job in which you get the overall view but there is a frustration in it in that you don't really dig very deeply below the surface in any given community and while you may see the early sprouting of that which you have helped create you never really see the roots nor the bearing of fruit of that which you have planted. I believe, though, that at this time in the history of our nation the contribution I can make will be far greater here in this program than it would be as an academician, no matter at what school I might have taught.

My very best regards to your good husband, to my other friends down there. I shall always remember what you said the night you presented me with the brief case for the group. I shall remember it with pride because of the people you represented and I shall remember it with humility because of the much larger task that yet remains to be done and the knowledge that I can play such a small part in it.

Always your friend,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf
encl. - Answers for Action
Toward the South of the Future
CC;GSM
HCF
FBR

Significant Highlights
(1953 - 1955)

National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

I. Internal Organization

1. Study of our national by-laws and evaluation of our structure and procedures etc.

   Revisions and recommendations will be proposed at 1956 convention.

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4. Significant working themes:

   - 1953-54 - "New Responsibilities in a Changing Society."
   - 1954 -55 - "Meeting Todays' Challenge"
   - 1955 -56 - "Together We Build."

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1. National quarterly organ- "Our National Family" A feature is the Study Course conducted by Dr. Leonora Lane, Professor of Psychology at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio.

2. Program materials by national chairman

3. State Bulletins and materials.

4. National History is being compiled. Several state branches have printed their histories recently.

5. Founder's Day material.

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1. Worshop for National Board of Managers. Montgomery, Ala. August, 1953 at the State College.

2. Work shop type convention. San Antonia, Texas. June, 1955. A one day workshop for Board Members was held prior to the convention. A 2 day workshop is planned for June 1956.

IV. Cooperation with the following organizations:

1. Girl Scouts of the United States of America
2. National Boy Scouts of America
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6. National Urban League
7. National Organizations Round Table
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9. National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools
10. NEA: - National Rural Education Conference-
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11. Children's Bureau: - National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency.
    - Committee Hearings
12. U. S. Office of Education
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14. Presidents Committee for the White House Conference on Education.
15. Unesco

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OUR ACTION PROGRAM

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1. We shall continue to give full support to these basic ideas and philosophy, and make them dynamic in our programs and procedures.

II. Development of the theme: "MEETING TODAY'S CHALLENGE."

1. Being fully aware of the need for making our theme a functional one, we pledge ourselves to work unceasingly to improve our homes, our schools and our communities.

2. There is a great need for homes where children are loved and are secure. There is a need for closer relationship with the schools, and for equal educational opportunities for all. We desire communities where the democratic concept is practical and where all children and youth are protected.

3. We accept this challenge of our time. Let us dedicate ourselves to meet it.

III. Other specific ways to make our Action Program effective:

1. There is great need to gear our programs and activities in the following areas:

a. Character and Spiritual Education
(Spiritual enrichment and moral responsibility)

b. Human Relation
(Understanding the community and the people who live in it.)

c. Physical and Mental Health
(Why people act as they do. How mental and physical health affect the personality.

d. Parent Education
Encourage Study Groups - Citizenship and parental responsibility combined with the willingness to learn and grow)

e. Occupation Skills
(Help youths to select, train for and find their vocations. Cooperate in providing for vocational education)

f. Juvenile Protection
(Emphasis on <u>adequate protection and prevention</u>. Provide leisure time activities for children and youth.

The needs of children and youth will be better met if we as parent teacher members provide opportunities and create favorable conditions for the development of this Action Program.

THIRTY YEARS AGO

The June 1956 annuanl convention of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers will mark the 30th Anniversary of this organization - thirty consecutive years of study and labor for the improvement of children and youth through parent education. We feel sure that each of us on reviewing the results will be able to note gaps that would not now exist had we but worked more assiduously. We are grateful for the accomplishments thus far.

Beginning in May 1926 with four states, Alabama, Delaware, Florida and Georgia, the roster grew to include all the states in our country that separated its children because of race. These were twenty in number and the District of Columbia, providing a goodly number of mothers and fathers, teaches and other interested persons cooperating to help children. This was a step forward.

New Mexico was the first state to inform us "we think it wise to discontinue membership with the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers as there is little separation here because of race." This was another step forward as their name was removed from the roll. The president of the now vanishing New Jersey Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, visited the annual convention to announce that as the schools were integrating it seemed wise for the PTAs to follow. More progress. In June 1955 the state president of Kansas, Missouri and a representative of the District of Columbia Congress came to the annual convention to sever relations with the

segregated body, the schools in their respective states to a very great extent having integrated. From these different points of view, the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers marches on advancing as it diminishes.

It is a happy incident that a few of those who were instrumental in the organization of the Congress are living today to witness the fruits of their forward thinking. Mrs. Henry R. Butler, Sr., living then in Atlanta, Georgia, who led the group, and became the first president, and subsequently, the second president; Mrs. Pearl Smith, Savannah, Georgia, who seconded the motion that the states working separately should combine and form a national body. Because of their vision, thousands of local parent teacher members have been trained to plan and work together under the same leadership though living far apart; interest in the home and community life of children and youth has been advanced adding to their well being, comfort and joy; mothers and fathers are striving harder to meet the challenges of parenthood; communities are more cognizant of the fact they have the responsibility to provide a suitable atmosphere for their young citizens; there has been coperation with school teachers and officials in securing increased opportunities for the educational advancement of children. None of these jobs is in any sense complete, but there is a recognition of what ought to be done and an attempt to do something, and some things have been accomplished.

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diligence to a sense of duty, faith in themselves and the cause they have espoused, and with all courage to endure.

At the coming 30th annual convention in Louisiana in June, the Congress will evaluate its program, celebrate its victories and study to salvage its defeats. Each of the sixteen remaining states will be proud to report the part it has played in promoting the onward march of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers.

- From "Our National Family"
December, 1955

February 8, 1955

Mrs. Wm. W.H. Henry, Dir.
National Congress of Colored Parents
and Teachers
123 South Queen Street
Dover, Delaware

Dear Mrs. Henry:

Many thanks for your kind letter of February 2nd inviting me to participate in a workshop session on Monday, June 20th, in San Antonio, Texas. I shall be pleased to attend this session and to speak on the subject, "Steps to Meet Pressing Problems," which I assume will deal specifically with the problem of desegregation and integration in the public schools. I will, of course, be glad to serve as a consultant on that topic for that day.

The financial responsibility for this service will be cost of transportation to San Antonio and return to Atlanta. The most reasonable method of transportation is night air coach and I shall be pleased to use this method. If it is possible to find any additional funds, a modest honorarium for the Southern Regional Council would be appreciated but my services are available, of course, without the honorarium.

May I suggest that your Texas organization (which will be acting, no doubt, as host to the convention) contact our Executive Secretary for our Texas Commission on Race Relations: Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, 309 West 21st Street, Austin, Texas. I believe you will find him to be of service to you in many ways and he will be glad to offer you his full cooperation.

Mrs. Charles Williams, your president, has long been a good friend of mine. I taught at the University of Miami in the Department of Human Relations and knew her down home on several different university projects and committees. I also had the pleasure of being a fellow graduate student with her at the Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University.

Thank you very much for asking me to participate in this workshop and I shall look forward to seeing you in Texas if opportunity for our meeting does not present itself prior to that.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf
cc: Sutherland
Mrs Williams

MRS. CHARLES L. WILLIAMS, *President*
1200 N. W. Sixth Avenue
Miami 36, Florida

MRS. ODESSA MCKINNEY, *Vice-President*
61 South 17th Court
Birmingham 5, Alabama

L. A. TONEY, *Treasurer*
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

JEANNETTA CHASE, *Secretary*
State Teachers College
Bowie, Maryland

MRS. ETHEL W. KIGHT, *Asst. Sec'y.*
403 Depot Street
LaGrange, Georgia

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS & TEACHERS

NATIONAL OFFICE
123 South Queen Street
DOVER, DELAWARE

February 2, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Anburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

The National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers will hold their 29th annual convention in the Dunbar High School, San Antonio, Texas June 19-22, 1955.

On Monday, June 20th, a workshop session will be held from 10:30 to 11:45 A. M., discussing the topic. "Steps to Meet Pressing Problems."

The program committee of the National Congress invites you to speak on the subject and act as consultant . Working with you and also speaking will be Miss Roberta Church, U. S. Department of Labor, Washing, D. C.

We sincerely hope it will be possible for you to be with us on this occasion.

Will you kindly state what our financial responsibility will be for this service.

Cordially yours,

Cecie P. Henry

Mrs. Wm. W. M. Henry
Director, National Office

April 11, 1956

Mrs. Charles L. Williams
1200 N.W. 6th Avenue
Miami 36, Florida

Dear Mayme:

Thank you for your good letter of March 31 confirming your invitation to me to attend and speak at the annual convention of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. I have noted on my calendar the dates of June 18 and 19 for Shreveport and will count on being there this time for sure.

You ask about the financial considerations involved. They are these: transportation round-trip, Atlanta to Shreveport, plus living costs while in Shreveport. It would be nice if you all could find a fifty dollar honorarium for the Southern Regional Council. Most groups usually do this when either George Mitchell or I speak to them, but let it be said my coming is not dependent on any honorarium.

I have read with interest your Annual Report summary to the National Board of Managers and find that you have been a most capable President and a most active person during your tenure in office. My congratulations to you on a job so obvisouly well done.

I too enjoyed seeing you in Memphis and meeting your good friend. Alice Spearman of South Carolina did relay your message to me and I was deeply appreciative. Alice said that you were one of the most wonderful persons she had ever met and that you exuded goodness as few others she had ever known. I trust that Irene was a great success in her address to the Dade County Council. I was interested in receiving an announcement from them regarding the meeting. There is great need for local councils and local effort to see us through these challenging and exciting times.

When next I get to Miami I shall certainly stop by to see you.

My best regards to my many friends down there. I think of you all so often and miss the good times we used to have together.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

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Mayme Williams
President
1953

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- From "Our National Family"
December, 1955

Official Program

Twenty-Ninth Annual Convention

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS AND TEACHERS

June 19-22, 1955

Dunbar Junior High School
San Antonio, Texas

Theme: Meeting Today's Challenge

MRS. CHAS. L. WILLIAMS, *National President*

"New occassions teach new duties
Time makes ancient truths uncouth."

– LOWELL

OBJECTS

Of Parent-Teacher Association

To promote the welfare of children and youth in home, school, church, and community.

To raise the standards of home life.

To secure adequate laws for the care and protection of children and youth.

To bring into closer relation the home and the school, that parents and teachers may cooperate intelligently in the training of the child.

To develop between educators and the general public such united efforts as will secure for every child the highest advantages in physical, mental, social and spiritual education.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mrs. Odessa McKinny
Vice President

Mrs. W. W. M. Henry
Director, Nat. Office

Miss Jeannetta Chase
Secretary

Mr. L. A. Toney
Treasurer

Mrs. J. S. Morgan
Member At Large

Mrs. B. A. Mayberry
Moral and Spiritual

NATIONAL CHAIRMEN

Mrs. E. W. Kight
Assistant Secretary

Mrs. M. Caldwell
Publicity

NATIONAL CHAIRMEN

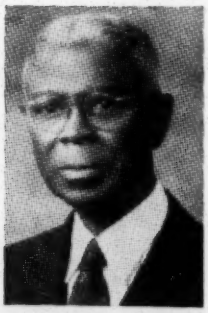
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mrs. D. C. Rayford
Rural Service

Mrs. P. McK. Brown
Mental Health

Mrs. M. J. Hitch
School Education

Mrs. B. B. Watson
Preschool



Atty. Wm. I. Lee
Legislation and
Parliamentarian

Rev. James D. Pair
Budget and Finance

S. M. Blackburn
Membership

Mrs. L. S. Avant
Parent Education

Mrs. O. K. Glass
Founders Day

Theme: Meeting Today's Challenge

PROGRAM

SATURDAY, JUNE 18

Evening

7:00 Board of Managers Workshop Session
"A New Look at the PTA Program"

Leaders:
Mrs. J. S. Morgan, Chairman
Mrs. Henry R. Butler, Sr.
Mrs. A. M. P. Strong
Mrs. Wm. W. M. Henry
Mrs. Chas. L. Williams

Participants:
Members of the National Board of Managers

SUNDAY, JUNE 19

Morning

10:00 Memorial Service, Mrs. Hugh L. Bransford, Maryland

11:00 - 12 Setting-up Workshop and Convention
Announcement of Committees
Briefing Workshop Leaders and Recorders
Committee Meetings

Afternoon

2:00 - 4:00 Registration

Committee Meetings

Evening

6:00 Annual Dinner Meeting: Honoring State Presidents and Life Members

Presiding, Mrs. M. J. Hitch

Invocation: The Reverend W. J. Johnson, Pastor
St. Luke Baptist Church, San Antonio

Solo, Mrs. H. R. Blair

Greetings:
Dr. O' Hara Lanier, President Texas Southern University
Mrs. H. G. Stinnette, Regional Vice-president
National Congress of Parents and Teachers

Address:
Mr. W. C. Malloy, Director, South Texas Region
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Subject—"One Nation Under God.

Solo, H. R. James

Presentations:
New Life Members
The State Presidents
National Officers
National Chairmen

Awards
Mrs. Chas. L. Williams, National President

Announcements

MONDAY, JUNE 20

Presiding: Mrs. Charles L. Williams, National President
Convention Song Leader, Mrs. Clara B. Gay, Georgia

Morning

9:00 Presentation of The Colors
Scout Troop No. 72

Pledge to The Flag

The National Anthem

Invocation: Rev. Ernest A. Smith, Pastor
St. Paul Methodist Church, San Antonio

Morning Meditation: Courage for Our Times
The National President

Singing: Trinity

Roll Call of the States
Miss Jeannetta Chase, National Secretary

Presentation of Program: Mrs. T. S. Morris, Program Chairman

Business Session:
Committee Reports
Convention Rules
Nominating Committee

10:30 Panel Discussion:
Providing Education to Meet the Needs of Individuals in A Free Society
Meeting Pressing Needs

Participants:
Dr. Artemisia Bowden, St. Phillips, College, San Antonio, Texas
Dr. M. L. Ore, Houston-Tillotson College
Miss Roberta Church, Consultant U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

11:30 Question Period

11:45 Convention Picture

Afternoon

1:30 Workshop Session
Group 1. Leaders:
Dr. Artemisia Bowden
Dr. M. L. Ore
Consultant: Dr. D. C. Partridge
Recorder: Ned Brown

Group 2. Leaders:
Miss Roberta Church
Mr. Fred Routh
Consultant: Mrs. Marguerite Caldwell
Recorder: John A. Taliafero

4:00 Committee Meetings
Sight Seeing Trip

Evening

8:00 Texas Night
Presiding, Mrs. W. E. Jones, President Texas Congress

Lift Every Voice and Sing

Invocation: The Reverend John D. Moore, Pastor Congregation Church, Houston, Texas

Greetings:
From the Clergy, The Rev. S. H. James
Mr. John E. Codwell, President Principal's Association
Mrs. Nanie Belle Aycox, President State Teachers Assn.
Director, Student Teaching, Texas Southern University
Council of Parents and Teachers

The Public School System, Mr. T. B. Portwood, Superintendent, San Antonio Independent School District.

The Mayor of San Antonio

Solo:

Response:
Mrs. Gladys V. Dobson, Past President Oklahoma Congress

Music:

Introduction of the National President, Mrs. J. S. Morgan, Past National President

Annual Address:
Mrs. Charles L. Williams, National Presdient
Subject: "Time to Take Stock"

Reception, Texas Congress Courtesy

TUESDAY, JUNE 21

Presiding: Mrs. Odessa McKinney, Vice President

Morning

9:00 Music

Voting

9:30 Invocation

Morning Meditation Mrs. Mary C. Holiday

Business Session:

Reports:
Membersip, S. M. Blackburn
Treasurer, L. A. Toney
Budget and Finance, Rev. J. D. Pair
Credentials, Mrs. T. S. Pegram
Founders Day, Mrs. O. K. Glass
Revision of the Constitution, Rev. J. D. Pair
Auditor, Rev. J. D. Pair
Resolutions, R. F. Brooks
Publicity, Mrs. Marguerite Caldwell
Time and Place, Wm. E. Woods
Memorial, Mrs. Hugh L. Bransford
Courtesy, Mrs. Garland Speaker
Intergroup Relations, Dr. D. Cannon Partridge

Election of Officers, Mr. Wm. I. Lee, Chairman

10:30 Panel: "Providing Education to Meet the Needs of Individuals in a Free Society"

"Meeting Pressing Needs."

Dr. John E. Codwell, Principal Phyllis Wheatley High School, Houston

Mrs. H. G. Stinnette, Regional Vice President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers

Miss Velma T. McEwen, Executive Director, Fort Worth Urban League

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, Southern Regional Council

11:45 Question Period

Afternoon

1:30 Music

Workshop Session

Group 1. Leaders:

Dr. John E. Codwell
Mrs. H. G. Stinnett
Resource Person: Mrs. B. B. Watson
Recorder: Mr. Walter E. Rusan

Group 2. Leaders:

Miss Velma T. McEwen
Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland
Resource: S. M. Blackburn
Recorder: Mrs. A. L. Younger

3:00 Business Session

Evaluation of the Workshop

Election Returns

Installation of Officers, Mrs. Henry R. Butler, Sr.

A Rededication to Our Common Task, Miss Tessie Oliver, President, Alabama Congress

Evening

Presiding, Mrs. Chas. L. Williams, National President

7:00 Youth Town Meeting

Moderator: Mr. Elva K. Steward, Texas Southern University

Participants:

Miss Billy Jean McNeeley, San Antonio
Mr. Roger W. Lee, San Antonio
Rev. J. D. Linton, Texas Southern University
Mr. George Turner, Southern University
President Student Council
Miss Barbara C. Jordan, Houston

Subject: Meeting Today's Challenge in
Religion

Education, Job Opportunities

Community Living

Intergroup Understanding

Consultants:

A. J. Taylor, Boy Scouts of America
Chas. H. Bynum, National Foundation of Infantile Paralysis
Mrs. Jo H. Luckie, Girl Scouts of U.S.A.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Auditing:

Rev. Jas. D. Pair, Chairman; Miss Jeannetta Chase, and Rev. Z. Townsend

Courtesy:

Mrs. Garland Speaker, Chairman; Mrs. W. E. Jones, Mrs. Sophia L. Jackson, Mrs. Leon H. Jones, and Mrs. Lena Williams

Election:

Wm. I. Lee, Chairman; S. M. Blackburn, Mrs. L. C. Reddick, Mrs. T. G. Almore, and Mrs. Clara Gay

Exhibits:

Mrs. Daisy Murrell, Chairman; Mrs. Marguerite Caldwell, and Miss Tessie Oliver

Memorial:

Mrs. Hugh L. Bransford, Chairman; Mrs. D. C. Rayford, and Mrs. O. K. Glass

Publicity:

Mrs. Marguerite Caldwell, Chairman; Dr. D. Cannon Partridge, Ned Brown, Mrs. Hugh L. Bransford, and Mrs. E. W. Kight

Registration:

Mrs. T. S. Pegram, Chairman; Mrs. S. E. Burrell, Mrs. M. J. Muldron, Mrs. C. C. Anderson, and Mrs. D. B. Sanders

Resolutions:

Mr. Walter Rusan, Chairman; Mrs. M. J. Hitch, Mrs. D. M. Jarnagin, and Mrs. Lavera S. Avant

Tellers:

J. F. Barnes, Chairman; Mrs. B. B. Watson, Mrs. Maggie Noble, Mrs. A. L. Younger, and Mrs. Burt A. Mayberry

Texas Planning Committee:

Mrs. Garland Speaker, Chairman; Mrs. K. Blakely, Mrs. John Thompson, Mrs. Charles Hudspeth, Mrs. O. B. Cheritan, Mrs. D. C. Pickett, Mrs. D. M. Jones, Mrs. S. D. Andrews, Mr. V. W. Walker.

TRINITY

(Tune, "America")

Georgia Douglas Johnson

Dedicated to the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

My mother, kind and true,
I sing a song to you
In grateful praise.
Long may your tender light
Make earth's dark places bright
And lead my steps aright
Through life's dark ways.

My father, strong and brave,
Fighting my strength to save
For coming years.
Oh may I worthy prove
Of your great faith and love
And grow in strength above
My simple fears.

My teacher, patient, kind,
Guiding my heart and mind
In wisdom's ways.
Oh may I grow to be
A rich and fruitful tree,
That your dear eyes may see
Fair harvest days.

My parents, teacher, three,
Earth's perfect trinity,
God gave you me,
Like clay into your hand
To mould me for the land
'Til I am strong to stand
For destiny!

CONVENTION RULES

When addressing the chair from the floor, a delegate shall give his name and state represented.

No delegate may speak more than three minutes on any one subject under discussion, nor more than twice upon the same subject.

No resolutions may be presented from the floor, but must be presented to the chairman of the resolutions committee.

Voting delegates must register at the registration desk, pay a fee of $1.00, where upon badges and official convention materials will be presented.

Visiting members may attend all sessions of the convention if they register and pay the $1.00 fee.

Invited guests will receive guest cards entitling them to attend all sessions of the convention.

Voting delegates, visitors and guests are requested to wear their badges at all sessions.

NOTES

NOTES

MRS. CHARLES L. WILLIAMS, *President*
1200 N. W. Sixth Avenue
Miami 36, Florida

MRS. ODESSA MCKINNEY, *Vice-President*
61 South 17th Court
Birmingham 5, Alabama

L. A. TONEY, *Treasurer*
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

JEANNETTA CHASE, *Secretary*
State Teachers College
Bowie, Maryland

MRS. ETHEL W. KIGHT, *Asst. Sec'y.*
403 Depot Street
LaGrange, Georgia

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS & TEACHERS

NATIONAL OFFICE
123 South Queen Street
DOVER, DELAWARE

March 31,1956

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

It was so good to see you in Memphis recently-even tho briefly. And thanks for the encouragement-because I was surely pessimistic that morning. Thanks,too,for your letter of explanation about the San Antonio convention. All is forgiven. I knew there had to be a sound reason for your absence.

I am happy that you thought the 1956 convention date might fit into your busy schedule. We meet in Shreveport as I told you. We have 16 states left now. It will be our 30th anniversary. The convention theme is: Thirty Year Building Together. The 1956-57 theme (working theme) will be: Building Together.

The afternoons of June 18 and 19,we will have workshop sessions on the core idea of building together for children . We would benefit from your attendance . Especially would we like for you to speak to the delegates on the afternoon of the 19th before we go into the final workshop session. Built around the idea ; Putting Our Ideas To Work. It would certainly be inspirational as well as serving to five factual material to a group needing it.

Be frank about the financial considerations involved. And let me hear from you as soon as possible.

I have been to New Orleans and Texas since I saw you in early March. I hope Mrs. Spearman relayed my message to you. It was a joy to meet her and to work with her at the recent S.C.-P.T.A convention in Columbia.

Things are shaping up fast on many fronts. Keep your good work up. Come to Florida (Miami) when you can. We anticipate the visit of Irene with great pleasure.

Cordially yours,

Maynie (Dr Leste)

To: National Board of Managers, NCCPt.

From: Mayme E. Williams, National President

Re: Annual Report Summary, 1954-55

Date; June 18, 1955

Introductory Statement

It is a priviledge to give my second account of stewardship. It must of necessity be brief, but it represents many hours of work and many miles traveled. It represents, too, many warm and inspiring contacts with our zealous membership, and many rich experiences with others who are dedicated to noble causess.

Permit me to express sincere appreciation to all our workers and Board Members for supporting the national program; for the personal sacrifices made; for the encouraging messages; and for gracious thoughtfulness when I was in your midst. You have simply been wonderful!

Summarization of Activities (June 1954 - June 18, 1955)

Organizational

1. Wrote a message for 3 issues of "Our National Family."
2. Wrote a meassage for Founders Day Bulletin and for Boy Scouts Brochure.
3. Careful attention given to a constant stream of correspondence.
4. Messages sent to state conventions.
5. Visited National Office of NCCPT and worked with Office Director.
6. Circularized periodically a newsletter or memorandum.
7. Participanted on 4 state convention programs.

Other Activities

June - Participated on NEA panel in New York City. Subject area: "Desegregation of public schools"

July - Attended Florida State conference on desegragation; in Jacksonville.

September - Participated on Urban League National Convention program, in Pittsburgh (First invitation extended to a PTA.)

September - Delegate to annual Citizenship Conference; in Washington, D. C.

Attended District of Columbia PTA meeting. President Brooks, presiding.

Held conferences with Mr. Toney, and Mesdames Caldwell and Selden.

October - Attended 4th Roundtable Conference at Arden House, Harriman, N. Y.

Banquet speaker at West Va. Congress Convention; in Wheeling, West Va.

Panel speaker on YWCA forum series in Jacksonville, Fla. Subject area - "The Role of the PTA in Desegregation."

November - Presided at Executive Committee meeting of NCCPT; in Atlanta, Ga.

Participated on program of North Carolina Congress Convention; in Charlotte, N. C.

- Appointed by President Eisenhower to serve on Presidents' Committee for White House Conference on Education.

December - Attended first meeting of Presidents' Committee; in Washington. The committee was received by President Eisenhower at the White House. A memorable day! (Three Negroes on Committee).

Guest speaker at Texas Congress Convention, in Port Arthur.

Planned with President and San Antonio Council for 1955 National Convention.

January - Attended Presidents' Committee meeting in Washington.

Attended Joint Meeting of NCPt and NCCPT in Chicago at National headquarters of NCPT, on their invitation.

February - Conference with D. C. Executive Committee at home of Mrs. Caldwell. (All National officers were present).

Guest of National Office Director; Official work cleared and convention program rounded out.

Banquet speaker for Delaware Founders Day celebration. (400 present)

Observed Delaware Congress and schools in action.

Guest speaker and panel member for Florida Congress Convention, in Miami.

Chaired a session of Annual Intergroup Institute (Brotherhood Week) at University of Miami.

March - Sub-committee meeting of President's White House Committee (organizations) in Washington.

Sub-committee meeting of President's Committee at MIT in Cambridge. Subject: "What Shall The School Accomplish?"

White House Committee Meeting in Washington.

Speaker: Florida State Teachers Association in Orlando.

Roundtable Conference: Arden House. Subject - Desegregation.

April - Guest speaker for Missouri Congress Convention, in Jefferson City.

Guest speaker for Alabama Congress Convention, in Montgomery. (over 1,000 in attendance) Conferences with 3 National Officers. Interviewed on radio.

Sub-committee meeting of President's Committee, in New York. (Speaking engagement in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Guest of Mrs. A. M. P. Strong in Marianna.)

Received appointment from Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby to serve as special consultant, on National Advisory Committee for Polio Vaccine.

May - First meeting of above Committee was held in Washington. (May 2) most informing.

President's Committee met in Washington. (May 11)

Guest of 59th Annual Convention of NCPT in Chicago. Honor guest at Life Members Buffet Dinner at Hotel Sherman. Spoke on opening session program at Civic Opera Auditorium.

June - Sub-committee meeting of President's Committee (Area 1) in Cambridge, Mass at MIT.

Directed setting up of 29th Annual Convention of NCCPT in San Antonio, Texas.
(Scheduled for June Advisory Committee meeting, for Polio Vaccine, in D. C. In July - President's Committee, in D. C.).

Observations

It has been gratifying to observe a new and more truly demoratic trend in our country. Let us not fail to accept our responsibility as leaders, for molding positive concepts of "liberty, freedom and justice for all."

While much remains for us to do, it is encouraging to note that we have come a long way in 29 years. State Congress programs conventions and projects have taken on a "new look". This is commendable!

At least 3 state congress branches will dissolve this year: Missouri, Washington and Kansas. Other fringe states will follow in the foreseeable future. Their support and fellowship will be greatly missed, but this simply follows the democratic and PTA way.

Many invitations were not accepted, because of expenses involved.

The prestige of the PTA is rising. Let us be careful and not misuse our influence.

"Give us courage, and the quiet mind, give us the strength to encounter that which is to come,"

MEW.
1700 N.W. 6 Ave.
Miami, Fla.

Air Mail

Mr. Fred Kroth
So. Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,
N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Answered - yes
TBR
- See inside -

TO: NATIONAL BOARD OF MANAGERS, NCCPT

FROM: MAYME E. WILLIAMS, NATIONAL PRESIDENT

DATE: JUNE 16, 1956

RE: ANNUAL SUMMARY REPORT, 1955-56

Introductory Statement

We have reached the thirtieth milestone in the journey of our organization. The welfare of children and youth has been our chief concern throughout the years. If there has been failure in this responsibility to our children, let us take up the cause and with new energy, vision and courage, meet this new challenge.

The past year has been a full one. With spreading, interest in our Congress, the responsibilities of the president have increased likewise. As I review my year, as your president, a feeling of gratitude is uppermost, for you have been loyal, kind, patient and cooperative. I am truly grateful!

Summarization of Activities (June 1955-June 17, 1956)

Organizational

1. Careful attention given to a large volume of mail, telephone calls and telegrams.
2. Visited National Office and worked with Office Director.
3. Circularized a periodic memorandum.
4. Contributed to the three issues of "OUR NATIONAL FAMILY".
5. Planned and conducted Executive Committee Meeting.
6. Assisted Louisiana officers in preliminary planning for 1956 National Convention.
7. Circularized NCCPT Action Program.
8. Directed national program and national convention planning.

Monthly Activities (Highlights)

June - Attended National Advisory Committee Meeting for Distribution of Salk Vaccine-Washington, D. C. at call of U. S. Surgeon General.

July - Lectured on desegregation issue at University of Texas (Austin) and Our Lady of the Lake College (San Antonio).
Served as consultant for Second Annual Leadership (PTA) Institute sponsored by Texas Southern University (Houston).

September - Attended Presidents' Committee Meeting for White House Conference on Education-Washington, D. C.
Public Relations Committee Chairman represented NCCPT at National Citizenship Conference, Washington, D. C.
Personal contact with National Officers in Washington area.
Invited to President Eisenhower's Conference on "Fitness of American Youth-Denver, Colorado. Cancelled because of his illness.
Participated in Floridas' White House Conference on Education, Tallahassee, Fla.
Met in a week-end convention planning conference with Louisiana officers in Shreveport. Personal contact with Mississippi PTA leaders in Jackson on this trip.
Vice President represented NCCPT at Polio Conference in New York.

October - Attended White House Conference Committee Meeting, Washington, D. C.
Presided at Executive Committee Session of NCCPT, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.
Group discussion leader at National Organizations Round Table on the Public Schools Meeting, Arden House (New York)
Attended White House Committee Meeting, Washington, D. C.
Attended sub-committee meeting of White House Committee, Washington, D. C.

November - Program participant at Florida Convention of Congress of Parents and Teachers, Miami, Florida.

November (continued) - Treasurer L. A. Toney represented NCCPT at UNESCO Conference, Cincinnati, Ohio.

December - Served with White House Committee Members and Staff in projection of historic White House Conference on Education

January - Attended White House Conference Committee Meeting, Washington, D. C.
Attended annual Joint NCPT-NCCPT Meeting, Chicago, Illinois. Submitted a progress report.
Substituted on program of National Beauty Culturist League's executive session for Mr. Charles Bynum of National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, in Miami, Florida.
Invited to attend presentation ceremony of Congressional Medal to Dr. Jonas Salk.

February - Participated on convention program of Florida Congress (NCCPT), Tallahassee, Florida.

March - Guest speaker for Arkansas Congress, Newport, Arkansas.
Conference with New Orleans (La.) PTA Council leaders and state officers.
Represented NCCPT at inauguration of Dr. S. M. Nabrit at Texas Southern University, Houston.
Informal conferences with president of Texas Congress.
Guest speaker at South Carolina Convention, Columbia, South Carolina.
Guest (and speaker) of City PTA Council, Charleston, South Carolina.

April - Attended National Advisory Committee Meeting (Salk Vaccine) in Washington, D. C.
Speaker on Tenth District PYA Council session, Miami, Florida.
Attended spring meeting of Round-table at Arden House, New York.

May - Attended President Eisenhowers' Traffic Safety Conference at Miami Beach, Florida. Southern Region.
Participated on 35th Quadrennial Convention program of AME Church, Miami, Florida.

May (continued) - Public Relations Chairman represented NCCPT at National Elementary Conference, Washington, D. C.
Invited to attend Presidents' Conference on Fitness of American Youth at Annapolis, Maryland-June 19-19, also Convention of NCPT - San Francisco.

June - Consultant-Southern Regional Conference on Human Relations.
University of Oklahoma (Norman, Okla.)

Conclusion

It would appear from this summary report that we are "building together" for the children and youth of America. And surely it is so. May we all do our part as move forward with the "Builder of suns and seas, the Master of human destinies".

May we remember that---"not in his goals-but in his transition man is great." - Emerson.

Respectfully submitted,

Mayne E. Williams

Mayne E. Williams

Copy - RHA

June 20, 1956

Mrs. Charles Williams, President
National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
c/o Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Mayme:

It was truly a joy to be with you and the other participants at the 30th Annual Conference of the NCCPT in Shreveport. I enjoyed the sessions very much and thought that the group had gotten down to brass tacks in a hurry and this impressed me. Dr. Davis and Dr. Caliver surely made great addresses to the assembly. I thought little Mrs. Burr was a real addition to the gathering too. But, as usual, the star performer in my book was my good friend from Miami - Mayme Williams.

Enclosed is my expense account for the conference. Note that there are three nights of hotel bill, one of those being in Oklahoma City in between the two conferences, and since I billed the ADL for the air transportation, I figured I had better not bill them for the extra nights' lodging.

It was wonderful to be with you and I hope that it may be possible for me to stop off at the Encampment for Citizenship sometime during its session.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Encl.

August 7, 1956

Mrs. Charles L. Williams
1200 N. W. Sixth Avenue
Miami 36, Florida

Dear Mayme:

The two checks came through as promised and many, many thanks for them.

Enclosed is a letter acknowledging them to your Treasurer, Mr. L. A. Toney.

Believe me, it was a real pleasure to be with your group, and to see the active interest they have in furthering the cause of democracy in the South.

Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Encl.

cc: Mrs. Charles Williams (with note)

August 7, 1956

Mr. L. A. Toney, Treasurer
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Toney:

We have received your two checks - one for my expenses in attending the National Convention of the NCCPT, and one for fifty dollars as an honorarium for services rendered.

We wish to thank you very much for these two checks. I have donated the honorarium to the Southern Regional Council, because I believe it will further the work in which we are both engaged, and because I was on the Council's salary during the time I was at the National Convention.

This money is of considerable help to the Council at this time for, like many organizations, the last few weeks of the fiscal year are always the driest.

Thank you for your generosity and kindness.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Encls.

NCCPT

May 9, 1957

Mrs. Charles Williams
Booker T. Washington High School
Miami, Florida

Dear Mayme:

I have just come across an article about and a picture of a good friend of mine on page 9 of the May issue of Better Schools. The heading on the article reads "Negro PTA Group Works Toward Own Dissolution." The picture is labeled "Mrs. Williams."

I think the goal of eventually merging the NCCPT with the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is a good one, but I would caution you against too rapid dissolution of state chapters in the deep South. Until the regular PTA has a practice of "open occupancy" for the seats in its circle, there is a real need for the NCCPT.

Warm regards to all my friends, but best to you.

Always,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

file

NATIONAL
COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

23 April 1965

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell
CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

To NCALL Directors and Alternates

From Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

About Mid-year meeting of the Board of Directors

As previously announced, the Mid-year meeting of the Board will take place

Wednesday, 26 May 1965, at the office at 9:30 AM

Formally, the Mid-year meeting will be preceeded by the adjourned Annual Meeting, starting at 9:30. The sole item on the agenda is election of a President.

The Mid-year meeting will convene immediately upon the conclusion of that session. Among the items to be discussed and acted upon are:

Election of a Third Vice President, replacing Dan Bedell who resigned to continue as vice-chairman of the Administrative Committee

Economic Opportunity programs: report on the meeting to be held here on 28 April with OEO

Report of the Committee to Review the Statement of Objectives and Program

Amendment to the By-Laws, proposed by the Board at the Annual meeting. This is your notice of the proposal to change Article III Section as follows (~~old~~ new):

(d) Members shall pay a ~~$25.00~~ $50.00 annual subscription for NCALL publications and other informational communications, but member organizations composed of students shall pay $25.00.

Discussion of timely legislation

And such other matters as may be suggested.

You are reminded of the First Annual James P Mitchell Seminar to be held the night before the meeting and featuring William Seabron, Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture for Civil Rights

Mrs. Poitte

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS AND TEACHERS, INC.

Thirtieth Annual Convention

REPORT OF THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS COMMITTEE

****

"And I saw in my dreams" is a phrase that recurs in John Bunyan's account of Christian's adventures in Pilgrim's Progress. Fifty-nine years ago-- and thirty years ago, another adventure started with a dream--a vision with roots in the reality of great accomplishment--objects so real and sure that in all these years they stand firm and steadfast.

Founders, leaders, throughout this country and several territories, have served well their day and passed on, handing us the torch to hold it high!

During these years of the existences of the Congress there have been many changes made in its methods and points-of-view of projects and activities as we took on new leadership; but not a change in its unity of purpose and its steadfast goal --"An equal chance for every child, irrespective of race, creed, or national origin."

The past year in the P.T.A. has been the same as any other year. There have been 365 days--180 school days--nine intensive months of active participation in the P.T.A.--three months of gathering new ideas and study for another year's challenge and opportunity. Problems have been faced, solutions attempted in some immediate and specific study on long-range activities in the light of present-day realities. We have shared our faith and our disappointments-- our fears and our hopes, never for a moment losing sight in our united efforts to know the child, and to know the factors that influence his whole life--physicial, mental, social, and spiritual growth.

In the light of this brief background review, what have been the OBJECTIVES of the Intergroup Relations Committee?

1) To develop a workable philosophy in human relations and intergroup education on the local level. Nothing becomes real until it becomes local.

2) To develop wholesome attitudes and ease tensions--for greater understanding, and to provide a basis for sound psychological adjustments essential to workable solutions.

3) To promote a study in both home and school of the great historical documents of citizenship and democracy-- the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Charter of the United Nations -- that we may be aware of the problems, grave problems, facing today's leaders in trying to build a united world.

4) Provide occasions to seek out leaders in all communities where integration is being tried, or where planning committees or groups are engaged in efforts to encourage such integration. Such an exchange would be helpful as well as inspiring and might serve

to promote favorable action at the community level.

5) To continue joint meetings to discuss common interests and concerns on National, State and local levels, for better understanding of goals

6) To rededicate ourselves to the Objects and Permanent Platform of the National Congress and bring to full realization the Pledge to Children and Youth which was adopted at the Midcentury White House Conference

SCATTERED POINTS OF VIEW

Scattered points of view have been indicated in the following suggestions:

1. Interchange meetings of small groups of parents of both races for informal discussions on the basis of the issue.

2. A factual report from states on how integration has succeeded in communities where it has been tried.

3. Insistence that compliance with the law is a part of good citizenship and a moral responsibility.

4. Community workshops with parents participating, in which basic aspects of integration would be discussed in non-technical terms.

5. Scientific studies of such terms as: prejudice, race amalgamation, and miscegenation.

6. Getting minority groups of parents of all races working together on projects other than race projects--for example, united community funds; boy and girl scouts; juvenile delinquency programs, community wide recreation, health, art and music programs; civil defense; and other welfare programs.

SCATTERED POINTS OF VIEW REGARDING WORKABLE SOLUTIONS OF INTEGRATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

1. Integration of the first four years of grade school immediately, then upward one grade a year. This would give considerable time for adult and community readiness.

2. Integration of the first eight grades immediately, then upward, year by year.

3. Removal of all segregation machinery, with assignment of pupils according to school districts that have been set up honestly.

4. The Southern Regional Council Idea: Form local "interracial" councils, study the facts, work on projects of common interests, and develop a broader sense of community betterment. Begin the integration process at points of least resistance.

5. The St. Louis, Missouri, Idea: Form community-wide human relations councils--bringing together groups working for community betterment and improvement in all areas. Include school integration as a "deliberate objective," and urge all-out integration community-wide including pupils, teachers, all.

6. Informal interracial groups meeting on common community problems--making good will and friendship - to relieve tensions and fears.

7. Exchange of speakers for various occasions in school and community and publicity regarding the condition of Negro schools and the economic burden of a dual system.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JOINT MEETINGS OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS AND THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS AND TEACHERS (As revised at the meeting in Chicago, January 22, 1956)

One of our most important considerations is the matter of interracial and intercultural attitudes and activities. Anything we can do together to demonstrate that different races and cultures can live together with respect for each other's contributions, with each accepting responsibility for the common good, and with fair treatment for all, will be a significant contribution to the national welfare and to the future good of all children. This is an ideal toward which we must work in practical ways.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. That it be recommended to each state congress that a committee in group relations be set up on local level, and State level.

II. That such committees sponsor regularly scheduled conferences at which they will:
   a. Assess the existing situation in the field of group relations
   b. Plan for future activities on the basis of need.
   c. Stimulate definite programs of action--national, state, local.

III. That state and local parent-teacher groups:

   a. Encourage school authorities--
      1. To expand school curricula so that all children will be given the opportunity to develop the skills, intelligence, and moral character that will enable them to learn how to live successfully as individuals and as family members and at the same time to make a living for themselves and others.
      2. To equalize the personnel and physical facilities of school systems in the form of transportation, buildings, and instructional equipment, in order that such expanded curricula may be fully effective.

   c. Promote parent education through-- study groups to improve home, school, and community living; personal contact; cooperation with adult education agencies; extension courses

   d. Initiate action to secure adequate housing for all citizens that children may grow up in decent communities.

   e. Sponsor citizenship institutes and conferences and educational programs for those voting for the first time

IV. That state and local groups follow up the White House Conference on Education through cooperation in futhering state and local conferences on education.

ROLL CALL OF STATES

ALABAMA: Miss Tessie Oliver, President, Mrs. Irene West Chairman

Engaged in many worthwhile activities during year-- Observances-- World Day of Prayer, National Education Week, Brotherhood Week. The Chairman of Intergroup Relations was among the 90 persons to be arrested in connection with "Bus protest" in Montgomery. Despite this plans for an all-out departmental session, organizing 6 groups in the State in promoting study to create better interracial relations among members of the PTA and the community in general, and to increase the awareness of all regarding the role of Intergroup relations in achieving our new responsibilities in this changing society, as we move forward Building Together.

* * * *

ARKANSAS: Mrs. Dovie Anderson, President, Mr. C. A. Hicks, Chairman

Observances-- United Nations Day, World Day of Prayer, Brotherhood Week, I am An American Day. Program sent of the 28th annual convention held at Newport, Arkansas in March. Impressed with Health Workshop in Helping Children and Youth to achieve wholesome social and emotional adjustment in Meeting Today's Challenge

* * * * *

FLORIDA: Mrs. D. B.Sanders, President, Mrs. Alma Brooks, Chairman

Impressed with report of Legislation Chairman-- "securing adequate laws for care and protection of children and youth; the promotion of better adult education in all local communities--getting people to want to be informed-- working with local boards of education; accepting our responsibilities in helping to achieve and build a better world. The INFORMER-- official publication of the Congress for March was indeed interesting and inspiring. The closing statement of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mr. Thomas D. Bailey, gives, to me, something of the thinking of that State: "The unbeatable combination of teacher and parent, working together for what is best for the child, always striving to do even better than before, to provide the very best educational opportunities for all-- this is the real strength of America."

* * * * *

KENTUCKY: Mr. W. M. Wood, President, Mrs. Thomas Blue, Chairman

Observantes-- World Day of Prayer, National Education Week As a follow-up of the projects advanced last year-- Corresponded with officials of Kentucky Congress suggesting means of working together toward compliance with the law. Stimulating project during the year was Forum-- "Youth Speaks"-- an integrated group of high school pupils who discuss all problems facing the youth. News release on progress report on Integration in Kentucky Schools in an address by State Superintendent of Public Instruction to the 80th annual session of Kentucky Teachers Association--"I believe we can work the problem out here giving time and patience-- "

* * *

LOUISIANA: Mrs. Eddie Jones, President, Mrs.Virginia Collins,Chairman

Through panel discussions, forum sessions on Human Relations in 8 districts --each with a chairman of Intergroup Relations

Observances: World Day of Prayer; National Education Week, Brotherhood Week

* Met with "Regional Chairman of National Probation and Parole Association on a survey on Juvenile Delinquency"
* Citizens' Forum on Integration -- Series of Adult Education Forums
* Citizenship Award Party and Freedom Agenda Meeting of New Orleans Council - Certificate of participation presented
* Bill of Rights presented to New Orleans Council by the Mayor
* Theme for year was - "What Parents Want the Schools to do for their Children." -- and it was felt the greatest need was understanding

* * * *

OKLAHOMA: Mrs. Maggie Noble, President, Mrs. Rubye M.Hall,Chairman

Inspiring and challenging year for Oklahoma-- rapid changes in intercultural relationships - history making events which necessarily change the context of the entire pattern culturally, as we look on. The State P.T.A. and the local units have played a tremendous role in these events.

* Participation in Human Relations Workshop in Human Relations at Oklahoma University
* Observances: United Nations Day, National Education Week, World Day of Prayer, I am an American Day, Brotherhood Week.
* 100% reporting on some type of inter-group activity-- panels, forums, workshops, luncheons and dinners
* Dissolution of our Negro State Congress and uniting with majority Congress in shaping public policy in favor of law and order and in accordance with the dictates of democracy, brotherhood and the welfare of children.

* * * *

NORTH CAROLINA: Mrs. Mary Holliday,President,Mrs.H.S.Davis,Chairman

Intergroup activities reviewed covering the periods - 1954-56

* Observances: World Day of Prayer, National Education Week, I am an American Day, Brotherhood Week.
* Promote awareness of any positive intergroup activity
* Study and secure facts to be accurate and forceful in presentations.
* Issues of mutual concern to all people, are good starting points-- (i.e. Health, School Bus Safety, Recreation, Juvenile Protection)
* Shared planning on all meetings as it concerns children and youth.
* Promote activities through already existing framework-- Councils, Family Life Conference, etc.
* Be sincere that your actions may be felt and meaningful.
* Study materials -- for planting seeds of faith-- "Rearing Children of Good Will," "The High Wall," and several others."

TENNESSEE: Mrs. G. M. Bumpus, President, Mrs. C. M. Hayes, Chairman

Intergroup Relations chairman active during the past year in urging councils to appoint chairmen to study community problems. The results from reports received have been gratifying. The Nashville Council conducted a panel on community responsibilities in a changing society, with outstanding leaders and laymen. The Council also was co-sponsor in a two day workshop with other organizations on Desegregation in the Public Schools.

Observances: World Day of Prayer, National Ed. Week, Brotherhood Week.

* * * *

TEXAS: Mrs, Hazel Patton Jones,

Congress represented at several intergroup meetings on State level for the purpose of identifying problems of integration and to decide as to the best procedure in view of the decision-- Important steps have been taken in almost every location in Texas and things are promising and hopeful. Of course there are many problems to be ironed out, but these will be tackled with vigor and determination.

* * * *

WEST VIRGINIA - Mrs. A. L. Younger, President

Intergroup Relations chairman has been ac

* Workshops on Human Relations and Intergroup Activities

* Due to location, we have been affected by the Supreme Court Decision. Our membership constantly is decreasing because of integration in certain areas and is rapidly spreading.

* Observances: World Day of Prayer, Brotherhood Week, I am an American Day, National Education Week.

* * * *

For the moment we feel we are knee-deep in unfinished business, with serious far-reaching depths on the part of us all. We cannot hurry away and start writing down the easy answers. The opportunities are great because the answers are hard. Let us continue to work and continue to keep a log of our observations in community study and look forward to having 100% representation at our Convention in 1957.

Respectfully submitted,
Ada M. Jarnagin, Chairman
Intergroup Relations

NATIONAL COUNCIL
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

INCORPORATED FEBRUARY 8, 1910
CHARTERED BY CONGRESS JUNE 15, 1916

NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

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RELATIONSHIPS DIVISION

Wheeler McMillen, Chairman
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INTERRACIAL SERVICE

Ray W. Sweazey, Director
A. J. Taylor, Assistant Director

January 30, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was good meeting both you and Mr. Anthony in Atlanta last week. I appreciate your helpful cooperation and assure you any help you folks can give us in connection with our efforts to learn more facts about our field of work and the current population shifts that are taking place will be sincerely appreciated.

As you have opportunity to be alerted to any situations where local Scouting people may need assistance and guidance in the area of racial relationships, we shall be grateful if you will share this information with us. Sometimes this news reaches us much too late for us to be of service as we would like to be.

With kind regards and good wishes,

Cordially yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA
Interracial Relationships

Ray W. Sweazey

Ray W. Sweazey
National Director

RWS:cb

A Reader's Digest
REPRINT

The Big Cook-Out

What happens when 50,000 hungry Boy Scouts drop in for chow

By J. P. McEvoy

"BE PREPARED" is the Boy Scout motto—but when Lord Baden-Powell, who founded the Boy Scout movement 50 years ago was asked, "Be prepared for what?" he replied airily, "For any old thing," and added, "Don't press. Easy does it when you're dealing with boys. The Zulu hunters have a wise saying, 'Softly, softly, catchee monkey.' "

Last July the general staff of the Boy Scouts of America had good reasons for remembering this bit of wisdom when they ran a week-long 27,000-tent encampment at historic Valley Forge. Fifty thousand Jamboreeing Boy Scouts poured in from cities, towns and farms all over the United States—each Scout brimming with high spirits, bubbling enterprise and frightening energy.

For more than two years scoutmasters had been preparing to transport, tent and feed these 50,000 hungry boys with mouths gaping like so many baby robins. Where were those cows to give 75,000 extra quarts of milk everyday for a week and then disappear? Those frantic hens under strict orders to lay 100,000 eggs per breakfast; those 1300 steers to provide steaks for just one meal; that nightly convoy of trucks loaded with, among other provisions, tons of bread? Those 45,000 pounds of hamburger, glaciers of ice cream, oceans of soft drinks (one incredible item: 100,000 Cokes a day)—and 17 miles of hot dogs?

The men who ran Operation Jamboree were not experts in logistics. They were just gifted amateurs who liked boys and had a lot of horse sense. "Let's take this in stride," said Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, Chief Scout Executive. "Look at it from the boys' angle—as a picnic, only a big one." Softly, softly, catchee monkey.

"Green Bar Bill" Hillcourt, the Boy Scouts' chief Scoutcraft expert, reassured everybody: "Boy Scouts have been camping and cooking for themselves for 50 years. Let's start with our basic unit, the Patrol. That's ten mouths. So let's think of

this Jamboree as 5000 families of ten all cooking and eating the same meal at the same time three times a day."

Skeptics said it couldn't be done this amateurish way. They expected to find history repeating itself at Valley Forge—only now it would be 50,000 starving boys instead of Washington's 11,000 hungry soldiers.

To their surprise they found a healthy army of boys cooking their own meals around 5000 charcoal fires. No mess tents, no field kitchens, no long chow lines and—happy days—no dishwashing!

"How do you do it?" they asked O. B. Evenson, responsible for getting all this done without snafus.

"We started with boy-proof menus," he said. "We drew on many years of camping experience all over America. We have 3,200,000 Scouts in this country and 558 permanent camping sites; next to the government, we have the largest camping areas in the country.

"One of our big problems was to cut waste. If we guessed wrong ordering one item—say, one ounce too much for a hamburger, this would waste more than a ton and a half of meat in a single meal. At a previous Jamboree we overestimated the boys' appetite for peanut butter. At the end I called up the supplier. 'We have some peanut butter left over.'

" 'Send it back,' he said good-naturedly. I said, 'I think I ought to tell you we have a carload of it.'

"There was a long pause. Finally he said, 'If you'll pardon the expression, that's a helluva lot of peanut butter, but send it back anyway.'

"We couldn't have leftovers—boys might start using spoiled food—so we eliminated refrigerators. The exact amount of food for three meals a day for ten mouths multiplied by 5000 Patrols was planned, packaged and delivered nightly by truck convoy with detailed instruc-

tions for preparing each meal (labeled by men who understood boys, "READ FULL INSTRUCTIONS TWICE BEFORE STARTING"). With the day's food came the exact number of necessary paper plates, cups, etc., together with waterproof paper bags for rubbish and garbage disposal."

"We couldn't have begun to do this," said Dr. Schuck, "without all the good will for the Boy Scouts, which is huge and heart-warming. The government, the armed services, big business and little businessmen, churches, service clubs, communities and individuals all helped us. The Army set up a complete field hospital and hundreds of Reserve doctors gave us their services."

The State of Pennsylvania spent $30,000 to kill the poison ivy, a major problem in the 1950 Jamboree.

But even Boy Scout leaders can't think of everything. There were June bugs, which invented a Boy Scout game of their own: crawling into the sleeping boys' ears. More than 200 boys were in the Army Hospital at one time having these playful bugs extracted.

The Jamboree was paid for by the Scouts themselves—each boy contributing $50—a total of some $2,500,000. But there were "Trading Posts" on the grounds where the Scouts got candy and soft drinks; the profits from these will be refunded to the boys. (After the last Jamboree, each refund amounted to $13.50.)

Some $500,000 was spent just to equip Valley Forge with five miles of sewers, twelve miles of electric lines, a telephone system, etc. The Scouts used up $600,000 worth of food and supplies, roughly 108 carloads. Each boy paid his own transportation from all over the United States, Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, unless sponsored by some local organization or individual. Most of them came by special trains on long sight-seeing detours. (The railroads gave them bargain rates—so did the bus lines.)

I lived in the middle of this buzzing Jamboree for a week in my field-office trailer, with thousands of Boy Scouts milling all around me, cracking bull whips, swapping Texas horned toads for squirrel tails, and marching up and down and around.

When I heard that all 50,000 of them would march into the arena with such exquisite timing that the last boy would sit down in the last seat one minute before curtain time, I said, "This I've got to see!"

I saw it. From all over this 2000 acres of scattered encampments, endless columns of boys like hordes of army ants could be seen coming from every direction. There was no military precision, no barking of orders. Shuffle, shuffle, "softly, softly," row after row they filed into place in the arena and acre by acre they filled it up and sat down. Sure enough, one minute before curtain time, the last two boys sat down, at opposite ends of the topmost row.

I went looking for the genius who passed this miracle and I found a retired Army officer, Col. Frank W.

Bryant, who started as a Boy Scout 47 years ago and has been working with and for them ever since.

"I have done this for every national Jamboree," he said, whipping out a slide rule, and a collection of topographical maps, aerial photos and logarithm tables. "It's really very simple. Let's assume a march rate for each boy of 1000 feet in five minutes to pass a given point."

"You've left me behind already," I said. "Just tell me how you do it."

"Actually," he said, "I worked it out first at our Jamboree in Washington in 1937. The boys were camped all over—around the Washington Monument, clear out to where the Pentagon is now. President Roosevelt wanted to review them, but we tried something different. We lined the boys up on both sides of Connecticut Avenue and passed *him* in review. The President liked the idea so much he had it repeated by the troops in Casablanca. Now, as I was saying, if the farthest boy is 9000 feet away, and the nearest one only 500, we start the farthest marching first and . . ."

Last August Boy Scouts traveled from 62 countries to the international Jamboree in England celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Sir Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell, the British soldier whose book *Scouting for Boys* was responsible for the founding of the movement 50 years ago. We sent a delegation of 1750 Scouts especially selected to honor the man whose genius and whose profound understanding of the boy heart and mind are the foundation of Scouting.

What was Baden-Powell's genius? First, he recognized the importance to boys of their "gang," with their own boy leader, and he based the Boy Scout Patrol unit on this basic principle. He knew, too, that while boys like to play games, they also respond gratefully and bravely to real responsibility.

Baden-Powell tucked into Scouting everything good and useful he could remember. "Scout Law" and "Scout Honor" grew out of the chivalrous code of King Arthur's knights; the techniques of outdoor life from his own hunting in India and soldiering in Africa, plus the survival skills of the primitive tribes. He was fascinated by Huckleberry Finn and Tom Sawyer, by the devilishly clever deductions of Sherlock Holmes. He was entranced with Houdini and Red Indians, trappers, frontiersmen and lone scouts.

He knew, too, that boys don't like "Don't," so the Scout Law states everything affirmatively: "A Scout is Trustworthy, Loyal," etc. He knew that you can lead boys but you can't drive them. At the closing ceremonies of the Jamboree at Valley Forge, I saw one man on the stage hold up three fingers of his right hand—the Scout signal for silence—and 50,000 skylarking youngsters instantly quieted down to complete stillness, something a thousand barking drill sergeants couldn't have accomplished. "Softly, softly, catchee monkey."

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Original ltr not attached by P.A.

February 4, 1958

Mr. Ray W. Sweazey
Director
Interracial Service
Division of Relatinnships
National Council
Boy Scouts of America
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Sweazey:

Enclosed you will find the few clippings from our files which seem to have some bearing on your interests. On checking, we determined that none of the statistical data available would be of help since only areas of population loss were dealt with. My apologies that it took so long to cast up so little.

It was a pleasure to get to know you during your recent visit to Atlanta. I trust that occasions will arise in the future when we can be of more help.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 5 clippings (Thermofax copies)

NATIONAL COUNCIL
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

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INTERRACIAL SERVICE

Ray W. Sweazey, *Director*
A. J. Taylor, *Assistant Director*

February 11, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for yours of February 4th with which you enclosed copies of several newspaper clippings. These are indeed helpful to us, and I sincerely appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending them on to me.

It was good getting to meet you while in Atlanta last month, and I look forward to the opportunity of seeing you from time to time. Whenever you have anything that you feel will be of help to us in the work we are trying to do, we shall be very grateful to you for sharing it with us.

With kind regards and good wishes,

Cordially yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA
Interracial Relationships

Ray

Ray W. Sweazey
National Director

RWS:cb

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

October 27, 1961

Dear Co-worker:

The 39th Annual Observance of Race Relations Sunday will be February 11, 1962. The theme is, "By This Shall All Men Know...".

The Race Relations Sunday Message was prepared by Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Executive Secretary, The United States Conference for the World Council of Churches.

The Message stresses that "...the only sure test for the disciple of Christ is love". The attitude of love must be manifested in behavior. This requires support of laws and participation in community action to further justice and freedom for people of all races. Suggestions and resources for action are included with the Message.

It is gratifying that a larger number of churches each year are using this observance to evaluate continuing programs of action and to launch new ones.

Last year about 70,000 copies of the Message were used in pulpits, radio stations, and other media of public communication. The increase each year, recently, in the use of the Message is encouraging. We appreciate your part in spreading last year's Message throughout the Nation.

A copy of the 1962 Message is enclosed and may be purchased at $2.50 a hundred or 5¢ each. Again this year the Department desires to be a partner with you in distributing it; therefore, with each order of 1,000 copies we will include 250 copies more without charge. Your cooperation and your order will be appreciated.

May we have your order at your earliest convenience to facilitate prompt delivery. An order blank is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

J. Oscar Lee

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director

JOL:g
Enclosures

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, s. garry oniki, assoc. executive directors

a unit of the division of christian life and work

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

"BY THIS SHALL ALL MEN KNOW..."

A Message

RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY

February 11, 1962

Issued by

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF
THE DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A.

"BY THIS SHALL ALL MEN KNOW . . ."

"A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another; even as I have loved you, that you also love one another. By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another." John 13:34-35
(Revised Standard Version)

How do people know who and what we are? Only God really knows. He knows us better than we know ourselves. But other people know much about us. One of the most important things for them to know is whether we are disciples of Jesus Christ. How, then, do they know that?

Superficially we distinguish one person from another by his appearance; thus we know something about him from a picture of him. We know about his ideas by analyzing what he has said and written. We know more about him by gathering estimates of him by those who live, work, and play with him.

But to know him well we must understand his basic absorbing commitments, his ultimate purposes. For this we must observe his attitude toward other people, how he reacts to all sorts and conditions of men. Is he sensitive to their individual situations? How does he respond to their needs? Is he contemptuous of them in the mass, or is he compassionate? Does he "look down" upon people of other races?

Jesus Christ said: "By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another." Thus is the Christian to be judged – by his attitude of love manifested in his behavior. Thus is he to be known for what he is.

The ideas a person holds about race relations are important; but they are not enough to characterize him as a Christian. Any person with a lively concern for justice may have valid ideas about race. If a person is a disciple of Christ, he goes beyond justice – he loves. He loves all of God's children for whom Christ died. Justice is inextricably involved in such love.

Profession of faith in Christ is essential to discipleship; but it must go beyond mere assent of the mind. Faith that is acceptable to God and convincing to men gives

evidence of itself in the attitude of love, expressing itself in behavior. Yet even good behavior, in itself, may reveal only conformity or consent to prevailing social patterns – a matter of good manners – adopted in order to avoid embarrassment. It may be for effect.

So the only sure test, for the disciple of Christ, is love.

Love is not reserved for those who are congenial or who are of the same race and nationality. "And if you salute only your brethren, what more are you doing than others?" Moreover, we are commanded to love not only those who love us, but even our enemies.

This test of Christian discipleship is not easy. It may at first be rebuffed by those who have been hurt so much that they fear being hurt again by exposing themselves to another rejection. But persistent Christian love, which is costly, is eventually reconciling, healing, and restorative; for it is a witness to God's love. And God's love is the fact of which we constantly need to be reminded.

We are known better by our attitude of love than by our arguments for what we believe to be right in the matter of race relations or anything else. Unless we have love, argument may be a kind of combat, with loyalty to truth being confused with pride in our own ideas.

Love marks the difference between the disciples of Christ and the doer of good for the sake of credit for righteousness. Christ so loved us that He gave His life for blundering and wilful sinners of all nations and races.

The Church of Christ is to be known by the same test that He set for His disciples. In the Church especially, we are called to "have love for one another" across all lines of difference that so often divide people and are so often the occasion for antagonisms.

Love repudiates and casts out whatever gives offense or causes humiliation to others. A church must therefore achieve and demonstrate a unity which manifests the attitudes demanded by Christian faith and discipline. Because of its professed allegiance and standards, it should be a fellowship distinguishable from that of other agencies in the community.

It is not enough for a church to conform to the best practices in the society around it. Rather, it is bound by the test Christ set for His disciples and by which they are to be known. It acknowledges His Lordship; it must so

manifest it that all men may know His will for men. A church must be faithful to its calling regardless of what others may think or do.

Christian love requires that we support laws to further justice and freedom in the rights of full citizenship, education, employment, and residence. Above all, we who profess to be disciples of Christ have something even more essential to contribute to race relations – the new commandment to love one another as He loves us. The Church needs this active love. Our nation needs it. The world needs it.

On this Race Relations Sunday we should look into our own hearts, repent for our failures and hypocrisies, thank God for His love for all men, and rejoice that we are called by Christ to be His disciples. We must witness to the oneness of God's family through our churches and in our communities. Only then can justice, freedom and human dignity become manifest through love in our world. "By this all men will know . . .".

The National Council of Churches is indebted to Dr. Roswell P. Barnes for drafting this Message. Dr. Barnes is Executive Secretary, The United States Conference for the World Council of Churches.

SUGGESTIONS AND RESOURCES FOR ACTION

Prepared by

THE DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

I. Local church groups can take community action by:

1. Working to bring about desegregation and integration of public schools through (a) securing facts about the situation; (b) discussing, formulating and evaluating concrete proposals for constructive action; (c) making the facts and proposals known to the community; (d) cooperating

with other community organizations which work to improve race relations.

2. Supporting legislation designed to guarantee full opportunity for all people regardless of race, color or nationality.
3. Protesting against legislation aimed at maintaining segregation and racial discrimination.
4. Urging the elimination of segregation on buses and public transportation.
5. Supporting the movement to eliminate racial discrimination at lunch counters, restaurants and other places of public accommodation.
6. Working with employer's groups, professional organizations and unions to establish employment practices based on character and ability rather than on race, color, creed or national origin.
7. Discussing the facts regarding segregation in housing and cooperating with agencies working to develop "open occupancy" housing.
8. Working to assure all persons the opportunity to register and to exercise the right to vote.

II. Local churches can take action within their own organization by:

1. Re-examining continuously in the light of the Gospel their attitudes and behavior regarding race relations and committing themselves to carry out their Christian responsibility.
2. Finding out what the policy of their denomination is regarding race relations and studying the implications of the policy statement in the light of the Christian Gospel.
3. Organizing a church committee to develop and carry out a program of race relations.
4. Opening membership in the local church and its organizations to all people, making this fact known in the community and seeking to win others to Christ regardless of race.
5. Exhibiting firm behavior patterns of acceptance when the question of a racially inclusive fellowship is discussed in the church and when the first persons of another race visit or are received into the church.
6. Selecting professional and volunteer church leadership on the basis of qualifications rather than race.
7. Conducting study groups, forums and other activities to gather the facts about race relations in the community, and making plans for a race relations program that runs throughout the year.
8. Conducting worship services for God's guidance in the improvement of race relations. (A "Worship Program For Race Relations Services" is available

from the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, The National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York. 4¢ each; $3.00 per hundred.)

III. Organizational Resources:

Church groups who plan to work for the improvement of race relations within their own organization or in their communities will be able to get information and counsel through:

1. Their denominational divisions or departments of social education and action.
2. State or city councils of churches.
3. Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
   National Council of Churches
   475 Riverside Drive
   New York 27, New York
4. American Friends Service Committee
   160 N. 15th Street
   Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
5. American Jewish Committee
   165 E. 56th Street
   New York 22, New York
6. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
   515 Madison Avenue
   New York 19, New York
7. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   20 West 40th Street
   New York 18, New York
8. National Urban League
   14 East 48th Street
   New York 17, New York
9. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
   426 West 58th Street
   New York 19, New York

Also, contact your nearest city or state agency dealing with human relations. For a complete listing of city, state and regional intergroup relations agencies, write the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 426 West 58th Street, New York 19, New York.

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division of christian life and work

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

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j. irwin miller, president

rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

rev. norman j. baugher
chairman

c. arild olsen
executive secretary

Cr. ref Will Campbell

Nat spike 870-2439

April 8, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your helpful comments concerning Dr. Will Campbell and his work in the Southern Project of our Department of Racial and Cultural Relations.

I want you to know that Dr. Olsen and I are taking this matter very seriously and are hard at work trying to solve the administrative problems that are involved.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Letts

HCL:gr

Harold C. Letts
Associate Executive Secretary

Rc: Will Campbell 4/10/63 mwj

rev. harold haas, miss thelma stevens, vice chairmen • rev. gardiner m. day, secretary
rev. harold c. letts, associate executive secretary

departments: international affairs • pastoral services • racial and cultural relations • social welfare
the church and economic life • worship and the arts • religious liberty • stewardship and benevolence

April 3, 1963

The Rev. Harold Letts
Associate Director
Division of Christian Life and Work
National Council of Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Dr. Letts:

We have learned with much sadness that Will Campbell is resigning from his post with the National Council of Churches of Christ. Will's ministry, these last few years, has been truly a gift. I think no one has spoken more tellingly and, in a fundamental sense, with more sophistication to the churches and church-goers in the South. For those of us engaged actively in race relations work, Will has been a beloved pastor. We are deeply hopeful that he will find a way to continue his ministry. I believe that I speak for many others than myself in expressing to you gratitude for having, this many years, made it possible for him to do what he does so uniquely well.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Rev. Wamsley, Arthur

Les -

Will Campbell is submitting his resignation from the National Council of Churches - largely because of the administrative indignities to which he has been subjected. It is important to let the NCC know the job Will has done. Could you drop a few lines evaluating his work to

The Rev Harold Letts, Assoc. Director
Division of Christian Life and Work
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

I have talked to Paul at some length about this.

Carthen Walmsley

ES ✓ – so far as I know, nothing has came of this

MJ – file

File: Rel. Orgs', Nat'l. Council of Churches

PA ✓
VJ ✓
LM ✓
MJ - file (Nat'l Council Churches)

MEETING OF
DENOMINATIONAL STAFF PEOPLE
CARRYING EMERGENCY RESPONSIBILITIES
IN RACE RELATIONS
FEBRUARY 10 1964

SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
(A Proposal for discussion)

A SUMMARY OF PROPOSAL AND GOALS:

It is proposed that the member communions of the National Council of Churches engage in a concerted effort to meet the racial crisis which faces out nation through the establishment of a Southern Field Service, (tentative title for use in this paper) under the coordination of the Commission on Religion and Race of the NCC. Briefly, the Southern Field Service would consist of teams of denominational persons working in the hard-core states of the deep South, namely South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. The team in each state would consist of two persons, one Negro and one white, who would have the task of contacting key churchmen in the South both lay and clerical for the purpose of furthering their readiness and capacity for leadership in the desegregation of Church and society. This is based on the premise that the problems of local communities must eventually be solved by the citizens of those communities, both white and Negro. The teams would be involved in the process of bringing together churchmen in leadership positions for consideration of their community situation and the role of the churches in it, as well as needs within the churches themselves. It should be understood that all references to the churches refer to both Negro and white congregations. Although there is very little communication between whites and Negroes in the South at this time, it is assumed that a common faith in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior does give one common ground on which leadership of the churches can meet for constructive dialogue. The real purpose here is to build up a core of responsible leadership working toward the integration of the churches and their involvement in community desegregation matters, before a major crisis develops. The Southern Field Service would seek voluntary efforts towards desegregation, and have responsible persons to call on when a crisis develops. An underlying assumption is that this work must point toward the recovery of the integrity of the churches if they are to have a role in the life of the South after the racial struggle has passed the point of major crisis and becomes the quieter movement toward a fully integrated society.

PROPOSED FIELD STAFF

Following is an attempt to describe the type of person best suited for the job envisaged: the methods to be used in carrying out the generally described task: relationships to be maintained: financing administration and possible staff sources.

A. Type of person needed:

The character, training and personality of the persons involved in the proposed field program are of paramount importance in establishing a worthwhile project. These must be persons who are completely convinced of the churches' role in the racial struggle and have solved any problems they might have had in their own minds about relationships with those of other races. There is no time and the South is no place for the resolution of personal problems concerning race. Therefore, what is needed are persons mature in their own faith and with a full understanding of the racial situation. Preference should be given to persons who have served churches in the South or who have lived in the area. Much of the Southern mindset and fear can be best learned through such exposure, while at the same time making it easier for the field person to be accepted. This does not rule

out the possibility of using theological students, or men newly out of seminary if they have a full measure of maturity and judgement.

The personalities of these field persons are of vital importance. They must be secure enough in themselves to be at ease in person-to-person confrontations, undeterred by the hostility which they will inevitably find. They must be able to accept without complaint living under "hardship" conditions, and not let physical pressures interfere with their work.

B. METHODS OF OPERATION:

It should be said from the beginning that there are no hard and fast fules as to best methods to be used in bettering human relations in the South. Methods of operation will be dictated by circumstances in particular localities, so only the most general outline can be suggested here.

Working in close concert with his white or Negro compatriot and without publicity, the field worker could first use the contacts which can be made through his own demonination or through one of the member communions participating in the program. In most cases this would obviously be a local pastor. This contact would idealy be used to establish contacts with other clergy in the community who would be approached on the basis of the churches' common concern for racial justice. The clergy would then be used as a means of meeting key laymen in the area whose public or private stance gives hope that they want to work for a solution to their local problems. With the white field person operating initially in the white community, and the Negro field person carrying on the same kind of work in the Negro community, ideally their contacts should be working toward a face-to-face confrontation of white and Negro leadership. The leadership to be brought together should be based on an analysis of the real sources of power in a particular community, since the publicly designated leadership and those who really wield maximum influence are often entirely different. Also, such confrontations should be thought of from the beginning as not mere "brotherhood meetings", but gatherings where the grievances of the Negro community can be aired for movement towards a resolution of common problems.

While CORR will maintain close contact with the National offices of the Negro action groups, it is expected that field teams would immediately get to know local affiliates of these groups and inform them that work is being done in the area. Every attempt should be made to determine what the action groups are planning and some assessment should be made of the quality of leadership and the inability to follow through. If direct action programs have been either initiated or are being planned by local action groups, the field teams would be expected to determine if the churches have a role to play in such activities and make recommendations for concerted actions to the national office. Any recommendations for participation in demonstrations and the like would be discussed with leadership from the denominational race commissions before final decisions are made. If a decision is made to participate in demonstrations, it is assumed that the denominational commissions would cooperate fully in providing the necessary personnel and resources.

C. MAINTAINING COMMUNICATION AND COORDINATION:

One of the primary needs of the present day is full and accurate information on conditions in the South. The field teams related to CORR would be expected to supply regular reports on conditions as they see them from the viewpoint of the

churches' commitments and interests. The CORR office would take on the responsibility of disseminating the information received from the field to all denominational commissions involved in the program. In the like manner, it is assumed that denominational offices would keep the CORR office informed of their plans and programs in order that there can be one central point where facts are available essential to the planning and carrying out of coordinated activities. The crisis we face demands maximum use of the resources available to the churches, and there is more than enough for all to do without setting up competing programs in the same area.

D. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCING:

The overall administration of the Southern Field Service would be under the direction of the Direct or of Community Action for CORR. His responsibilities would encompass deployment of field teams, compilation and distribution of field reports of the denominational offices, finances and related problems of administration to be added to the other commitments his office already has.

Direct field supervision of the teams would be the responsibility of an associate director of community action who would visit the teams in the field, investigate areas where no field teams are working, deal directly with the Southern offices of the action groups, and coordinate the activities of any particular team with others working in the South. He would be expected to be on hand when a crisis develops and have overall direction of concerted participation in demonstrations or other direct action programs.

At this point, it is impossible to draw up a realistic budget for this proposal. The CORR budget does not have the money necessary for the ten men needed in the five states already listed. It is hoped that this problem can be dealt with through the use of coopted persons from denominational staffs whereever possible, or that denominational race commissions would assume the financial responsibility for one or more field persons from their own budgets, with the understanding that their services would be used in the cooperative program. Already, there have been tentative commitments made in this way.

In planning a realistic budget, we should think of persons who could be committed to a minimum of six months to this work and wherever possible strive for a one-year commitment. The latter case would probably mean the added expense of moving a man with his family to some Southern location. The judgement of all the staffs which might be involved in this program is needed to arrive at a realistic financial projection.

E. CONCLUSION:

This paper is not presented as the final work on the matter of setting up a Southern field service. Rather, it is designed to give us a starting point for discussion of the problems we all face when we consider working in the South. If it is the judgement of the group that we should undertake this project, then by all means, we must get underway immediately.

Jay Moore
Director of Community Action
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches

--00--

File: Religious Orgs.

May 14, 1964

Dr. Robert Spike
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

Would the National Council be able to help with the enclosed?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
copy of Ltr. from Julian Bond (SNCC) for financial support of the STUDENT VOICE and other printing costs.

ELSA KRUUSE, Editor

The Religious Newsweekly

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

This week's significant events in the cooperative church movement
—in the community, the nation and the world.

45RNW12/14/65

Tuesday, December 14, 1965

Consultation In Bangkok Offers Peace Solutions In Vietnam

An international church consultation on Vietnam held in Bangkok, Thailand Dec. 1-4, between delegations of the East Asia Christian Conference and the National Council of Churches, USA, brought together 18 church leaders of East and West for a "frank and healthy exchange of views."

Their report, which includes nine recommendations toward ending the conflict and bringing peace to Vietnam, emphasizes that while the delegates did not profess to speak for the churches and councils they represented, "we nevertheless feel bound to report on our discussions."

All possible initiatives were called for in the report "to move action from the battlefield to the negotiating table." Among the recommendations were the cessation of bombing by both U.S. and South Vietnamese forces to create better conditions for negotiations; support of the United Nations General Secretary in his efforts to start negotiations; a restudy of the Geneva Conference of 1954; and recognition of "the importance of Asian countries, not directly involved in the conflict, making available their good offices in seeking ... the way to solutions."

Speaking as "churchmen from different backgrounds but tied together by our common faith," the consultants became "increasingly aware" of the differing presuppositions many held. Desiring "neither to overlook nor to overemphasize these differences," the report noted that the exchange of views "at times resulted in a change of opinion."

Delegates from the National Council included Dr. David R. Hunter, deputy general secretary; Dr. David M. Stowe, associate general secretary for Overseas Ministries; Dr. Leonard J. Kramer, associate director of the International Affairs Commission; and Mrs. Stuart Sinclair, president of United Church Women.

Head of the U.S. group was Dr. Norman J. Baugher, general secretary, Church of the Brethren, an NCC vice-president. Also Robert W. Mance, M.D., a vice-president; Dr. Edwin H. Tuller, general secretary, American Baptist Convention; and Dr. William Bradley, now a consultant to the Rockefeller Foundation in Bangkok.

Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council, was consultant to both groups.

Dr. Spike Looks Ahead To Negroes' Future

The feeling of helpless frustration as the Negro sees the "public spotlight suddenly turned out" on the civil rights front was described to members of the General Board by the retiring director of the NCC Commission on Religion and Race. The Rev. Dr. Robert W. Spike has accepted an appointment to head a new department of the ministry at the University of Chicago Divinity School.

The nation appears to be returning to "business as usual" in civil rights, he said, while the Negro is still denied equal access to the nation's stockpile of riches -- homes, jobs, equal schooling and equal treatment before the law.

Dr. Spike was especially critical of the report on Negro family structure by the former Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan, which he called "insulting or at best insensitive" and "a classic example of the mechanical planning approach."

"The Negro community, being human, does not like being the object of social engineering much better that it did being the object of social harassment," Dr. Spike told Board members. White and black must work together, he warned, while "gearing up" to attack the more subtle forms of discrimination.

"Beyond the remaining justice issues," said the speaker, "there are enormous areas that need increased attention." These he listed as: economic opportunity; a new program of public works; new and better housing; upgraded education; the involvement of the whole community; and new minimum wage legislation.

Dr. Spike received a standing ovation at the close of his address to the Board at its fall meeting in Madison, Wisconsin.

~~Brooklyn~~ Civil Rights Leader To Head NCC Commission

The Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Payton has been named director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. He succeeds the Rev. Dr. Robert W. Spike who leaves the Council to take up a newly created post at the University of Chicago Divinity School.

Dr. R.H. Edwin Espy, NCC general secretary, and the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church, USA, and chairman of the Commission, announced Dr. Payton's appointment jointly on Dec. 9. He will take up his new duties on January 1.

A native of South Carolina, Dr. Payton comes to the Council from the Protestant Council of the City of New York where he served as director of its Office of Religion and Race. An ordained minister of the National Baptist Convention, USA, he was assistant professor of

sociology and social ethics at Howard University, Washington, D.C., where he directed the University's Community Service Project, an experimental anti-poverty program. A graduate of South Carolina State College, Dr. Payton has degrees from Harvard Divinity School and Columbia University and earned his Ph.D. at Yale in sociology of religion and social ethics. From 1955 to 1958, he was pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Boston, Mass.

Massachusetts Council Calls For Recognition of Communist China

A major resolution, on which work had been going on since last January, was adopted Nov. 30 by the Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Council of Churches. The session at which the resolution was adopted by 24 for, four against, and three abstaining, was presided over by the new Council president, Richard R. Higgins.

In four sections, the resolution 1) urges the United States Government to press negotiations with the People's Republic of China for the extension of non-strategic trade, for ready access to news, for inclusion of mainland Chinese in scientific and other conferences, for freedom of travel, and for cultural exchanges.

2) The U.S. Government is urged to consult with other nations in seeking ways to provide for responsible representation of the People's Republic in test ban treaties, disarmament discussions and deliberations of the United Nations ... with due regard for the welfare and political self-determination of the people of Taiwan.

3) The U.S. Government is further urged to take steps to move toward diplomatic recognition of the de facto government of mainland China.

4) The 1,800 member churches of the Massachusetts Council are urged to "build informed opinion" and take advantage of any opportunities for the exchange of information and visitors with the Chinese mainland churches.

Dr. Forrest L. Knapp is general secretary of the Massachusetts Council of Churches.

United Presbyterian Leader To Head United Church Women

Lauding "her wealth of experience in world-wide Christian leadership in which she has proved her capacity to work creatively with people of all communions, races and nations," Dr. R.H. Edwin Espy announced the appointment of Miss Margaret Shannon as the new executive director of United Church Women. The National Council's general secretary was joined in the announcement by Mrs. Stuart Sinclair, national UCW president.

Miss Shannon comes to the National Council from her post as associate general secretary for ecumenical relations of the United Presbyterian Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations. She succeeds Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod, who is retiring after 17 years of service as executive director, and takes up her new duties on Jan. 1.

Following a term of teaching at Beirut College for Women (1933-36), Miss Shannon was director of the Westminster Foundation at Ohio University. In 1940, she became secretary for Women's Program of her Church's Board of Foreign Missions. A member of the General Board of the National Council and of the Board of Managers of United Church Women, Margaret Shannon has also served on committees of the World Presbyterian Alliance and the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches.

Group Named To Evaluate Delta Ministry

The General Board of the National Council of Churches, at its fall meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, named the Hon. Brooks Hays to head a committee to evaluate the National Council's Delta Ministry. A former Congressman from Arkansas and former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, he has been an adviser to Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, and is now a visiting professor at Rutgers University. Vice-chairman of the committee is Dr. Herman Morse, director of the Institute of Strategic Studies of the United Presbyterian Church, USA.

The Delta Ministry is a long-term interdenominational program of the National Council to improve economic, social and health conditions among the poor in the Mississippi Delta.

In Brief: Dr. W.A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, was the speaker at the luncheon meeting on Dec. 7 of the Friends of the World Council of Churches in New York City. At the Amsterdam Assembly, he said, we promised to stay together, at Evanston, to grow together, and at New Delhi, to work toward unity. While advances have been made, the World Council leader said that in respect to full inter-communion, progress has been slow. The annual meeting of the WCC policy-making Central Committee will be held in Geneva, Feb. 8-17, 1966.

--- Reports of children's Halloween collections for UNICEF in Evansville, Ind., showed receipts of "a whopping total of nearly $2,900" topping last year by $1,000, says the Evansville Council of Churches. The Council's challenge prize of $25 went to the Youth Department of Simpson Methodist Church and the check was sent in its name to UNICEF.

--- The Rev. Louis A. Saunders, executive director of the Fort Worth Council of Churches for the past nine years, has been named executive secretary of the Greater Dallas Council of Churches. He succeeds Dr. Luther A. Holcomb, who recently resigned to serve the U.S. Commission on Equal Opportunity in Washington, D.C.

file Rel Organ.

December 28, 1965

The Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Payton
Director,
Commission on Religion and Race of
the National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Dr. Payton:

May we take this opportunity to congratulate you on your appointment and to express the hope that the SRC can be of assistance to you.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Jim
please act. make it

Paul

returned 3/16/67 listing for magazine and noted

delete postal zone 3 and add zip code 30303

JNW

524-0971

Natl. Council

Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy
Gen. Secretary
475 Riverside
N. Y. NY
10027

Rev.
Dr. Payton, Director

Mr. Eric D. Blanchard
Public Information Officer

Miss Pauline McWeeney
Bureau of Research & Survey

PAV
VJ
WB
LM
MJ - file (Nat'l Council Churches)

file: Rel. Orgs: Nat'l. Council of Churches

PROPOSAL FOR A PROGRAM OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
AMONG THE RESIDENTS OF THE DELTA AREA OF THE
STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

The achieving of racial justice throughout the nation must dominate the concerns of every christian and every church. It is not alone because of how massively serious is the risk of a major rupture in the American society, but this injustice is a fundamental affront to the moral foundations of Christianity. The delta area of the State of Mississippi manifests in full display the total complexities of the problem of racial justice - it is a disaster area and at the same time pivotal for healing and redemption in all areas. The interlocking of this problem on a national scale marks a major watershed in the life of the nation - especially as to the impossibility of solving this national problem by local means alone. The moral mandate that compels Christians anywhere to help all brothers everywhere demands this need be met. At such times and places in history the role of home missions has been decisive, e.g., the migrant ministry - will it be again? It took local groups 35 years before they accepted the migrant ministry as their own - how long will it take them to assume full responsibility for providing equality of economic and social as well as religious opportunity?

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DELTA

The delta is the area bordering the Mississippi River from Memphis, Tenn. to Vicksburg, Miss. that the following counties comprise: Bolivar, Coahoma, Humphreys, Issaquena, Leflore, Quitman, Sharky, Sunflower, Tallahatchie, Tunica, and Washington. Seven other counties are partly Delta: Carrol, Grenada, Holmes, Panola, Warren, Yalobasha, and Yazoo. The part-Delta counties are not included in the following selected examples taken from a more complete analysis done by Mr. Jesse Morris, a young agricultural economist. Tables are not included for purposes of brevity but they are available.

A. MORTALITY RATES

In every county except Quitman and Washington the death rate for whites was higher than the state average, and with the exception of Sunflower still higher for the nonwhites.

B. HOUSING

Of the 13,370 houses in Leflore County, 4,998 had no flush toilets, 6,218 had no bathtub or shower, 6,028 were classified as less than sound, and 3,700 had no piped water.

C. EDUCATION

In the Delta there are only 14 schools accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools - all of them white. There is no accredited Negro school, and in Tunica County with 5 times as many Negroes as Whites, there is no Negro high school. The school census for the other ten Delta counties is 36,652 for whites and 78,956 for Negroes.

D. INCOME

The median income per person in the Delta for nonwhites is $456.00. This is in part a result of a large percent of the population being tenant farmers. However, the medium income of whites is but $1,850. The main problem at this point is the concentration of wealth among the few, e.g., on an average 5% of the farms control 50% of all farmland.

E. SOME REMEDIAL ALTERNATIVES

1. Emigration

The people of the Delta themselves attempt to find relief from their plight by leaving the Delta. However, in most instances, this turns out to be no solution at all. The people who migrate usually go to large urban areas in the North or West. The emigrants from the Delta are largely unskilled and uneducated. The

urban centers have no place for these people except the slum and the relief roll; this adds immensly to their problems, and provides no meaningful solution to the plight of the Delta migrant.

2. Government Programs

The federal government is acutely aware of the situation that besets such regions as the delta, and together with state governments, has initiated a number of programs and agencies to deal specifically with these low-income rural areas. Four important ones are the Farmers' Home Administration, the Rural Areas Development, Area Redevelopment Administration, and the Manpower Retraining and Development Act. These programs could and should be able to do considerable good. However, they are not doing nearly as much as they could, and more important, where they do lend some assistance, it is not given to the people who need it most. Two factors are responsible for the lack of effectiveness of government programs:

(a) The people who are in most need do not know about them, or if they do know about them, they do not know how to take advantage of them. A farmer whose income is below $1000 a year does not have time from a practical standpoint to be out organizing other poor farmers in order to improve their conditions of life. In many instances he would be fired from his job as an "agitator" or "trouble maker" if he tried.

(b) The federal government's policy of local control allows local governments to thwart the intent of the federal program.

3. Commodity Distribution

In a country that prides itself on being the agricultural giant of the world and has irrefutable evidence of the fact in the form of billions of dollars worth of stored surplus commodities, the fact that there are persons living in the Delta who are hungry is not only a national disgrace but a national crime. An increased and more equitable distribution of these commodities is immediately necessary.

II. ACTION BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Early in the summer of 1963 the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches received a request from residents of the Delta that ways be found for the churches through their national agencies to become involved in a program of community development. This request was referred to the staff of the Division of Home Missions. Since the request was originally from the Negro community, staff of the Division convened a meeting in early October of representatives of the Negro action groups (NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC) who work in the Delta, as well as a limited number of representatives of the white community of Mississippi.

A. Meeting at Jackson, Mississippi

The primary focus of this meeting was on the needs of the area as seen by this group, and the development of an agenda for a future more representative meeting to be held in the area. A report on contrasting points of view was prepared by staff and is available. It was agreed that the civil rights situation in Mississippi was such that the meeting had best be held in Memphis, Tennessee. The Memphis meeting was set for November 1. Invitations were extended to heads of most of the missions boards related to the Division of Home Missions, to several denominational boards having responsibility in the area of direct relief, and to representatives of the Negro community of Mississippi. The denominational executives were requested to invite persons from the immediate area involved to be a part of the consultation.

B. Meeting at Memphis, Tennessee

There was substantial representation at the meeting from the national boards. Pastors and judicatorial executives were present from the Methodist Church, the Lutheran Church in America, and the Protestant Episcopal Church. Other denominations that were represented included the Church of the Brethren, the American

Baptist Convention, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the United Church of Christ, and the Mennonite Brethren. Representatives of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, the Congress on Racial Equality, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee were present. Other Negro action groups had planned to be present, but scheduling problems interfered. There was general agreement on the following points:

1. That mechanization of the cotton industry has seriously aggravated the chronic economic problems of the area.
2. That this is an area of great contrast between wealth and poverty.
3. That from the point of view of education, health service, economic and political opportunity, the Negro population of this area was greatly deprived.
4. That at the present time communications between the white and Negro community are unhealthy.
5. That the situation as it is leaves much to be desired, and that immediate as well as long range remedial steps are necessary.

C. Community Development

It was generally agreed that a program of self-help should be initiated within the delta, and that such a program fell within the historic concerns of the home missions enterprise of the United States. Such a program would have as its objectives:

1. To help establish communications between the white and the Negro community.
2. To help the people identify their common problems, needs and concerns, especially those relating to their life and status as residents of the Mississippi Delta, such as employment, welfare, housing, education, legal matters, and others.
3. To establish contact between all the low-income farmers in the area and the various federal programs available for the rural poor.

4. To organize local self help groups such as Rural Areas Development committees, secure representation for all farmers on the ASCS committees, and secure from unemployed farmers and farm youth some participants for the Manpower Retraining Act and other such programs.

5. To help the people draw future potential leaders from their midst, and to help such persons acquire the knowledge and skills for competent and responsible leadership within the democratic setting of an American community.

6. To develop indigenous centers which would assist in the process of fundamental education, continuing education, communications, and planning. The beginnings of such a program are already in process. A special project of training leaders (to train others) in the skills of programmed learning will occur in the summer of 1964.

7. To provide channels for special distributions of food and clothing.

It is anticipated that the constant focus of the above activities would be that of personal and community need. Through the above processes it is felt that local organization and structure should be established to assist in a democratic process of social and economic redevelopment to the end of providing a better life for all.

D. Implementation

1. This program would be implemented by a specialized staff from the region that would work on a coordinate decentralized basis in each of the fifteen counties involved. To give coordination and direction to the total project, a project director with competent clerical assistance is a necessary first step. Staff functions would be primarily focussed on stimulating community development.

2. The program should be carried out over a minimum of five years and should be evaluated annually. Even though it is proposed to be a five-year program, the task in the area is of such significant proportions that the basic commitment will need to be for at least a decade, and possibly two.

3. That a project committee be established which will include representation of all of the church interests involved; representation from the local community both Negro and white; representation from the Negro action groups; and representation from necessary governmental, educational, and welfare interests. This is a project of the National Council of Churches and will involve many units of church life, but for administrative purposes, the Division of Home Missions at the request of the Commission on Race, accepted the administrative responsibility and has agreed to seek to secure financial support and to provide technical services such as the recruitment and training of staff and technical supervision of project operation.

Minimal Project Costs

Project director, clerical help, office and travel		$ 25,000.00
Up to fifteen field workers to be provided either by denominations and ecumenical organizations to the extent that they are available, or by special recruitment and funds	$10,000 each (including auto and travel)	$ 150,000.00
Overall development, program, and administration		$ 35,000.00
Rent, educational materials and tools		$ 25,000.00
Moving expenses and equipment (nonrecurring)		$ 25,000.00
	(maximum)	$ 260,000.00

E. Extra-United States Involvement

Because of the critical nature of the problem, and based on their experience in many parts of the world exploratory discussions have been held as to the possibility of inviting the World Council of Churches through its Division of Inter-Church Aid to participate in this project.

October 15, 1953

Mrs Jack Gottsegen
National Council of Jewish Women
3318 Stephenson Place, N W
Washington 15, D C

Dear Mrs Gottsegen:

Many thanks for your kind letter of October 9.

I send you several copies of the pamphlet described in the New York Times story; and some also of a follow-up one which we only got out yesterday.

We propose the two for use by local discussion groups. Wherever even a small number of people come together and explore the issue and then find the facts, the chances are that that group will influence public opinion in the community when the Court gives its decision.

Our friends in the national offices of A D L and A J C are getting the first pamphlet out in some numbers. I do hope either or both will be of interest to you; and if you can contrive a way to get them widely used we will be extremely grateful. We can sell Questions and Answers in modest quantities at 12¢ each; and in vast quantitie at 10¢! For Check List, the prices are: small numbers - 10¢; large numbers - 8¢.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t

National Council of Jewish Women

Washington, D. C. Section

October 9, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

"The New York Times" recently mentioned a study issued by your organization with regard to the recent Supreme Court cases involving educational segregation. As Chairman of District Affairs, for the Washington section of the above organization, I should like very much to receive a copy of this work. As you know, one of the cases involved the segregated Public School system of the District of Columbia.

If there is a fee involved, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Annette S. Gottsegen
(Mrs. Jack J. Gottsegen)

3318 Stephenson Place, N.W.,
Washington 15, D. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 14
Southern Regional Council

April 27, 1956

Mr. Arthur S. Kling
2910 West Jefferson
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Kling:

Dr. C. H. Parrish has passed on to me the list of State Presidents and officers of the Regional Council of Jewish Women with which you provided him.

This will be of great help to us and to our State organizations for these are key people, most of whom will have a liberal outlook and we will mail them some literature regarding the Southern Regional Council and our State organizations. Thank you once more for your service.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

national
council of
jewish women

RECEIVED SEP 17 1956

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Public Affairs

ONE WEST FORTY-SEVENTH STREET · NEW YORK 36, N. Y. · CIRCLE 6-3175 · CABLE: COUNJEW-N. Y.

MRS. MOISE S. CAHN
National President

MRS. FRANCES T. CAHN
Executive Director

September 14, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am writing to follow-up the discussion which you had with our National President, Mrs. Moise Cahn, in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in the middle of August.

At that time you talked to her about what women's organizations could do to help prepare the way for desegregation in the schools in the South. You talked about their being local cooperation to study such matters as population distribution, school district divisions, where children live in relation to the schools, size of classes and matters of this kind. You said at that time that studies of this kind are taking place in some Southern communities. We would greatly appreciate any information which your office may have about these activities and any guidance that might be available for the most effective way of carrying on such programs.

Mrs. Cahn will be in Washington on September 18th at the meeting of the group of national organizations which are considering desegregation. Would it be possible for you to bring with you to the Washington meeting some of the factual material about these activities so that you and Mrs. Cahn could discuss it further at that time?

Thank you so much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Helen Raebeck

Helen Raebeck, Head
Public Affairs Department

HR:bbr

September 17, 1956

A I R M A I L

Miss Helen Raebeck
Head, Public Affairs Department
National Council of Jewish Women
One West Forty-Seventh Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Miss Raebeck:

Many thanks for your letter of September 14th. I hope the meeting tomorrow will give us both further chance to enjoy conversations with Mrs. Cahn.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

national
council of
jewish women

Community Services
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ONE WEST FORTY-SEVENTH STREET · NEW YORK 36, N. Y. · CIRCLE 6 3175 · CABLE: COUNJEW · N. Y.

MRS. MOISE S. CAHN
National President

MRS. FRANCES T. CAHN
Executive Director

January 22, 1959

JAN 26 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Will you please remove Misss Edith Davison's name from your mailing list since she is no longer on the staff of the National Council of Jewish Women.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Stella E. Lieberman

Mrs. Stella E. Lieberman, Head
Field Service-Membership Department

SEL:ew

One Normandie Village
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Dear Arthur,

Here is the list of presidents of the sections in this region of N.C.J.W.

Ala.

Birmingham — Mrs Wm B. Goldstein
64 Pinecrest Rd

Mobile — Mrs Jos. Golomb
55 W. Sherwood Dr

Montgomery - Mrs Sera K. Weil
2600 Carter Hill Rd

Selma - Mrs Richard Rosenberg
32 Edgewood

Pres. & Officers of Nat'l Council of Jewish Women

Courtesy of Arthur S. Kling
2910 W. Jefferson
Louisville Ky

One Normandie Village
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Arkansas - Mrs Louis Rosen
318 Redgeway
Little Rock

Florida - Broward Co.
Mrs Walter Wesson
1239 Washington St
Hollywood Fla.

Jacksonville - Mrs Julius Mock Jr
1254 Morsewood Rd

Greater Miami Mrs Jean Lehman
51 North Shore Dr
Miami Beach

Tampa Mrs Lawrence Falk
364 Blanca

One Normandie Village
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Georgia -

Atlanta - Mrs Mels Jacobson
3536 Kingsboro Rd
N.E.

Louisiana -

Alexandria - Mrs M. C. Gehr
1013 24th St

Lake Charles - Mrs Gerald Wiess
907 7th St

New Orleans - Mrs Lozare Levy
517 Louerdale St

Shreveport - Mrs Geo Woolhandler
185 Bradley St

One Normandie Village
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Tennessee -

Memphis - Mrs Lester Samelson
5327 N. Clover Dr

Nashville - Mrs Bernard Werthen
4440 Tyne Lane

Oak Ridge - Mrs Murray Rosenthal
122 Amherst Lane

South Carolina -

Charleston - Mrs Moe Ruben
84½ Queen St

Mimeo Form #254

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

June 24, 1944

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT
COlumbia 5-4434

Washington, D. C. -- The National Council of Negro Women will conduct a National Memorial Service for the late Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder of the organization on Sunday, July 10th at All Souls Church, Unitarian, 16th Street and Harvard, N. W., Washington, D. C. at 4:00 P. M. Eulogies will be given by outstanding men and women in national and international life who have known Mrs. Bethune and her work over the years. Among those to deliver orations will be Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, President Emeritus of Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina and Dr. O'Hara Lanier of Houston, Texas. Music will be furnished by a choir under the direction of Mark Fax of Howard University. A similar observance will be held throughout the country by local councils and national affiliated organizations.

* * * * * * *

The National Council of Negro Women will have three representatives at the World Brotherhood Conference to be held July 11 to 16 in Brussels, Belgium. Many distinguished men and women from more than sixty countries will assemble to listen to speeches and to outline a program for world peace and brotherhood. The representatives of the National Council of Negro Women are Mrs. George Wilkins of Cleveland, Ohio, a well known business woman and owner of Wilkins' Schools of Cosmetology in Cleveland, Mrs. William Home Borders of Atlanta, Georgia and Mrs. Ernest Wilkins of Washington, D. C., wife of the Assistant Secretary of Labor. All three delegates will take part in the Commission on Women and Brotherhood.

As a member of Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations and the United States Association for the United Nations, the National Council of Negro Women appointed two official delegates to the Tenth Anniversary meeting of the United Nations held in San Francisco in the persons of Dr. Arenia Mallory Davis, first vice-president and Mrs. Ruth March, President of the San Francisco Council. The San Francisco Council was hostess to the women of the United Nations at a unique luncheon held on Thursday afternoon at the Mart Club. Mrs. Sue Bailey Thurman of Boston, Massachusetts, National Chairman of the Archives and Museum Department of the National Council of Negro Women is an alternate delegate to the world meeting in San Francisco.

* * * * * * *

The National Council of Negro Women announces the appointment of Mrs. Fannye Ayer Ponder of St. Petersburg, Florida as the National Chairman of the Life Members Guild formed on February 26th in Washington, D. C. Mrs. Ponder is a Life Member, a member of the Executive Committee of the NCNW, former president of the St. Petersburg Council and is an active worker in many organizations in the state of Florida. She is also State Assistant to the Regional Director for Florida.

The Life Members Guild will solicit Life Members for the National Council of Negro Women and assume responsibility for specific needs of the organization. All paid up Life Members are eligible to join. The Guild will hold their first annual observance during the Twentieth Annual Convention to be held in Washington, November 8 through 13th.

Mrs. W. T. Mason, National President, has announced the appointment of Dean Sadie Yancey of Howard University as the National Twentieth Annual Convention Chairman. Dr. Yancey is a native of Lexington, Kentucky and received her education in her native state, the University of Cincinnati and her Ph. D. from Cornell University where she was elected to membership in the coveted Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society. Dr. Yancey taught school and was former Dean of Women at Florida A and M before coming to her present post at Howard University. "Dr. Yancey", said Mrs. Mason, "is a woman of exceptional qualifications. She is a member of the National Association of Deans of Women, Status of Women Committee, American Association of University Women, American Guidance and

and Personnel Association, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority and many other organizations. She comes prepared to give distinguished leadership to the program plan for the Twentieth Annual Convention of the National Council of Negro Women." The initial program for the council will be released after July 10th.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER-PRESIDENT, EMERITUS

Telephone, COlumbia 5-4434

DOROTHY B. FEREBEE
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

January 5, 1953

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

We were pleased to have your letter regarding The Atlanta A.V.C.'s interest in The Community Service Project.

I called the D.C. office but they gave me so many different names and addresses I have decided to send several blanks to you and to ask you to see that one reaches the committee.

When my secretary is back in the office (on sick leave) I will try to make up several copies of your letter for the committee for I'm sure they would be pleased.

Most sincerely yours,
Naomah Maine

We will be sending your check for the booklet & postage along soon!

October 15, 1953

Mrs A W Plump
209 Tenth Court - North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mrs Plump:

I don't seem to get action of the National Council of Negro Women on my Questions and Answers pamphlet. It does seem to me this group should be using it in great quantities.

Meanwhile, we have just got out a follow-up one to enable discussion groups to find the real facts about white and Negro schools. I send you two more copies of each.

Will you not please pull strings, write letters or telephone people long distance and try to get the N C N W really interested? We can supply the Question and Answers at 12¢ each and Check List at 8¢ each.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t
enclosures: 4

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D.C.

November 6, 1953

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

One of the most colorful features of the NCNW convention which opens November 12th will be the annual International Night celebration, which will be held in the Department of Labor Auditorium, 14th and Constitution Avenue, N. W., at 8:15 P.M., Thursday, November 12th.

Guest speaker for the occasion will be the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, who has enjoyed a long and distinguished career in international as well as national affairs. He will be introduced by Mrs. Jane M. Spaulding, assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Mrs. Oveta Calp Hobby, and Financial Chairman of the NCNW.

Invitations have been extended to representatives of the Foreign countries and the flags of 61 nations will be displayed.

Highlighting the musical portion of the program will be the presentation of a brilliant young contralto, Miss Madeline Porter, from the American Theater Wing of New York. There will be additional musical selections by the Howard University Choir under the direction of its distinguished conductor, Dean Warner Lawson.

Rev. Olivia Henry of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Chaplain of the NCNW will deliver the invocation and the benediction will be pronounced by the Rev. Arthur F. Elmes, Pastor of the Peoples Congregational Church,

Washington, D. C.

Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, retiring National President of NCNW will preside.

The National Council of Negro Women has traditionally planned its International Night as an occasion for honoring the efforts of the United Nations toward international understanding and toward the goal of world peace.

The public is invited.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, INC.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

November 5, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 11
Southern Regional Council

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Naomah W. Maise
COlumbia 5-4434

Delegates representing 94 Local Councils and twenty National Affiliate Organizations of the National Council of Negro Women, meeting in Washington in it's Biennial Session, November 12, 13, and 14, will elect new officers for a two year term, take up the matter of the revision of it's constitution and consider the proposal that the organization's name be changed.

Proposals for the adoption of a new name to include all American women without regard to race, creed or color in nationwide integrated council program has come from several regions over the country. These areas reflect wide spread opinion that the present name of the council has served its purpose of welding together Negro Women's Organizational efforts. They now propose that NCNW take the leadership in the program of integration on every local and national level.

Constitutional changes provide for the election of four National VicePresidents who will be closely related to the work of the Administration at headquarters. A plan for the extension of Regional Divisions will include for the first time states of the Pacific northwest in Region VIII.

Because of the far reaching decisions which the delegates must consider, this convention is regarded as one of the most important in Council history.

Chairman of the Constitution Committee is Attorney Marjorie Lawson of Washington, D. C. Sue Bailey Thurman, recently of San Francisco and now a resident of Boston, is chairman of the Nominating Committee.

November seventeen
1953

Mrs Naomah W Maise
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D C

Dear Mrs Maise:

Did you work out some plan with the National Council of Negro Women's meeting for getting out our QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS pamphlet?

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

October 23, 1953

Mrs Naomah W Maise
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N W
Washington 5, D C

Dear Mrs Maise:

Nice to talk with you a day or two ago and particularly nice to find someone who understood and caught fire at once.

I send you separately ten copies of Questions and Answers and ten copies of Check List. These are for free for your use. The Questions and Answers costs 12¢ each, plus postage, in quantities, and the Check List at 8¢ plus postage.

These are precious weeks in which to get a real educational job done. No group could be more useful than your members. I do hope that time can be taken in your November conference to get these booklets widely known and to get the women interested in making use of them in active discussion groups in their home communities.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 15
Southern Regional Council

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee
Mrs. Naomah W. Maise
COlumbia 5-4434

Washington, D. C. -------- Thirty outstanding women in various local councils throughout the country have accepted key rolls in a one-day work session on "The Council Woman Working in Her Community For a Better World", which is to highlight the first day of the National Council of Negro Women's Biennial Meeting on November 12, 13, 14, 1953 at the Departmental Auditorium of the United States Department of Labor in Washington, D. C.

"Invitations to participate in the workshops have been extended to these leaders with the hope of clarifying thinking on and interpreting approaches to the immediate problems faced within the organization and within the communities in America's march toward a better world", said Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, National President.

The National Council of Negro Women, composed of 850,000 women from many national organizations, believes that this is the moment when a conserted effort must be made to alert each woman to the needs of her community, to think through practical techniques for more effective leadership, and to stimulate anew, the need for better informed citizens about problems on the local, national and international scene.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, INC
1318 VERMONT AVENUE, N. W
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

RECEIVED
NOV 20
Southern Regional Office

MRS. VIVIAN CARTER MASON

file

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason who was elected as the third national president of the National Council of Negro Women on Saturday, November 15, 1953 in Washington, D. C., at the Biennial Convention was born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. When an infant her parents, Reverend and Mrs. George Cook Carter, moved to Auburn, New York, where she was brought up. She completed her elementary and high school training in that city and was graduated from the University of Chicago with a PhB degree, specializing in political economy and social welfare. She has had graduate work in psychiatry at Fordham University and public administration at New York University. Mrs. Mason was a professional social worker for more than 25 years. She has been a secretary in the Young Women's Christian Association in Baltimore, Maryland; Brooklyn, New York and Norfolk, Virginia. For a number of years she was employed by the Department of Welfare in New York City in the capacity of case supervisor and district office administrator. Early in the 1940's she was appointed to the highest Civil Service position in the Department of Welfare ever obtained by a Negro, that of Director of the Division of Social Service. In this position, in which she had over-all supervision of more than 4,000 employees, her responsibilities entailed policy making, maintaining welfare standards, recruitment and training of personnel and many other duties. She resigned this position following injury in a train accident.

Mrs. Mason is an ardent civic worker. When living in New York City, she founded The Committee of 100 Women, an organization which has given thousands of dollars in camp scholarships to under-privileged children. She has been made honorary president of this outstanding group. She was formerly a member of the Board of Directors of the Katy Ferguson Home for Unmarried

Mothers and of the Personnel Committee of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association. When a resident of New York City she was active in many other phases of community welfare.

Returning to live in Norfolk, Virginia from New York City in 1945, she has been closely connected with that community. In Norfolk, she founded the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, a group of Negro and white women that has grown from 30 to 400 members. This unique organization tackles difficult community problems on the interracial level; thinking, planning and taking action together on problems of a civic and social welfare nature. Outstanding personalities including, Mrs. Harper Sibley; Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, former congresswoman; J. Saunders Redding; Mrs. Olive Goldman, formerly a member of the United Nation's Commission on The Status of Women; Paul Williams, former president of the Southern Council; George Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Council; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, and many others have been brought to Norfolk by this group for public lectures.

Mrs. Mason has had considerable experience in the writing field, she is the editor of the Golden Jubilee Year Book, a historical record of the Daughters of Elks. She has written special articles for the New York Amsterdam News and the Norfolk Journal and Guide. For some time, she also wrote a column, the Guide Post, for the latter newspaper.

In Norfolk she was the only Negro woman cited by the Norfolk Ledger Dispatch on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of that newspaper. She was praised for the high quality of her civic and social welfare contributions to the community. She has been honored by the Norfolk Chapter of the Zeta Phi Beta Sorority and the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity. For three years Mrs. Mason was the uptown chairman for the March of Dimes, organizing over

100 women each year who were successful in raising large sums of money for this cause. She represented the Norfolk Chapter for Infantile Paralysis at the annual meeting at Tuskegee Institute.

Mrs. Mason is known as a consistent and vigorous fighter for the rights of people. She has appeared before the Norfolk City Council on numerous occasions and before the Norfolk members of the State Legislature. Her appeal to them to end segregation on common carriers in the state of Virginia was described in an editorial in the Virginia Pilot as a dignified and forceful presentation which left no doubt as to the validity of her petition.

She came into the Council soon after it was organized by its Founder, President Emeritus, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, and since then has worked intimately with the President Emeritus and her successor, Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee. On a national level she has been elected to Chairman of the Executive Board and as a Vice-President. As a member of the Executive Committee she was closely involved in the operations of the organization and frequently represented the Council at meetings and conferences. At one period, she was Executive Director of the Council. On the local level she became completely familiar with local problems and programs for she was the organizer and four year president of the New York Council. From 1949 to 1953, she was the president of the Norfolk Council of the National Council. Her wide range of experience in the organization is unusual for it has given her a rich and varied experience. Mrs. Mason has traveled extensively in Europe, in the West Indies and has represented the National Council in the Convention of the Women of Haiti in 1951. As president of the Norfolk Council she has

been responsible for the entertainment of several German women brought to the United States under the auspices of the Women's Bureau and the State Department.

Mrs. Mason is the wife of William Thomas Mason, Superintendent of the Norfolk Community Hospital and president of W. T. Mason and Company, Real Estate, Insurance and Brokerage Firm. They have one son, Attorney William T. Mason, Jr., a practicing lawyer in Norfolk. She is the sister of Mrs. Anita Bogarte Crump of Mt. Vernon, New York, Commissioner Elmer A. Carter, Oscar S. Carter, Wheeler and Reginald Carter.

Mrs. Mason is a member of the Board of Directors of the Child and Family Service and Chairman of the Personnel Committee; a member of the National Committee for the Improvement of Nursing Services; of the Evaluatory Committee on Education of the Booker T. Washington High School; of the Norfolk Chapter of the National Infantile Paralysis Foundation; of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Young Women's Christian Association, and of the Daughters of Elks. She has been given the highest honor conferred by this fraternal group, that of Past Grand Daughter Ruler. She is Chairman of the Achievement Committee of the Daughters of Elks. Her social clubs include the Norfolk Chapter of the Links, the Women's Club, the MRS Club, the Husband and Wives Club and the Hoylites. She is a Presbyterian.

NOV 17 1952

Mimeo F.
No. 37

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

RECEIVED
DEC 7 1953

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
COlumbia 5-4434

Washington, D. C. -- The National Council of Negro Women, following program directives emanating from the Community Workshops conducted at the annual convention held in November in Washington, D. C., have issued a special bulletin to all local and junior councils and national affiliated organizations urging them to prepare their communities for a possible decision outlawing segregation in the public schools of the nation. Intergroup meetings of local leaders of both races, discussion sessions on the whys and wherefores of legal action now in the hands of the Supreme Court, the studied use of information pamphlets issued by the Southern Regional Council on the "Schools and The Supreme Court", were some of the recommendations to the entire membership of the National Council of Negro Women.

Mrs. William Thomas Mason, the newly elected national president of the organization stated today: "Negro and white citizens must prepare for the great change in an orderly, civilized and democratic manner. America has an unprecedented opportunity to take a 'soul size' step in establishing and maintaining one more vital life link, welding together the people of America for mutual progress and protection. Education for democracy and for living cannot possibly be achieved in a segregated school system. The nation's schools are our first

line of defense. Children and adults, too, learn by precept and example. One without the other is meaningless. I believe that the vast majority of American people are willing and desire to see our school system reflect the theory and practice of American democracy. The fateful decision of the Supreme Court will hasten or delay the realization of the dream and hope that millions of people long for.....and have struggled for for decades past to secure".

The National Council of Negro Women has also issued strong endorsements of the annual March of Dimes campaign, requesting council members to volunteer their services in every possible way for this worthy cause.

Included also in the memorandum is a similar request to support and help in local community drives sponsored by the American Red Cross. Members of the National Council of Negro Women have rendered notable service in helping to put over community activities of these two groups.

Miss Fannie Williams of New Orleans, Louisiana returned to her home recently from New York City where she attended a nationwide conference of the National Foundation For Infantile Paralysis representing the National Council of Negro Women at a three day meeting at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

- -

A program directive sent to the local councils of the National Council of Negro Women reminded these groups to emphasize three programs which have traditionally received special stress during the months of December, January and February. These programs include the National Council Founder's Day, honoring the organization's Founder, President Emeritus, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, during December; the National Carver Day Celebration, in January, -- a program initiated

by Dr. Alma Illery of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, newly elected National Chaplain of the National Council of Negro Women; the February observance of National Negro History Week.

Mrs. William T. Mason, president of the National Council, sees in the observance of Negro History Week an unusual opportunity to disseminate information about the fine cultural heritage of the Negro and feels that this holds special significance during these times when interracial groups all over the country are discussing the possible decision outlawing segregation in the public schools of the nation.

- -

In keeping with the policy of rotating representation on important committees of the National Council of Negro Women, Mrs. Marjorie McKenzie Lawson of Washington, D. C., third vice president of the organization, will represent the Council at a closed meeting of major and recognized organizations called by Dr. Channing H. Tobias of the NAACP. The meeting will be held at the Willkie Memorial Building in New York City during December.

December 31, '53

Dear Mrs. Mason,

The Atlanta Chapter of the American Veterans' Committee wants some help, for a strategically useful cause, from the Committee on Community Projects.

You'll see all the papers, of course, in due time. Scheme is to do a real job in integrating into Atlanta and the nearby South all to 270-odd foreign students who are at the various Atlanta colleges in an ordinary year.

A lot of things do some token hospitality for the people with whitish skins, but few are the people who try to be honest about the twelve or fifteen African students (mostly at Morehouse). AVC would do right. Quarterly institutes, numerous smaller workshops, ten field trips. A.V.C. in this city has a good record. They've persisted, when many chapters haven't, they've been honest in every way (social included) in their meetings and their work. And, what's as important, they've been a little planning and cause-to-happen nucleus for a lot of good things in local affairs, including our Georgia political affairs.

I back them. Though I'm a veteran of nothing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

December 31, '53

Dear Mrs. Maise,

We do appreciate the helpful way in which in the Nov-Dec issue of TELEFACT the cooperative effort with SRC on the Schools and the Courts was played.

Nice to have real friends!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

March 5, '54

Dear Mrs. Maise,

Here's a letter I sent (through you for forwarding) to Mrs. Jones in Florence.

So glad you are coming to the Carolinas for the organizing trip. I thought I would list for you a few people in the various cities, being white people, who would be friendly. I don't know that you would make any use of these contacts, but there they are. It would be most friendly if you could call them at some stage during your visit. Alternatively, if you would like for them to be in touch with you you could let me know where you could be reached in each place. But the simple thing is for you to know of these friendly persons, and ask their help and cooperation if that should seem in any place useful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Raleigh:
Mrs. Christopher Crittenden
Caswell Dr

Durham
Mrs. Jas. S. Heizer
Lakewood Ave

Fayetteville
Nobody in my head, but somebody doubtless in the files!

Winston-Salem
Mrs. Melville Prongay, Lockland Ave

Ashville
George Stevens, Stevens Press

Charlotte
Mrs. Clarkson (the Judge's wife)

Greensboro
Mrs. C. Van Noppen White

Spartanburg
Not in my head!

Florence
Miss Bagsdale, widow of Congman

Beaufort
Mrs. Courtenay Siceloff
Frogmore (notable)

Columbia
Alice Spearman

Sumter
Miss Rebecca Reid

Cheraw
Not in my head!

Mimeo F. #73
3/1/54

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Naomah W. Maise
COlumbia 5-4434

Washington, D. C. . . . .The Executive Committee of the National Council of Negro Women, in quarterly session at National Headquarters in Washington, D. C. on Friday and Saturday, February 26 and 27, 1954 took action on several items of major interest to members of the organization and to women in general, it was announced today by the national president, Mrs. William T. Mason.

Greetings were telegraphed to the Founder, President Emeritus, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.

The group approved a comprehensive departmental program and heard reports from the newly reorganized departments of Social Welfare, Education, Human Relations and Fine Arts. Miss Vinita Lewis, Chairman of the Social Welfare Department reported her sub-committee structure as including Adoptive and Foster Home Care for Children, Juvenile Delinquency, Housing and Social Legislation.

The Education Department, with Mrs. Ida Nance Givens of Baton Rouge, Louisiana as chairman, met recently at Council Headquarters and instructed the Executive Director to report sub-committees in the areas of Teen-age School Drop-outs, Minority Subject Matter in School Textbooks, Illiteracy, and Atypical Children. The Human Relations Department with Mrs. Eleanor Curtis Dailey of Chicago as chairman, also in recent session at Council Headquarters instructed the Director to report sub-committees on Group Relations in Community Living, a Committee to Develop Opportunities for Human Relations Scholarships and a committee to develop a Brochure on the Techniques

and Objectives of Human Relations Workshops to be used by local councils and affiliated organizations. The House Committee, chaired by Mrs. Sadie Mills Franklin, presented, through the committee secretary, Mrs. Eleanor Sears Singleton, a graphic report on improvements made at Headquarters and plans for the future.

The Executive Committee voted unanimously to entertain the annual convention of the National Association of Colored Women on Monday evening, August 2, 1954 in Washington, D. C.

The group confirmed plans of the Executive Director, Mrs. Naomah W. Maise, to make an extensive field trip into the states of North and South Carolina to consult with the Regional Director, Mrs. Iola Jones, to organize new councils and to visit local councils. National affiliated organizations have been alerted to lend assistance in the organization of new councils throughout the two states. It is expected that Mrs. Maise will visit Raleigh, Durham, Fayetteville, Winston-Salem, Ashville, Charlotte and Greensboro, North Carolina; Spartanburg, Florence, Beaufort, Columbia, Sumpter and Cheraw, South Carolina.

Dr. Gertrude Rivers of the Howard University history department and vice president of the Federal Council of Churches in Washington, was chosen as the convention chairman of the National Council of Negro Women to be held in Washington, D. C. in November 1954.

Climaxing the action of the Executive Committee in the two day session was the election of Mrs. William T. Mason to represent the National Council at the International Assembly of the International Council of Women at Helsinki, Finland, June 4-18, 1954.

After the important Executive Committee session the members of the Executive Committee and department heads assisted in pouring and receiving at the Brotherhood Tea honoring Mrs. Richard M. Nixon at the Willard Hotel. Executive Committee members in attendance were as follows: Dr. Arenia Mallory of Lexington, Mississippi, Mrs.

Marion H. Bluitt of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Jane M. Spaulding of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks of Daytona Beach, Florida; Mrs. Ruth Caston Mueller of Washington, D. C.; Dr. Alma Illery of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Helen Meade of New York City; Mrs. Ethel Ramos Harris of New Kensington, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Iola Jones of Florence, South Carolina; Mrs. Gwendolyn M. Floyd of Little Rock, Arkansas, Miss Bessie B. Garvin of East St. Louis, Illinois; Mrs. Daisy Lampkin of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Fannye Ayer Ponder of St. Petersburg, Florida, and Mrs. Thelma Young of Wilmington, Delaware.

An important and final session of the two day Executive Committee work session which was delightfully provided respite by the brilliant intercultural tea honoring Mrs. Nixon was a round table discussion for Regional Directors. The session, chaired by Dr. Arenia C. Mallory, consultant for the group, was held on Saturday evening at Council Headquarters. Spring regional conferences were announced as follows: The conference for Region I, Mrs. Daisy S. George of New York City, Director, will be held April 2 and 3, 1954 in New York City; the conference for Region II, Mrs. Aliene Ewell of Washington, D. C., Director, will be held April 15 and 16, 1954 in Richmond, Virginia; for Region III, Mrs. Iola Jones of Florence, South Carolina, Director, will be held April 23 and 24, 1954 in Atlanta, Georgia; for Region IV, Mrs. Gwendolyn M. Floyd of Little Rock, Arkansas, Director, (date to be announced), in Houston, Texas; and Region V, Miss Bessie Garvin of East St. Louis, Illinois, Director, May 28 and 29, 1954 in Lansing, Michigan. Plans for Region VII, Mrs. Helen Garland of Long Beach, California, Director, will be announced at a later date.

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important committee and conference assignments the following persons have recently represented the National Council: Mrs. Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, 3rd vice president attended a meeting of national organization representatives called by Dr. Channing Tobias of the N.A.A.C.P. Mrs. Marjorie Duckery of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Mrs. Thelma Young of Wilmington, Delaware represented the Council at the recent conference of women leaders called by the Women's Bureau. Mrs. Mary Staupers and other New York City representatives attended a premiere showing of a film on nursing careers.

Mrs. Maise reported that along with Mrs. Jane Morrow Spaulding, national treasurer of the National Council, she attended several sessions of the Conference of National Organizations in session in Washington, D. C.; that she has participated regularly in the Civil Liberties Clearing House activities and as a member of the National Committee for Equal Pay discussed with Secretary of Labor, Mr. James P. Mitchell, the Council's positive stand on the Equal Pay Bill currently to be introduced by Congresswoman, Frances Bolton.

Mrs. Maise further reported that Mrs. Eudora Winters, Washington, D. C. elementary school principal, represented the council at the White House Conference of Traffic Safety. Mrs. Mason, national president, also attended several sessions of this significant conference.

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Isadora Chinn and Mrs. Osbourne Chinn from Kansas City, Kansas who remained over after attending the tea honoring Mrs. Nixon on Saturday, February 27, Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, past president of the National Council, Mrs. Jane M. Spaulding and Madame Lillian Evanti.

- -

Two outstanding members of national affiliated groups of the National Council of Negro Women took an active part in the quarterly Executive Committee meeting held on February 26 and 27. Mrs. John C. Carr of Washington, D. C., past president of the Dental Auxiliary of the National Dental Association and vice-chairman of the Council's Finance Committee gave the report of the committee of which Mrs. Buena Kelly Berry is chairman.

Mrs. Le Count Matthews, past president of the Medical Auxiliary of the National Medical Association and chairman of the Council's Constitution Committee attended the Executive Committee meeting as a member of a standing committee.

Mimeo F. #75
3/8/54

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Mrs. William T. Mason
COlumbia 5-4434

Mrs. Naomah Williams Maise, Executive Director of the National Council of Negro Women will begin an intensive field work assignment to organize new local councils and to hold workshops with council groups in the states of North and South Carolina beginning March 13, it was announced today by Mrs. William T. Mason, president of the Council.

Mrs. Maise who has served as director of the Council since March 1953 was formerly Director of the Friendly Inn Settlement, Cleveland, Ohio's oldest and largest social settlement. She is a graduate of Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia and of Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio and has studied at the Juilliard School of Music in New York and the Bennington School of The Arts in Vermont. For a number of years before entering the field of social administration, Mrs. Maise taught voice and piano in the Music Department at Spelman College, her alma mater, and she brings to the Council a rich and varied professional background.

Mrs. Mason, president of the National Council of Negro Women has alerted all affiliated groups, life members and local council officers in or near the two states to lend every assistance to the Director in this effort to intensify the work of the Council in the two Carolinas. Mrs. Iola Jones of Florence, South Carolina, Regional Director for the Region encompassing North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Tennessee, will assist Mrs. Maise and her Regional Office at 711 Oakland Street, Florence, South Carolina (Telephone: Florence 4279), will serve as local headquarters for the duration of the trip.

Women who are interested in having a council set up in their communities are urged to get in touch with the National Headquarters or with the Regional Headquarters at the above address.

The tentative schedule for the trip is as follows:

March 13 and 14	Fayetteville, North Carolina
March 15, 16 and 17	Florence, Cheraw, Sumter, South Carolina
March 18 and 19	Charleston, South Carolina
March 20 and 21	Beaufort, South Carolina
March 22	Orangeburg, South Carolina
March 23, 24 and 25	Columbia, South Carolina
March 26	Spartanburg, South Carolina
March 27 and 28	Asheville, North Carolina
March 29 and 30	Salisbury, North Carolina
March 31, April 1	Charlotte, North Carolina
April 2	Greensboro, North Carolina
April 3 and 4	Winston-Salem, North Carolina
April 5 and 6	Durham, North Carolina
April 7 and 8	Raleigh, North Carolina

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER, PRESIDENT EMERITUS

Telephone, COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington , D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 10, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks, as always, for your thoughtfulness. Enclosed, please find a tentative schedule of the South and North Carolina field trip. I would be happy, indeed, to reach or to be reached by the persons named in your note and feel it most important that they know the leaders of our council groups.

Enclosed, please find a copy of the press release and schedule which has to do with the trip.

Most sincerely yours,

Naomah W. Maise

(Mrs.) Naomah W. Maise
Executive Director

I hope to be in Atlanta for the Regional meeting and for Dr. Manley's Inauguration as president of Spelman April 21st - 24th.

March 12, '34

Dear Mrs. Maise,

Will you come see us when you get to Atlanta?

Sincerely,

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

REGION III

WORKSHOP SESSION

Saturday, April 24, 1954

THEME: Our Responsibility for Improving Community Relations At Home and Abroad.

PLAN: After a brief explanation of the National Council Program by the Executive Director, Noamah W. Maise, each of the five leaders will be asked to set the stage for his group discussion with a twenty minute or less presentation. An opportunity will be given for the delegates to choose one of the five discussion groups which will be informally conducted by the leaders. A recorder will be on hand and an assistant leader will be appointed for each section on Friday evening. It may be well for the leaders to give the summary in the afternoon so the entire group will have the benefit of the several discussions.

Our over-all aim should be to make the presentation and the discussion periods challenging but practical and down-to-earth so that conferees may take home definite ideas on how to set up and move ahead with council program.

GROUP I Mrs. Arnetta Wallace, leader.

1. Leadership - The Key to good Program.

2. The Junior Council Potential.

3. Our National Affiliates at work in the Local Council.

Guide lines:

1. Since the council is made up of a diverse cross section of a given community, the leadership to do an effective job must be of the highest possible caliber. How shall we stretch one sights to secure, further develop and maintain good and dedicated leaders? What is included in the responsibilities of offices?

2. Develop for the group the strengthening influence of a junior council. Bring out the fact the junior council is set up and sponsored by the local council and is one of its leadership responsibilities.

3. Discuss the importance of affiliate group and other local group representation and support on the local level, etc.

GROUP II Mrs. Fannye Ayer Ponder, leader.

1. Review the Purposes of the National Council of Negro Women.

2. The Local Council and Community Service.

3. Life Membership.

Guide Lines:

1. It may be well to have the group ~~as it relates~~ to read the purposes together, commenting on each purpose as it relates to program.

2. Discuss the spark sometimes provided by the development of direct service projects. The unmet needs which sometimes must be met by local councils until such time as tax or community chest supported facilities may be provided.

3. The significance of Life Membership.

GROUP III Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks, leader.

1. Financing the Local and National Programs.

2. How do you see a Labor and Industry Committee function in a local council; an International Committee?

3. Current program emphasis - Social Welfare and Public Relations.

Guide lines:

1. Discuss the basic national Budget in relation to program. How shall we accumulate our "local fair share?"

2. Do you know the labor laws as they apply to women and children? What are the job opportunities for women in your community? Are there chances for wider job opportunities for women in your community? What can council women do? Discuss the down-to-earth reasons why a representative group like the Council could be effective in this area or program.

Point out the basic need to be aware of World problems; to know about people of other lands; mention our national support of U. N., World's Health Organization, our affiliation with Women of the World, etc; thal local council programs in these areas have been highly successful community wide efforts. Mention entertaining and planning discussion groups for foreign visitors - these may be arranged by national office in cooperation with the State Department, Women's Bureau.

3. Show why we decide on a special program emphasis each year at Convention time; how this gives local groups an opportunity to concentrate on setting up specific active committees not for one year but on a continuing basis.

GROUP IV Miss Anne Hawkins, leader.

1. Public Relations.

2. Youth Conservation.

Guide lines:

1. You may want to point out that although it is necessary to set up a good Public Relations Committee whose duty it would be to establish productive channels for publicity, much depends on having a good strong program to sell; that a good Public Relations Program is a part of all that we do. Mention the effectiveness of having a proper letterhead for correspondence and a correspondence committee.

2. Use as an example of the development of a program which will "sell" in any community, our Youth Conservation Program.

GROUP V Mr. George Mitchell, leader.

1. Religious Education and Fellowship.

2. Citizenship Education.

3. Education - where we are now.

Guide lines:

The opportunity afforded by Religious Education and Fellowship to "deepen our dicipleship." A recital of some of the many effective methods employed for citizenship Education - what can Council women do, and in general, stimulate our thinking out of your wonderful and wide experience.

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS WHICH WILL COME FROM THE GROUP MEMBERS.

GROUP I

Is the boldly aggressive leader necessarily the better choice?

GROUP II

Are all local councils required to have a constitution? Does this constitution conform in full to that of national? What officers would be included in a model local council? How can we help our members to place the council itself above personal considerations? Would it be advisable to hold leadership workshops, using outside experts for training purposes? Have we fully explored community resources, the churches, our affiliate organizations for recruiting potential council leaders? Do our council groups give young women a real chance for leadership development and service? What are some of the programs of a service nature which councils may sponsor without large outlays of cash? Do many of our groups sponsor recreation groups for the aged? Would these be practical projects? Do any of our local groups find it possible to sponsor teen age canteens? What are some of the pitfalls involved in these projects? Do life members pay dues in the local council? Why? Should local council membership committees try to secure Life members for the National Council?

GROUP III

Please share your thinking on how we may best interpret the need for full support of our national Budget? Please let us share your ideas for more or less painless ways to raise money. What are your practical suggestions for conducting more productive membership campaigns? Will our National Program Department chairman be responsible for guiding our local committees in program planning? If our local chairman, say of Labor & Industry, has questions re, setting up her work, should she correspond with the National Office or directly to the head of the Labor & Industry Department? How can we secure information about the Labor situation in a given community? When the delegates at the National Convention decide to emphasize a special area of program (this year it is Social Welfare and Public Relations), does this mean the local council must give major attention to these programs? Please elaborate on, or give an opportunity for persons who have illustrations for successful Social Welfare projects and activities to share these with the conference.

GROUP IV

What is considered the most effective means of publicizing on local activities? Do most of our council groups have Public Relations Committees? What is the function of such a committee? Would it follow that the Public Relations Chairman work closely with the chairman of the program committee? How can radio and T. V. best be employed as a public relations medium? Should we not send to the National Office information about our local papers so they may receive national press releases?

GROUP V

What is the best way to go about organizing a program for an Inter-Cultural Committee? What are some of the subjects which such groups discuss with mutual profit? What should we be attempting to do in relation to the question of Integration of the Schools? How do we go about finding out the people of other races who should be willing to meet with our committees? Why is it that many of our own people fear integrated schools? Does the Southern Regional Council offer any kind of special service to groups? What is the cost of your publication, the New South? Are there others?

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER, PRESIDENT EMERITUS

Telephone, COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

y

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

RECEIVED
APR 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 16, 1954

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

It will be good to see you next week. The enclosed is just for a glance for we want you to do exactly what you think will be most effective.

Most sincerely yours,
Naomah Maise

The Carolina trip was very much worth-while - Will tell you about it.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

April 16, 1954

To Group Leaders of Region III Workshop Sessions:

Mrs. Iola Jones, our Regional Director for Region III asked me to work out a guide for our Saturday Workshop Session. I hope you will find the enclosed helpful but that you will feel free to use your own judgement in making the session worthwhile.

Mrs. Jones wishes you to know that the Workshop will be held at Conference Headquarters, Y. W. C. A., 599 Tatnall Street, Atlanta, Georgia. I believe the scheduled hour is from 9:30 until 12 noon with a follow-up session after lunch. I will ask Mrs. Jones to send each of you a detailed program early next week.

The Friday evening public meeting is scheduled for the West Hunter Baptist Church.

Both of us greatly appreciate your willingness to serve.

Naomah W. Maise
Executive Director

Dr. Mitchell - afternoon session

YOUR CHECK LIST
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.
Affiliated With
The National Council of Women of the U. S.
International Council of Women of the World

* * *

"PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION

IT IS OUR PLEDGE TO MAKE A LASTING CONTRIBUTION TO ALL THAT IS FINEST AND BEST IN AMERICA, TO CHERISH AND ENRICH HER HERITAGE OF FREEDOM AND PROGRESS BY WORKING FOR THE INTEGRATION OF ALL OF HER PEOPLE, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, INTO HER SPIRITUAL, SOCIAL, CULTURAL, CIVIC AND POLITICAL LIFE, AND THUS AID HER TO ACHIEVE THE GLORIOUS DESTINY OF A TRUE AND UNFETTERED DEMOCRACY.

PURPOSES

TO PROMOTE unity of action among women's national organizations and among all women in matters affecting the educational, cultural, economic, social and political life of America.

TO BUILD a common fellowship of women devoted to the task of developing friendly relations among the peoples of the world.

TO COLLECT, interpret, disseminate and preserve information about and particularly affecting women.

TO ENCOURAGE, competent, intelligent participation by women in the spiritual, political, economic, social, civic and cultural life of America and to assist them in the development of these interests.

TO WORK for the complete elimination of any and all forms of discrimination and segregation based upon race, religion, color, national origin or sex."

HEADQUARTERS - The headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women is 1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP

NATIONAL - The national membership of the National Council of Negro Women is composed of national organizations and local councils.

INDIVIDUAL - Any woman who has expressed an interest in the program of the National Council of Negro Women who subscribes to its purposes and is willing to abide by the principles and rules is eligible for membership in a local council.

LIFE - Women who desire to express their support of and belief in the organization as a present and ongoing institution of the future may become life members by payment of $100, payable at once, in full or in installments. Payments may be divided into two payments of $50 each or $20.00 per year. The entire amount is due within five years of the first payment. Life members are urged to participate in local councils activities. They pay the regular local council membership fee.

LOCAL COUNCILS

ORGANIZATION - Representatives of local groups nationally affiliated with the National Council, representatives of other local organizations, and any woman who subscribes to the purposes of the National Council of Negro Women.

Young women between the ages of 16 and 22 are eligible for membership in Junior Councils which are formed under the sponsorship of local councils.

FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

Local Councils: Each local council is required to pay $100 yearly for the support of the national program. Each Junior Council is required to pay $50 yearly for the support of the national program.

Individual Dues: The annual membership fee for each member is $3.00. Of this amount $1.00 remains in the local treasury; $2.00 is sent to the national office.

The annual membership fee for junior council members is $2.00. Of this amount $1.00 remains in the local treasury and $1.00 is sent to the national office. Membership cards are issued by the national office upon receipt of the full membership fee.

Special Contributions: In order to meet the annual national budget each local council is asked to make a special contribution according to the budgetary requirements of the national office and the resources of the local group.

Fiscal Year: The fiscal year of the National Council of Negro Women is July 1 to June 30.

PUBLICATIONS

TELEFACT: A monthly bulletin, published by the national council. Financial members receive this publication starting with the month following the receipt of their membership fee.

SOUVENIR YEAR BOOK: The Souvenir Year Book is the first bound record of the National Council of Negro Women. This book is replete with vital information, depicting the history of the National Council. It is graphically illustrated and is a "must" for all members of the National Council. Price, $1.12, postage included.

CONSTITUTIONS: Every National Council member should own a copy of the National Constitution, ordered through the local council secretary. Price 10¢.

HANDBOOK: A Handbook of Instruction for Local Councils is available from the National Office. This publication is a necessity and should be ordered for every officer in a local council. Price 15¢.

NCNW PIN

An especially designed Council pin is available to members. For full information write to the National Office.

YOU ARE WELCOME

The National Council of Negro Women welcomes the support and participation of women in its program of total integration into the basic activities and institutions of American life. The unmet needs of millions of women and children present a forthright challenge to unite woman power in this great enterprise. Every woman has a contribution to make . . . We urge you to join with the National Council of Negro Women in their crusade and program for human rights and human welfare.

* * *

MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Founder, President Emeritus

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
National President

MRS. NAOMAH W. MAISE
Executive Director

* * *

Make All Checks Payable To:
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN,

And Address To:
MRS. ARABELLA DENNISTON
Administrative Secretary

Mimeo F. #76
March 1954

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 2, 1954

Avoid June 8 paid col of LA

Dear Dr. Mitchell

The attached letter from Mrs. William Thomas Mason requests that you attend a meeting sponsored by the National Council of Negro Women in Washington, D.C., on June 19th.

In checking your calendar I find that you are to be in Gainesville, Florida on June 17th and in Rock Hill on June 22nd. Menefee is to come in to the office on the 14th to be briefed; Dr. Bellhouse is coming in at 10:00 on the 15th to talk with you. Now, if you think you can sandwich the Washington trip, as stated in Mrs. Mason's letter, into this schedule, let me know and I will write her. The same applies if you cannot.

This morning Charles V. Brown (the Haverford student who is going to Cartersville) came in the office, on his way to Cartersville, and we gave him material (including Addendum #2).

Hope you have had a pleasant trip thus far.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley

Elizabeth Brantley

Encl.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Founder, President-Emeritus

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
National President

NAOMAH W. MAISE
Executive Director

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

(AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, INC., AND INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD)

1318 VERMONT AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
COLUMBIA 5-4434

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MRS. GWENDOLYN FLOYD
Little Rock, Arkansas
Region V
MISS BESSIE GARVIN
East St. Louis, Illinois
Region VII
MRS. HELEN GARLAND
Long Beach, Calif.

June 1, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This hour must indeed be one that is filled with great joy and some trepidation for you who have labored so long and arduously in the field of education and human relations. All of us must rejoice in this epoch-making decision of the Supreme Court, giving thanks to the Justices and to persons like yourself who carried on the struggle to reveal the truth, thereby giving lasting witness--"Know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

A great task is ahead of us, as no one on the southern scene knows better than you. All of us in our several ways must try to work together, so that the goals that we seek will be assured--if not to-day, at least in the discernible future.

The National Council of Negro Women has an unprecedented opportunity and duty to make a lasting contribution to the betterment of human relations and to give vital impetus to a new day in American Education and Community Living.

We have in mind three things for the National Council to do:

1. To alert all local councils to their responsibility to join with local, county, and state school authorities in helping to devise ways and means of implementing this decision in the best interest of the children and the community.

2. To provide skilled leadership in the areas of education, human relations and citizenship education in order that honorable and acceptable courses of action, leading to implementation, may be utilized.

3. To prepare a brief to be presented to the Supreme Court in October, recommending method, timing and implementation of the decision.

To accomplish these ends the National Council is preparing a statement and instructions to local councils through the Sub-Committee on School Administration, of the Education Department of the National Council. The second activity, and the most important one, is a conference that is being called on Saturday, June 19, at National Council Headquarters, starting at 10:00 A. M., and consisting of Heads of our National Organizations, the Chairmen and Co-Chairmen of the Education, Human Relations and Citizenship Education Departments, together with authorities in the field of education and human relations. Here is where you come in--we should like for you to be a member of the conference, giving us the benefit of your remarkable experience and of your thinking, along the lines outlined above.

We need you very much and welcome suggestions of other persons whom you think should be invited. We had thought of the Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, Jr., Mr.Nabritt of Howard University, Dr. Charles Johnson, Hortense Powdermaker of Long Island University, Mrs. Alice Jaffee, former President of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, of Norfolk, Virginia, Mrs. Tilley of Atlanta, Georgia, and others.

We were very delighted to hear of the grant which the Ford Foundation made to the Southern Regional Council, and thought it the most deserving award they had made. I do not know how the Fund operates, but would there be any possibility of the Southern Regional Council helping us to finance this important meeting? You know the National Council of Negro Women is limited in its funds, and altho this conference is so vitally important, we are not in position to finance it as it should be, and therefore must turn to friends for whatever assistance they can give.

We hope you will be able to attend and give us whatever help you can.

With our very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mason

Mrs. William Thomas Mason

VCM/ew

News!

COLUMBIA 5-4434

Mimeo Form #132

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

(AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, INC., AND INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD)

1318 VERMONT AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Founder, President-Emeritus

NAOMAH W. MAISE
Executive Director

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
National President

---for release

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

SPECIAL

Mrs. William Thomas Mason, President of the National Council of Negro Women, 1318 Vermont Avenue, N . W., Washington, D. C., has announced her withdrawal as delegate to the International Conference to be held by the International Council of Women in Helsinki, Finland, June 7 to June 18, and the appointment of Dr. Arenia C. Mallory, First Vice-President of the National Council of Negro Women and President of Saint's Industrial School in Lexington, Mississippi, in her stead.

In a communication to the Board of Directors Mrs. Mason stated, "First things must come first. Because of the momentous aftermath of the recent Supreme Court decision in desegregating schools, the National Council of Negro Women has an unprecedented opportunity and duty, to make a lasting contribution to the implementation of this epoch making decision. To that end a conference of heads of national member organizations, chairmen and vice-chairmen of the Education, Human Relations, and Citizenship Education Departments of the National Council, and outstanding authorities in education and human relations, is being called for Saturday, June 19, at National Council Headquarters in Washington. They will study and draft a recommended course of action for the National Council of Negro Women."

Mrs. Mason further stated: "The next few weeks are to be devoted to this enterprise, and everything else is superseded by the urgency of this crisis in education and human relations. Therefore it is impossible for the President to be out of the country at this crucial time. However, the National Council of Negro Women will be ably and competently represented by Dr. Mallory, thus insuring the unbroken attendance of the National Council of Negro Women at the International Conferences of the International Council of Women."

June 3, 1954

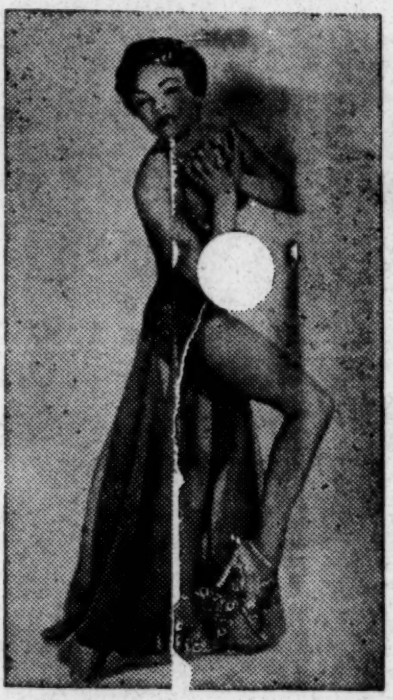
Eartha Kitt

Is Coming To Town

That Celebrated Star of "New Faces" & C'est Si Bon" with her bundle of feminine charm and "warm, haunting voice and tantalizing dances,"

Is Appearing

at



ULINE ARENA

Tuesday June 15

8:30 P. M.

For the Benefit of

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

Tickets are $1.20, $2.20, $3.30, $4.40, $5.50

TICKETS ON SALE AT:

1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W., CO. 5-4434
Service Music Co., 1233 You St., N. W., AD. 4-9344
Willard Hotel, 14th & Pa. Ave., N. W., NA. 8-4420
Wal-Thom Tailors, 11th & You St., N. W., DE. 2-0369
Super Music Stores, 1110 7th St., N. W., NO. 7-2441
Vila Beauty Salon, 3207½ 7th St., N. W., RA. 3-9881
Stage Door, 618 T St., N. W., NO. 7-9872
La Savage Beauty Nook, 2228 Georgia Ave., N. W., DU. 7-9815

IN BALTIMORE:

Royal Stores, 1328 Pennsylvania Ave., Lafayette 3-0394
Walker's Music Store, 327 N. Howard St., Lexington 9-2664

August 10, 1954

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Thank you for your letter of August 4th to Dr. Mitchell. We have read with interest the proposal of the National Council of Negro Women for work in local communities in the interest of implementation of the Supreme Court's decision on public schools. There will be many opportunities in the months ahead for cooperation between members of the National Council of Negro Women and members of state organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

As you may know, the grant to the Council from the Ford Fund for the Republic in very large part was to make possible the equipment of our state units with professional staff. The central office is to be primarily concerned with coordinating the work of the state units, and with supplying information, and publication of materials which would be helpful to all groups working on our common concerns.

We have sent you, under separate cover, a copy of Answers for Action (another copy enclosed), designed for use by groups interested in helping to create a climate of opinion for implementation of the Court's decision. This pamphlet is available at a price of $15.00 per hundred copies. We will appreciate your efforts to help promote its use with groups with which you have contacts.

We regret that we are not in a position to "loan" staff, nor to contribute financially to the National Council of Negro Women. We hope, however, that you will urge your membership to work with the program of Council units wherever possible. If Dr. Mitchell, who is out of the office for the next several weeks, can give you suggestions about other approaches to the Ford Foundation, I am sure he will write to you.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/eab

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Founder, President-Emeritus

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
National President

NAOMAH W. MAISE
Executive Director

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

(AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, INC., AND INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD)

1318 VERMONT AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
COLUMBIA 5-4434

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MRS. HELEN GARLAND
Long Beach, Calif.

August 4, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We were extremely sorry that you were unable to attend the conference called by the National Council of Negro Women on June 19. It was a most important, stimulating and challenging meeting, out of it came a dynamic program of action for our organization.

The broad program of citizenship education was outlined together with the basic principle for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision. The plan calls for planned workshops in a great many communities, the development of interracial groups of women and the training of skilled leadership to carry through the work necessary for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision on schools desegregation.

We believe that the National Council of Negro Women can be a tremendously effective instrument in the development of a climate of public opinion persuasive to the idea of integration of schools. We know that there is a very long hard task ahead of us, that it requires dedicated, sound planning and activities to achieve the results that we all seek. The program which was outlined at the June 19 meeting calls for a carefully documented pamphlet designed to inform and to open new vistas of understanding about education, the Negro in public schools, and the results already achieved throughout the nation in non-segregated schools, in areas where segregation was carried out by law.

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1954
Southern Regional Council

My personal experience as the founder of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation in Norfolk, Virginia, has convinced me without a doubt that one of the best means for changing the climate of public opinion in any locality, is through Negro and white women in an organization dedicated to that purpose. In talking with the owner of one of the local newspapers in Norfolk, he stated that undoubtedly the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation has been the prime factor in changing the race relations in that city. What can be done in Norfolk can be done in many other communities, urban and rural. We have developed techniques and know-how in organizing groups of Negro and white women and creating a climate of acceptability on the local level. This experience helps to support our assertions that the foundation for the desegregation of public schools will be achieved by and through the citizens of the locality and the most important element in that citizenry is women.

We are extremely anxious, Mr. Mitchell, to conclude plans for a concentrated project as contained in the outline enclosed. We are soliciting financial contributions from the Southern Regional Council which will enable us to move forward immediately. We know that the Southern Regional Council has made a magnificent contribution to the final decision of the Supreme Court and will continue to achieve great results in the field of education and human relations. We rejoiced with you in the wonderful grant from the Ford Foundation and hope that there will be some means whereby you can give financial support to our project. We had asked the Fund for Adult Education for assistance in this respect and received this reply today; "There is no doubt that your proposal to us is worthwhile, but our resources are limited, and we have focused our program sharply on study and discussion projects in liberal education for adults. This kind of a program falls outside the stated limits of your activities. It is, therefore, impossible for us to give aid to you in your project." Can you tell us what other department of the Ford Foundation we may appeal to for assistance with this project?

We are very much in need of a research worker in connection with the project and wonder if you would loan us such a worker to help assemble the material which will be part of a guide book for local communities.

We will be very grateful for any assistance you can give.

Sincerely yours,

Virginia C. Mason

Mrs. William Thomas Mason

Enclosures:
outline

VCM/ras

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

PROJECT IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES TO FOSTER

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

OUTLAWING SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Background and History: The National Council of Negro Women is a coordinating, planning body. It was founded and organized in 1935 by Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune to meet the need for united planning and concerted action for the economic, social, educational and cultural welfare of Negro women in local communities and on national and international levels. It has brought together national organizations of Negro women to achieve the numerical strength and stature necessary for representation at home and abroad. To further implement the broad program of the National Council of Negro Women councils were organized in local communities. In 1953, there are 20 affiliated organizations and 90 local councils capable of reaching some 850,000 women, through program development on the local level.

The Board of Directors, made up of the Executive Committee, seven Regional Directors, heads of affiliated organizations, presidents of local councils and heads of committees, is the governing body. A small staff, operating out of the headquarters building in Washington, D. C., consists of the Executive Director, an Administrative Secretary, a Clerk-Typist and a Secretary to the President.

The National Council of Negro Women takes the Initiative in Planning for Non-Segregated Schools.

On June 19, 1954, at National Council Headquarters, heads of National Organizations affiliated with the National Council of Negro Women, officers, chairmen of the Human Relations and Education Departments, members at large and experts in the field of education met at the call of the president to explore the implications of the Supreme Court decision and to recommend plans for the implementation in an orderly manner as free from tension and conflict as possible. It was recognized that there were many formidable obstacles in the pathway of this objective but none so great that "they could not be met by cooperative efforts of law-abiding, sane, reasonable, loyal Americans working together." This basic truth has become the corner stone of the plans which the National Council of Negro Women presents as an instrument in achieving non-segregated schools in the United States.

The Problem

The initial work and long time follow-up on changing the segregated school is a delicate and complicated task calling for a high order of experience in human relations, of leadership and concrete knowledge of the conditions, aims and goals of education. It requires specific knowledge of the problem of education on national and local levels, it demands individuals trained in working with groups, especially women's groups, as they function on a complex organized level.

Citizens Responsibility for Non-Segregated Schools. Citizens in the local community will in the final analysis determine how throughly schools in their locality will become integrated. They will determine the apathy or energy of local school authorities in moving toward non-segregation. Therefore, the person identified most closely with schools should be contacted and his cooperation obtained. Women are the closest to schools in their communities. They comprise for the most part the membership in PTAs, they know the teachers, they bring the new pupil to school, school problems and child problems are discussed with the mothers. They personify the growing awareness of American people, of individual and group responsibility for public schools. It is important too, that the vast majority of teachers are women.

The sustained action necessary demands that a program be set up and followed:

I. To create a climate of acceptance.
In order to create a climate of acceptance of the decision the following must be achieved:

a. Organize opportunities for discussion in interracial groups to help promote understanding of the significance of the decision.

b. Bring together persons of all races of similar interests and backgrounds to encourage understanding and cooperative effort.

c. Seek the interest and cooperation of editors, particularly in the Southern states to aid in gaining sympathetic, enlightened public opinion.

d. Make use of the natural opportunities of women as homemakers to influence and foster the growth of positive, democratic attitudes in the home by enlisting the help of leaders of Parent-Teacher Associations to secure unity of effort and to build goodwill.

e. Give guidance to youth and adults to enable them to develop attitudes and patterns of behaviour so necessary to good Human Relations.

f. Urge and work with Church leaders to recognize and accept the decision and to meet this challenge to our democratic and Christian principles.

II. Mobilize the support of local and state officials.

a. Wherever needed work for the appointment of State and local Human Relations Commissions with bi-racial membership and local government support.

b. Study the composition and function of local school boards.

c. Develop objectives so that the single school provides a better school system and a better education for every child.

III. Make preparation for integrated living a significant part of the daily program of the National Council of Negro Women.

a. Support measures to eliminate discrimination and segregation, and to raise the level of participation of minorities in housing, employment, recreation, health services and political life. Develop citizenship responsibility for registering, voting, understanding of local issues and evaluation of candidates for public office.

b. Face up to the issues now with a program of constructive action in all aspects of human relations. Gather the facts of "what's happening in your town" in order that the National Council of Negro Women may be an effective clearing house of vital information on local experiences.

The Project

To organize groups of Negro and white women on the local level who will as an ultimate force, united and strong, develop a climate of acceptance and a program of action in implementing the Supreme Court decision following the outline above.

The setting has begun to take shape. Outstanding church women's organizations have come out with bold and imaginative statements in support of the decision. Women's organizations of civic and welfare nature have made public pronouncements. Individuals on the local level have written hundreds of letters to local newspapers in support of non-segregation. Youth has spoken in positive terms. Yet there is a vast area of public opinion which is either bitter or yet unformed. Many are strenously opposed to any and all aspects of non-segregated schools. Two courses are open and must be taken. First, the white women who have been courageous enough to take a positive stand must be grouped together along with informed Negro women in the localities to think, plan and carry out a course of action to coincide with the decision. The bitter opponents must be helped in subtle ways to change their thinking. Those who are in the process of forming their opinions must have the advantage of the more positive viewpoint. These objectives are difficult to achieve but therein lies the core of changing public opinion. These diverse segments can, by planned courses of action, be drawn and involved in the desegregation of schools for these objectives are outside the area of legal pressures. In the south, especially the deep south, there is probably no other solution, if the objectives are to be accomplished without serious setbacks or in an atmosphere of hatred, tension, conflict or perhaps even violence.

It is a task that will tax all the resources of human relations, but it is our conviction that once women are banded together with these objectives in view, no matter how slow the process may seem in the beginning, eventually progress in non-segregation in public schools and other areas will become a reality.

The National Council of Negro Women closely allied with women's organizations. The National Council of Negro Women has long enjoyed close association with the outstanding women's organizations including: the American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women, General Federation of Women Clubs , League of Women voters, National Council of Cathelic Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Women of the United States (of which the National Council of Negro Women is a member), National Nurses League, United Church Women, the Young Women's Christian Association and others. The National Council of Negro Women has

MILLERS FALLS
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worked with these organizations in many projects affecting women, serving on joint committees, planning and attending joint conferences, exchanging speakers and experts in various fields of endeavor and in general developing relationships of accord and mutual effort. There are three reasons why the National Council of Negro Women is preeminently equipped to undertake this project.

1. With its prestige and cooperative association with the women's groups it is in a position to secure the interest and influence of women's organizations on national and local levels. The National Council of Negro Women is a natural instrument to bring together interracial groups of women to study the problems and plan constructive action on the local level. The National Council of Negro Women can weld together a courageous, intelligent and resourceful group of women in a given community.

2. Because of the organizational structure of the National Council of Negro Women it is geared to work with local units of national organizations. These local units of the National Council of Negro Women represent a cross section of women within whose ranks may be found professional workers, trained technicians, industrial and factory employees and housewives. This great variety gives ample opportunity to develop leadership on the local level. It is advantageous to the project for local units to be organized so that the leadership for setting up and maintaining interracial groups is sustained. Since this project is an essential part of the National Council of Negro Women's program, it is almost mandatory. This is important in relation to the acceptance of the project on the local level by the groups of organized white women in the local community.

<u>What will be done on the local level to carry out the project of creating a climate of acceptance followed by constructive action to implementing the Supreme Court decision.</u>

1. The National Council of Negro Women proposes to engage two Field Secretaries, qualified by education, experience and natural aptitude to work on this project in local communities.

2. These secretaries will carry out a program of leadership, training and the development of interracial groups of women on the basis described elsewhere.

3. They will organize units of the National Council of Negro Women as a continuing means of keeping the organized interracial groups functioning.

4. They will interpret to the local community, through organized groups, churches, workshops and institutes, the problems of education and the ways and means by which a single educational system can develop the American child and the American community on the highest level.

5. They will be equipped with special brochures, books, courses of instruction, films, charts and other media necessary to put across ideas.

MILLERS PAPERS
CONTENTS

It is most important that participating leadership be developed on the local level. Negro citizens need to be undergirded by information, by reaffirmation in their duties as citizens. They need to be strengthened and encouraged in meeting effectively what will be a situation of crisis for sometime to come.

Specific territory to be covered. The Field Secretaries would cover the states of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Missouri, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Illinois and Kentucky.

The Cost

Research Worker (part time)	$ 550.00
One Field Secretary Salary	3400.00
One Field Secretary Salary	3400.00
One Secretary	2800.00
2500 Guide Books, Printing, Cuts, etc.	625.00
Brochures and other Literature	425.00
Travel Expenses	1100.00
Other Expenses	294.00
Total	$12,594.00

Conclusion

The decision of May 17, 1954, was not an end but a beginning. It confronts us with new opportunities for making a reality our American concept of democracy. The task of implementing the decision will not be easy. But, with the same unity of purpose and unity of action with which we united in the National Council of Negro Women, we know that full integration can be achieved. We are determined to demonstrate that all problems in human relations can be met by the cooperative efforts of law-abiding, sane, reasonable, loyal Americans working together.

This great task confronts the women of the nation for they must lay a foundation which will be secure, honorable and forward moving, so that a new day in human relations and American education can be achieved.

Green copy

August 17, 1954

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I come back to your letter of August 4, which Mrs. Hamilton answered.

You have got hold of an excellent thing which ought to be pushed. One would think that the initiative properly lies with the white people in each Southern community, but we all know from experience that if the Negro women will make first moves, cooperation in honest effective planning can be had. I would dearly like to see you get the money to do what you want to do.

Any chance that the Newport News shipyard people would put it up? One of the leading figures, name begins with "B" -- lately retired, and such a man with influence surviving in a great Company might be able to pry loose the funds.

Otherwise you could try the Fund for the Republic, One East 54th Street, New York City, where the man to be addressed is Mr. David Freeman. Or, if you go to New York, drop in and see the Doris Duke Foundation people where the Secretary is Miss Sophie Van Theiss.

There is real power in what you want to do. I had a pleasant talk the other day with Mrs. James C. Chambers.

While you are digging for money, why not try out, with some local branches, the use of either our pamphlet or the one that the Public Affairs Committee did, called Segregation and the Schools? If you can get provided to some foundation a detailed description of the procedure and consequences of two or three local discussion enterprises, I should think they would help you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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pure

December 1, 1954

Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines
National Association of Colored Women, Inc.
1601 "R" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Gaines:

You will remember that we chatted briefly at the meeting of the various agencies which followed the Herald-Tribune Forum.

I send you a copy of the Council's most recent bulletin, Answers for Action.

Could you not work out some arrangement by which the local branches of your Association were supplied with copies of this?

It compresses the findings of the Ashmore study, reviews the laws, and tells the things to do. It is best used by local white and Negro discussion groups -- preferably women.

We have sold it in great proportions to long strings of organizations which are using it in that way. It can be had in quantity at 16¢ apiece.

Do ponder and see.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

MAR 4 1955

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Naomah W. Maise, Executive Director
Columbia 5-4434

March 2, 1955

Over 800 members and friends of the National Council of Negro Women attended its imminently successful Brotherhood Luncheon honoring Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder, President Emeritus of the organization. The event was held in the spacious and beautifully appointed Grand Ball Room of the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C.

Mrs. William T. Mason, president of the Council presided. Mrs. A. Carrington Ewell was general chairman. Mrs. Howard Thurman, Chairman of the 20th Anniversary formally opened the celebration with a brief ceremony which included the reading of the Council pledge.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the principal speaker, herself a life member of the Council said "The work of Mrs. Bethune and the National Council of Negro Women has been not only for your own people but for the general interest of the country." She reminded the audience that the time for giving lip service to the ideal of Brotherhood is past; that instead, actual practices must follow if we are to strengthen our democracy and live securely within ourselves.

Mrs. Bethune, who was presented by Lt. Lawrence Oxley, spoke briefly in her inimitable manner. She said in part "On this splendid occasion our many friends show by their very presence their endorsement of the efforts of the Council to bring mankind nearer to God; to take away the spirit of segregation and to bind us together as one." She said she was aware of an underlying spiritual note in the program which formally opened the 20th year celebration of the Council and threw out a challenge for the present and the future saying, "Keep your hand in God's hand and your foot firmly on the ground as together we build a bridge to the fellowship the world needs today."

The concluding feature of the Luncheon program was the awarding of three citations for meritorious service. Dr. Auguste Hoffmann of Berlin, President of the German Federation of University Women, was cited for "leadership in the field of international understanding and good will." Mrs. Jane Morrow Spaulding, Consultant to the Division of Community Program Development, Foreign Operations Administration and Treasurer of the National Council of Negro Women, was cited for "the inspiration you have brought to American womanhood, through your contribution of loyal and unselfish service to human welfare." The popular CBS television star of "Toast of the Town," Ed Sullivan, was honored as a symbol of brotherhood throughout the country, for his "creative skill in helping America recognize and appreciate individual worth and talent and for the tremendous vitality and stimulus you have brought to the ideals of brotherhood."

The soloist for the Luncheon was Padrica Mendez from Jacksonville, Florida. Miss Mendez, a highly talented young musician who is a sophomore student at Bethune-Cookman College won the hearts of the large and enthusiastic luncheon audience as she displayed an unusually rich and well controlled voice in her two numbers: "I Vow I Shall Do All In My Power" by Bizet and "The Kiss" by Luigi Arditi. Luncheon music was furnished by John Hoskins, pianist and Maurice Jones, violinist. Mr. Hoskins also served as accompanist for Miss Mendez.

The Euphonic Chorale, a Washington singing unit under the direction of Henry Brooks Shepard, sang "Let Us Break Bread Together" in connection with the 20th Anniversary Ceremony and "The Battle Hymn of The Republic" at the conclusion of the program.

NCNW.

March 14, 1955

Mrs. Iola Jones
711 Oakland Avenue
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Jones:

I trust that you are getting in touch with Mrs. Spearman directly. She can be reached at 1508 Lady Street, Columbia, telephone # 6-8808.

As far as I am concerned the date is free on my calendar (April 8th and 9th) but I am chinchy as you know and just don't go places unless people can rake up the travel at least.

But you know I am, in any case, a warm friend to your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

711 Oakland Avenue
Florence, S. C.
March 11, 1955

MAR 13 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Southern Regional Council of the National Council of Negro Women will hold its meeting at Daytona Beach, Florida on April 8th and 9th. The meeting will be at Bethune-Cookman College.

We would like very much to have you present with us during this meeting. We would like for you to help us in a work shop on Saturday morning and also be a guest on Friday night.

The theme of the meeting is "Twenty Years of Endeavor - A Challenge to the Future." We would like to have Mrs. Alice Spearman, Field Worker for the State of South Carolina to be with us also.

We thank you very much for your help in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Iola Jones

(Mrs.) Iola Jones, Director
Region III

IJ/cph

March 18, 1955

Mrs. William T. Mason
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

My calendar is free for the period April 8-10, and I am perfectly willing to come down to Daytona Beach for the meeting, and would like to. But nobody would say that the NCNW will cover my expenses for going down and coming back.

If you will tell me about that end of it, I can tell you whether I can come or not.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER, PRESIDENT EMERITUS

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

March 17, 1955

MAR 18 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Annual Spring Conference of Regions III and IV of the National Council of Negro Women will be held at historic Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida, April 8 through 10. This occasion, part of the 20th Anniversary Celebration of the Council, marks the first pilgrimage to the College built by our Founder, President Emeritus, Mary McLeod Bethune.

One of two workshops will be on Education. We hope to explore factually and humanistically the elements involved in the program of school integration, some of the major problems of education across the board, and perhaps find some solutions to enable our children to have one American school system dedicated to true education -- that of developing the will and the way for people to live with each other without fear and animosity -- each helping the other to attain the best he is capable of.

We realize this is somewhat a large order but feel optimistic that with skilled and sincere discussants we can achieve some valuable results. That is why we are asking you to be a speaker at this workshop, because of your unique experience and achievements in creating understanding and acceptance of racial relations just as other relationships are created and maintained. As an authority on conditions and attitudes in the South, we believe that this conference would be immeasurably lessened if you fail to be there. It is extremely important now because of the program of organization that the Southern Regional Council is conducting. Mrs. Iola Jones of Florence, South Carolina, Regional Director, feels strongly about your coming as we all do, and also requests that we write Mrs. Alice Spearman of Columbia South Carolina.

We earnestly hope you can come. An early reply will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

Mrs. William T. Mason

1935 — 20th ANNIVERSARY — 1955

TWENTY YEARS OF ENDEAVOR — A CHALLENGE TO THE FUTURE

March 31, 1955

Mrs. Naomah W. Maise
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Maise:

I am happy to come down to Daytona Beach April 9th, because I like what the National Council does and because I like what you do and feel confidence in the additional things you will do. I had been pretty strict with my rule about only leaving town when people could pay the expenses, but in this instance we will find the money necessary for the travel.

Hitch is that I have promised by now to be in Jackson, Mississippi on the evening of Friday, April 8th, and I must therefore depend on the planes to get me to Daytona the next morning. Ordinarily I don't do that; I go by train in order to be sure to get where I am supposed to be. But this time I don't see any help for it except to trust to the planes. And the plane schedule is a little risky. I have to get up in Jackson for a four o'clock morning flight, come through to New Orleans, and make a close connection at Jacksonville, Florida. If all works, I arrive at the airport at Daytona Beach 12:45 p.m. Saturday, April 9th. If all does not work, I don't know what happens.

Anyway, assuming the plane runs and runs tolerably on time, I will undertake to be available to you at least for the dessert part of the luncheon on April 9th, and for as much use as you wish to make of me that afternoon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Written Note: I think now I'll arrive D.B. 11:20 a.m. April 9th, and try to leave at 5:53 p.m. northbound by train.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER, PRESIDENT EMERITUS

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

MAR 31 1955

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

March 29, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter came and we are happy that your schedule is clear, especially for Saturday April 9, when our Luncheon and afternoon workshop will be held at Bethune-Cookman College.

We did not mention travel expenses because we simply do not have same on hand. The Regional Treasuries can take care of board and room, but would be ever so grateful if you can persuade the Southern Regional Council to get you down to us. There will come a day when we will be able to defray such expenses, but right now there is continued hard sledding and we have to ask our friends to come to the rescue.

We cannot imagine having these two Southern Regions meeting in the south without your being there with us and hope so much it can be arranged. Please let us know.

Most sincerely yours,

Naomah W. Maise

Naomah W. Maise
Executive Director

NWM:mlc

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

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			The Southern Regional Council, Inc.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

April 1, 1955

Mrs. Naomah W. Maise
Executive Director
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Coming.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(431 1955 APR 1 PM 12 45

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

,AA22 TU ATLANTA

A. WA220 PD AR=FAX WASHINGTON DC 1 1135AME=

GEORGE MITCHELL, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL= TU ATLANTA

:63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

Rec'd APR 1 1955 2:25 p.m.

COUNTING ON YOU TO GIVE KEYNOTE SPEECH ON "WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN SOUTH SINCE MAY 17" FOR EDUCATION WORKSHOP, SATURDAY APRIL 9 2 P.M., DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA. PLEASE DO NOT LET US DOWN. WIRE REPLY=

NAOMAH W MAISE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR=

Wire her coming

SENDER WAITING WESTERN UNION Answer by WIRE SENDER WAITING 6286(54)

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

April 5, 1955

Mrs. Iola Jones
711 Oakland Avenue
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Jones:

While you and I were corresponding, Mrs. Maise wrote me and said that they still wanted me, but that there wasn't any way to help pay the expenses.

I do think that if you can scrap up some contribution toward the expense it would be right.

I will hope that it will be possible for the Region to pay one-third of the cost down to Daytona Beach and back.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

711 Oakland Avenue
Florence, South Carolina
March 31, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

APR 2 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for accepting our invitation to come to our Regional Meeting of the National Council of Negro Women on April 8th and 9th. We noted that you said you would need help with your expenses and our Region will be glad to help with your expenses. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Iola Jones

(Mrs.) Iola Jones, Director
Region III

IJ/cph

April 11, 1955

Mrs. Iola Jones
711 Oakland Avenue
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Jones:

I had a grand time at the meeting at Daytona Beach, and I am very grateful for the opportunity to talk with that interesting and effective group.

The total expenses were $52.00 for plane and travel fare. And $5.23 for meals, taxis and tips, or a combined amount of $57.23. Twenty dollars would be roughly a third of that, and if the Region or the National Council of Negro Women could do that, the Southern Regional Council would be very grateful for reimbursement for that much of the expenses.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: KS

May 5, 1955

Mrs. Zola Jones
711 Oakland Avenue
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Jones:

It was clearly your purpose to cover one-third of my expenses for the trip to Daytona Beach, and I do hope that in accordance with my letter of April 11th you will.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

N.C.N.W

April 11, 1955

Mrs. Iola Jones
711 Oakland Avenue
Florence, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Jones:

I had a grand time at the meeting at Daytona Beach, and I am very grateful for the opportunity to talk with that interesting and effective group.

The total expenses were $52.00 for plane and travel fare. And $5.23 for meals, taxis and tips, or a combined amount of $57.23. Twenty dollars would be roughly a third of that, and if the Region or the National Council of Negro Women could do that, the Southern Regional Council would be very grateful for reimbursement for that much of the expenses.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

cc GSM/KS
eab

not rec'd 5/4/55
KS

May 20, 1955

Mrs. William T. Mason
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

That was most gracious of you to send the wire about Mrs Bethune.

Her courage, her determination, her achievements were, and will be, a beacon light for all who live in less than liberty.

I am particularly appreciative of the opportunity your Council gave me to sit at her side only a few weeks ago.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

FX-1201

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

SYMBOLS

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FY MAY 19 1955 AM MAY 12 20 PM 11 30

A B WWY653 RX PD=FAX WASHINGTON DC 18 NFT=

GEORGE MITCHELL=

63 AUBURN AVE ATLA=

MAY 20 1955

DEEPLY GRIEVED TO ADVISE OUR BELOVED FOUNDER, MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, DIED TODAY AT HER HOME IN DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA=

VIVIAN C MASON PRESIDENT NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN=

add

Mrs-12 20 A Miles

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charleston, S.C.
March 21, 1954

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thanks for your note. I shall be happy to see you when in Atlanta. Mrs. Jones told me she has asked you (as she will ask) ~~to~~ participate in our workshop on Saturday April 24th. I hope this will be possible for the Atlanta group seems to need a bit of jogging!

Best regards. The trip is going well.

Naomi Baisz

Written enroute to Oranjeburg -

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

August 8, 1956

Copy of letter to National Organizations concerning Convention - Conference.

One of the most cherished aspects of life in the United States is the continuing contribution which women's organizations have made to human welfare. These organizations have spearheaded many reforms, advanced cultural development and in many instances have been the conscience of the nation.

The people of this country are faced with many problems but none more far-reaching than the struggle for full human and civil rights for every segment of the population. These goals have been accentuated by the decision of the Supreme Court of May 17, declaring that segregated public school education is illegal.

While many states hastened to comply with the decision and have already achieved excellent results, in other states a different situation has prevailed. A wave of hostility against Negroes and others has extended deep into the normal processes of the community. Tensions exist and there seems to be very little constructive action to remove or allay these tensions. Such a situation can become dangerous indeed and flare out in many directions.

Many organizations representing varied interests have passed clear cut and courageous resolutions in support of integrated education, open housing, fair employment practices and full citizenship participation. Women's organizations have been in the forefront of this direct effort to influence public opinion and alert the nation to its moral responsibilities.

There is still however a wide gap between ideals and achievements. Men and women from every section of our country have been troubled and wonder how we can build upon the positive achievements that have been made by people of good will planning and working together.

The National Council of Negro Women believes that women's organizations with their vast resources of experience and influence can bring about changes in local communities so that public opinion in support of law and order will be articulate and effective. If women can come together in small groups and frankly and freely discuss the impediments to human and civil rights perhaps there will come about stronger implementation of there resolute position taken by these groups in support of these rights.

To that end the National Council of Negro Women invites you to join in an Interracial Conference to be held on Friday and Saturday, November 16 and 17 at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C. The theme of this conference is, "Women Working Together Can Surmount Barriers to Civil and Human Rights."

Each organization is asked to send ten delegates representing as many sections of the country as possible, for all parts of the United States have problems demanding solutions.

Will you also submit at your earliest convenience six questions or problems relating to the subject of human and civil rights which women face in their home towns for which no satisfactory answers have been found. Enclosed please find an Informational Bulletin concerning the conference.

We look forward to your interest and concern and hope for your participation in this enterprise in human relations.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

August 23, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The National Council of Negro Women is holding an Interracial Conference of Women on Friday, November 16 and Saturday, November 17, 1956 at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C. At this time Negro and white women from all sections of the United States, some leaders in their local communities, others, leaders in national organizations, will come together in small face to face groups to discuss the theme; "Women Working Together Can Surmount Barriers to Human and Civil Rights."

We need your help. First, will you let us know the white women of the South who are persons of good will, working steadily although perhaps now quietly to bring about justice for all the citizens of the South and in so doing to relieve tensions caused by fears. We know Mrs. M. E. Tilly and Miss Lillian Smith. Are there other women who would come to our Conference-Convention and help us think through ways of acting to make real the principles set forth in the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954.

For your information, we enclose the conference's tentative bulletin, a copy of the letter to national organizations and a National Council Brochure. Second, will you please arrange to come to the Conference, November 16th and 17th, as a consultant, one of the experts to sit in with a discussion group and share with us your rich experience in human relations.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian Carter Mason

Mrs. William Thomas Mason

Enclosures:

CONVENTION - CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER 14 - 18, 1956

THEME: *"Women Working Together Can Surmount Barriers to Human and Civil Rights"*

August 28, 1956

Mrs. William Thomas Mason, National President
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Your request to Dr. Mitchell for a list of "white women of the South who are persons of good will, working steadily although perhaps now quietly to bring about justice for all the citizens of the South and in so doing to relieve tensions caused by fears," has been handed to me to answer.

The denomination leaders are as follows:

Methodist — Mrs. Ralph T. Wilson, Route 3, Laurens, S. C.

Presbyterian — Miss Annie Tait Jenkins, 341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., Atlanta, Ga.

Congregational Christian — Rev. Annie B. Campbell, 673 Piedmont Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Episcopalian — Mrs. Duvall Chambers, 3517 Deverus Road, Columbia, South Carolina

Baptist — Mrs. George R. Martin, Norfolk, Virginia. (Write to Mrs. Spann Milner, 1109 W. Peachtree, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia for her street address.)

Disciples of Christ — Miss Velva Dreese, Ass't. Exec. Secretary, Christian Women's Fellowship, Missions Building, 222 S. Downey Ave, Indianapolis 7, Indiana

From these women you can get a larger list.

I suggest you contact the Anti-Defamation League for a list of Jewish women and Father Shean (The Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O.) Box 895, Rock Hill, South Carolina, for Catholic women.

I am very interested in your program, and I have always been interested in the work of the National Council of Negro Women, as you know.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work

MET:mef

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

September 4, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

The National Council of Negro Women founded and organized by the late Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune is carrying on in the spirit of our beloved leader.

On Friday, November 16 and Saturday, November 17, 1956, there will be an Interracial Conference of women leaders from all regions of the United States to discuss in small groups the means of implementing the theme, "Women Working Together Can Surmount Barriers to Human and Civil Rights." It is our conviction that such rights and responsibilities enunciated by the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954 and by many women's organizations in courageous resolutions need to be coordinated in local communities where tensions between the races is undermining our cooperative experiences for the welfare of all the citizens.

We are very anxious for you to attend this conference which follows the 21st Annual Convention of the National Council of Negro Women so that all the delegates might benefit from your unique experiences and achievements in the development of a better America.

Enclosed for your information is a copy of the letter sent to National Women's Organizations, a bulletin about the convention conference and a recent pamphlet depicting the purpose and program of the National Council.

More details will be sent you later when we hear from you.

Sincerely yours,
Vinda Carter Mason
Mrs. William Thomas Mason

ras

CONVENTION - CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER 14 - 18, 1956

THEME: *"Women Working Together Can Surmount Barriers to Human and Civil Rights"*

October 9, 1956

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

As you shape the program for the meeting November 16th and 17th, do please try to put me as early as you can.

I have to be in Williamsburg for a meeting of my own Board November 14th and 15th. If perchance you could use me on the 16th, that I would like the best. Object: scoot home and rake leaves.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

October 10, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 11 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The time is fast approaching for the Interracial Conference of Women, Friday, November 16, and Saturday, November 17, 1956, at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

We thank you for helping us in suggesting women to be invited and also for asking Mrs. Tilly to send us names.

We are depending upon you to come to Washington from the meeting in Williamsburg to help us as a Consultant. We have not yet solved the question of expenses mentioned in your letter of August 28th, either for you or the other consultants whose names appear on the preliminary announcement, copies of which are enclosed. We do hope that finances will not keep you from joining us in this important Conference of Women.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures

Vivian Carter Mason

Mrs. William Thomas Mason

DCG/ras

CONVENTION - CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER 14 - 18, 1956

THEME: ***"Women Working Together Can Surmount Barriers to Human and Civil Rights"***

August 28, 1956

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I'll be glad to come to the Washington meeting November 16th and 17th, but it will be necessary for somebody to pay my expenses. They won't be much, because I'll be at Williamsburg officially November 15th, and from Williamsburg to Washington and back, plus a night's keep in Washington, will hardly break you.

I have asked Mrs. Tilly to write you about the various ladies. She's away for a few days, but will be back soon, and will write you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 16, 1956

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I do declare there ought to be some way for your conference to find the funds to move me from the Williamsburg area to Washington and back one hundred miles South on Friday, November 16th!

I have been mighty firm about the rule that I don't go around making speeches unless people find the freight.

So to be consistent, I will have to back out of the show November 16th unless somebody can find the few dollars involved.

I hate this because I like what you and your group do, and think it of greatest importance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 29, '56

Dear Mrs. Mason,

Appreciate it, and glad to come.

Shall show at the Willard on the morning of Nov. 16 at 10.28 to be consultant, and will be happy to any (most brief) speechmaking needed at the luncheon that day. Then I'm outbound for Lynchburg, on family matters!

Twont cost much.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

October 25, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 27 1956

Dear Mr Mitchell:

The National Council of Negro Women needs your help in the Interracial Conference on Friday November 16 and Saturday November 17, 1956 at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

At your request we are scheduling you early that is to be one of the luncheon speakers Friday, noon November 16 with Dr. Willa Player President of Bennett College. We hope you can arrive in time that morning at 10:30 to sit in one of the small discussions groups as consultant. If you have to leave after luncheon, we shall understand.

The National Council of Negro Women will take care of your travel expenses to and from Williamsburg and your entertainment in Washington.

We hope this is satisfactory to you.

Yours truly,

Vivian Carter Mason

Mrs. William T. Mason

CONVENTION - CONFERENCE
NOVEMBER 14 - 18, 1956

THEME: *"Women Working Together Can Surmount Barriers to Human and Civil Rights"*

RECEIVED NOV 13 1956

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

11/8/56

Dear Mr. Mitchell, — We hope you can sit in with the discussion group Friday morning November 16.
Session 10.30 — 12.30
9.30 Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt and Mr. Mordecai Johnson open the Interracial Conference
Luncheon is 12.45 p.m.
After meal you speak - Topic suggested is People to People in surmounting barriers - your personal experiences in the South - time no more than twenty minutes.
Questions and Source Book give you idea of our planning.

We look forward to seeing you.

Yours truly,

Vivian Carter Mason

INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN

Sponsored by the

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

INFORMATION BULLETIN

TIME: Friday, November 16 and Saturday, November 17, 1956

PLACE: Willard Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

THEME: "WOMEN WORKING TOGETHER CAN SURMOUNT BARRIERS TO HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS"

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* "WOMEN UNITED IN COMMON TASKS FOR      *
*  THE WELFARE OF OTHERS BUILD A BRIDGE *
*  OVER WHICH ALL MANKIND CAN PASS."     *
*        . . .Mary McLeod Bethune        *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
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PURPOSE:

This conference is to analyze and to discuss frankly, conditions creating tensions in many sections of the country, which prevent full citizenship to one-tenth of the population -- the Negro minority; to clarify misconceptions and "racial myths" and to devise ways and means whereby women working together can safeguard and extend human and civil rights.

BACKGROUND:

On June 15, 1954, presidents of national organizations affiliated with the National Council of Negro Women met to consider policies and to recommend a program of action. Their conclusion was that "there were many formidable obstacles in the pathway of implementation of the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954, but none were so great that they could not be met by cooperative efforts of law abiding, sane, reasonable and loyal Americans working together."

On October 15, 1954, heads of women's organizations met at Council House at the invitation of the National Council of Negro Women to discuss the action that had been taken by their organizations following the decision and aspects of human relations involved in the maintenance of human and civil rights.

During 1955, the National Council of Negro Women conducted a survey of the accomplishments of women's organizations in establishing policies and programs concerned with human and civil rights.

WHO IS INVITED:

All national women's organizations concerned with programs to improve conditions of life through religious, educational, welfare, civic, social, cultural, business and professional activities.

Individuals whose experience or achievements are such as to enable them to make a valuable contribution to this conference.

GENERAL OUTLINE OF PROGRAM:

Thursday, November 15
Registration
Briefing session for chairmen, consultants and summarizers

Friday, November 16
Conference opens 9:30 A. M.
10:00 A. M. to 12:30 P. M. - Roundtable discussions. Each group of ten will include chairman, consultant, summarizer. Questions previously selected will be focal point to begin discussions.

12:45 to 2:15 P. M. - Luncheon program

2:30 to 4:30 P. M. - Afternoon session similar to morning session

8:30 P. M. - International Festival Concert at Auditorium, U. S. Department of Labor, 14th Street and Constitution Avenue, N. W.

Saturday, November 17
9:00 A. M. to 9:45 A. M. - Memorial Services

10:00 A. M. to 12:15 P. M. - Presentation and discussion of summaries and recommendations.

Delegates are invited to attend the following:
12:30 to 2:15 P. M. - (1) Luncheon, Life Members Guild or
(2) Luncheon, Junior Councils

2:30 to 4:30 P. M. - Delegates invited to confer with consultants in Housing, Education, Civil Rights, Race Relations, Employment, etc.

7:30 P. M. - Closing convention program
Dinner - Awards for distinguished achievements.

NUMBER OF DELEGATES:

Each organization is invited to send ten delegates. Wide geographical representation is especially desirable.

REGISTRATION BY MAIL

All delegates are urged to register by mail on or before October 15, 1956. Registration blanks will be sent to each organization.

ORGANIZATIONS ARE REQUESTED

(1) To submit questions to the Program Committee by October 15, 1956. These questions should typify problems and questions confronting local communities.

(2) To suggest delegates who will serve as chairmen of roundtable discussions, consultants or summarizers.

EXPENSE

Registration Fee.	$2.00
Friday Luncheon	4.00
Awards Dinner, November 17.	6.00
TOTAL. . . .	$12.00

RESERVATIONS

Hotel Willard
Single Rooms $7.00 - $11.00
Double Rooms 11.50 - 16.00

Hotel Lafayette
Single Rooms $8.00
Double Rooms 12.00 - 15.00

The above hotel accommodations will be available. Reservations should be made as soon as possible.

PROGRAM

A complete program will be issued in September.

A source book for study outlining some of the problems to be considered will be mailed to all delegates as soon as registrations are received.

Form #373 - s
August 2, 1956

Interracial Conference of Women

Theme: "WOMEN WORKING TOGETHER CAN SURMOUNT BARRIERS TO HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS.'

> *"Women united in common tasks for the welfare of others, build a bridge over which all mankind can pass."*
>
> *—Mary McLeod Bethune*
> *Founder*

Friday, November 16

Saturday, November 17, 1956
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Barrington D. Parker,
Convention-Conference Chairman

Dr. Lorraine A. Williams,
Program Chairman

Dorothy C. Guinn,
Executive Director

Mrs. William Thomas Mason,
President

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

WHY A CONFERENCE

Many women's organizations and others have long been concerned with building an America where equal opportunity would be the cornerstone of community living. Encouraging progress has marked each decade but in some areas progress has been retarded by arbitrary impediments. Following the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, a number of states and communities set about complying with the decision and integrated schools previously segregated. It is a tribute to state and school officials that they successfully carried out the law of the land in keeping with the high ideals of American life.

ACTION BY ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations and individuals approved the action of the high tribunal and took decisive steps to create understanding and support among their members. Many forthright and challenging resolutions were passed by these organizations and programs initiated to bring about eventual compliance throughout the country.

PRESENT SITUATION

Serious disorders and violence have marked the refusal of some states to consider compliance. This problem goes far beyond the immediate situation of integration. It strikes at the very heart and core of what America has endeavored to promote throughout its history—that is the doctrine of law and order in the conduct of all our affairs, whether on local, state, national or international levels.

QUESTIONS FOR WOMEN

How can women whose organizations have gone on record in support of principles of law and order relate themselves to each other in the local community?

What are the barriers preventing women from getting together in towns and cities to coordinate their programs in this respect?

How can the corporate strength and spiritual resources of women be utilized in overcoming the confusion of our times?

CHALLENGE TO WOMEN

Women have been eminently successful in sorting out and tackling vexing problems whether in child care, welfare services, education, health care, the aged, juvenile delinquency and disaster relief, to note a few. The problems of human and civil rights for one-tenth of the population—the Negro minority—loom precariously in housing, employment, education, exercise of the right to vote, and to organize for advancement.

In the Interracial Conference of Women, the core of the 21st Annual Convention of the National Council of Negro Women, the belief is manifest that American women thinking and talking together will feel impelled to take the leadership in their communities to insure human dignity and the rights of every individual as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

WHO IS INVITED

Organizations of women concerned with programs to improve conditions of life through religious, educational, welfare, civic, social, cultural, business and professional activities, and individuals interested in the same ends.

FORMAT

Conferees will assemble in small groups after the opening. Each group will include a Chairman, a Consultant and a Summarizer. Questions previously selected will be the focal point to begin discussions.

PROGRAM

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16

(Partial Listing)

Conference opens at 9:30 A. M.

Keynoters: MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
DR. MORDECAI JOHNSON

Friendship Luncheon—12:45 P. M.

Speaker: DR. WILLA PLAYER

Afternoon session begins at 2:30 P. M.

Speaker: DR. FRANK GRAHAM

INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL—8:30 P. M.
(Departmental Auditorium, Department of Labor)

Speaker: THE HONORABLE MASON SEARS

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17

Session begins at 9:30 A. M.

Speakers: DR. KENNETH CLARK
ROY WILKINS

Life Members Guild Luncheon—12:30 P. M.

Speaker: MRS. MOLLIE MOON

Junior Council Luncheon—12:30 P. M.

Speaker: DR. DEBORAH PARTRIDGE

AWARD DINNER—8 P. M.

Speaker: MRS. AGNES MEYER

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

REGISTRATION BLANK — CONFERENCE — NOVEMBER 16, 17, 1956

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY, ZONE, STATE .....

OCCUPATION .....

COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES .....

Registration Fee	$ 2.00
Friendship Luncheon	4.00
Award Dinner	6.00
TOTAL	$12.00

(Please make check or money order to National Council of Negro Women)

CONSULTANTS
(Partial Listing)

MISS MARY CANNON
Chief, Division of International Relations,
U. S. Department of Labor

MISS FLOY S. HYDE
Director of Leadership Education,
United Church Women

DR. INABEL BURNS LINDSAY
Dean, School of Social Work, Howard University

MRS. THEODORE WEDEL
President, United Church Women

MISS RHETTA M. ARTER
Center for Human Relations Studies,
New York University

MISS LUCY CARNER
Women's International League for Peace and
Freedom

MRS. MARY CONSTANTINE
Assistant Director,
Philadelphia Fellowship Commission

MRS. ROBERT LEYDEN
President, National Council of Women of the
United States

DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
Head, Sociology Department, Howard University

GEORGE MITCHELL
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Conference

MISS DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
President, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN
Assistant to the Mayor, New York City

DR. HELEN G. EDMONDS
Graduate Professor of History,
North Carolina College at Durham

DR. DOROTHY B. FEREBEE
Acting Director, University Health Center,
Howard University

DR. SADIE YANCEY
Dean of Women, Howard University

MRS. MARION H. JACKSON
President, Iota Phi Lambda Sorority

REV. EDWARD A. MOAN, O.M.I.
St. Ann's Catholic Church,
Fayetteville, North Carolina

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN

Friday and Saturday, November 16 and 17, 1956
Willard Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Theme: "WOMEN WORKING TOGETHER CAN SURMOUNT BARRIERS TO HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS"

The following questions will form the basis for the round-table discussions:

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16 (Morning Session)

1. What are Human and Civil Rights?
2. What are some of the barriers to human rights and to civil rights?
   (a) What is the state of human and civil rights in your community and how do the citizens react?
3. What can be done to change attitudes and patterns of racial and other kinds of discrimination on local and national levels?

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16 (Afternoon Session)

1. What can women do to surmount barriers to human and civil rights?

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE WORLD

November 26, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern
Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 28 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On behalf of the National Council of Negro Women, I write to express our deep appreciation and thanks for the stimulating, provocative address given at the recent Convention-Conference held at the Willard Hotel, November 14 - 18, 1956, Washington, D. C.

Our lives are richer because of your words of wisdom.

Enclosed is our check for your expenses. Thank you.

Yours truly,

Vivian Carter Mason

Mrs. William Thomas Mason

December 3, 1956

Mrs. William T. Mason
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Mason:

You and the National Council were most kind to find the check for my expenses, and I am deeply grateful.

I am sure many useful things were started at the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated November 28th.

Enclosures: 85th Congressional Record
Summary Conclusions - Conf. of Agencies - Jan. 23-24, 1957
Toward the South of the Future
New South - May, 1957
What's Happening in School Integration?
Brief History of SRC

Nat'l Council of Negro Women

June 4, 1957

Mrs. L. D. Shivery
Waluhaje Apartments
239 West Lake Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Shivery:

As per your request of May 29th, I am sending to you copies of materials that were distributed at the Conference of Agencies which convened at Atlanta University, May 28-29, 1957. I am also including other informational materials which, I'm sure, will be of interest to you.

If this office can be of any further assistance, please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Harold C. Fleming

/MF

March 26, 1958

Miss Dorothy I. Height
National President
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Miss Height:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the minutes of the last meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference. The group, which meets quarterly, represents some thirty private and religious agencies interested in race relations in the South. At these meetings there is a sharing of information and program plans and joint efforts are planned in those areas where such planning and cooperation is desirable. By request, the Southern Regional Council serves as secretariat of the group.

We are placing your name on the Interagency mailing list since we have noted with pleasure the announcement of your election as President of the National Council of Negro Women. Earlier, Mrs. Mason was designated as the recipient of these materials.

The next meeting of the group is scheduled for May 27 - 28. It would be a pleasure to have you join us in that meeting if your schedule permits.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - Directory of Agencies
Interagency Conf. Minutes

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
FOUNDER

Telephone COlumbia 5-4434

MISS DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Affiliated with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES and
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

April 3, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In the absence of Miss Height who is ill and temporarily absent I wish to acknowledge your kind letter of March 26, 1958.

The change in your records as to our National President is deeply appreciated.

If Miss Height is unable to personally attend the next meeting of the Southern Regional Council a representative from our organization, will be present. If your May meeting is to be in a city other than Atlanta, please inform us.

Sincerely yours,

H. Elsie Austin
H. Elsie Austin
Executive Director

Placed on Mailing List (Interagency) mf 4/9/58

HEA/ras

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

Affiliated with:
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES
THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

1318 VERMONT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
Telephone: COlumbia 5-4434—4435

Founder: MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

National President: DOROTHY I. HEIGHT

Executive Director:
MISS H. ELSIE AUSTIN

September 3, 1959

Dear Members of the Press:

We of the National Council of Negro Women thank you for the cooperation you have given our National Council through your columns in support of our program. Without your interest and cooperation the Council would not be able to effectively report the progress it has made to date.

There is no doubt that the National Council of Negro Women is one of the finest organizations in the world among women. It is the first of its kind among our women to unite women's national organizations into a council which focuses the union and leadership potential of women organizations into channels of united activity, planning and registration of opinion. We have come a long way since 1935, the year of our establishment by Mary McLeod Bethune whose dream was to found an organization where women of all backgrounds and interest could work together for the common good.

We are about to embark on our 1959 Mobilization Campaign to reach women in all communities and relate them to the National Council of Negro Women as members and dynamic supporters of our Council.

This can be done if we can get your cooperation to help us herald to the women of our country the importance of the National Council of Negro Women and the support it needs in its effort to develop relationship and solidarity in the leadership activities of women.

Confidentally, as a newspaper woman, I am of the opinion that we of the press through our columns do an effective and most commendable job of molding opinion, and directing it into proper channels. Our influence is an important one and ranks high among the opinion media of the world.

With the sincere hope that I can count on you to make the National Council of Negro Women's Mobilization Campaign a real boost, I remain

Yours very truly,

Daisy Lampkin

Daisy E. Lampkin, Chairman
Press and Public Relations

ras

DH 130

January 19, 1960

Miss Dorothy I. Height
President
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dorothy:

Your letter concerning the Washington conference arrived last Thursday while I was out of town.

Although we couldn't be represented, we are deeply concerned about the Prince Edward County situation and are doing what we can to find ways of assisting the Prince Edward County Christian Association and the displaced pupils.

I will appreciate your letting us know of any results of the conference that suggest coordination of efforts or resources.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

Affiliated with:
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES
THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

1318 VERMONT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
Telephone: COlumbia 5-4434—4435

Founder: MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

National President: DOROTHY I. HEIGHT

Executive Director: MISS H. ELSIE AUSTIN

January 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Reginal Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We invite you to participate in an important working conference bringing together persons whose responsibilities relate them to policy and program within national organizations.

Realizing the urgency of the situation confronting 1,765 school children and their parents in Prince Edward County, Virginia, the National Council of Negro Women is calling an Emergency Conference of organizations concerned with the progress of American ideals in education and human relations. The country's first county-wide shutdown of public schools to avert integration calls for the best help that we can give individually and together at this midpoint in the school year.

The Conference will be held in the Community Room of the WASHINGTON POST Building, 1515 L Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., Saturday, January 16, from 10:00 A. M. until 5:00 P. M.

It is the purpose of the Conference to help us get full information on the situation and to do coordinated thinking and planning of what must and can be done to resolve it. Preliminary studies make clear that there are specific ways in which organizations who share the concern may help to make a difference, especially in the face of problems threatening the morale of both children and parents. The enclosed statement prepared by the Prince Edward County Christian Association gives some background information.

With the contribution you can make to our day's work we are confident that organizations eager to assume responsibility will be able to see more clearly the issues and elements involved and the kinds of assistance each can give.

Because time is of the essence we should appreciate knowing as quickly as possible whether we may count upon your participation in this important cooperative effort that has bearing on the future of our children and our schools.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Height

Dorothy I. Height
National President

DIH/ras

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS INVITED
Partial List

American Jewish Congress - Women's Division
National Association of Colored Women's Clubs
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
National Association of College Women
National Association of Business and Professional Women
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Jewish Women
American Association of University Women
United Church Women
National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority
Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the AME Zion Church
Women's Missionary Society of the AME Church
Women's Auxiliary to the National Medical Association
Women's Auxiliary to the National Dental Association
United Beauty School Owners and Teachers
Supreme Grand Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star
Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority
National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa
National Beauty Culturists League
National Association of Fashion and Accessory Designers
National Association of Jeanes Supervisors
National Achievement Clubs
Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority
Iota Phi Lambda Sorority
Grand Temple, Daughters of Elks
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
CME Church Women's Connectional Missionary Council
Chi Eta Phi Sorority
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Jack and Jill, Inc. of America

RESOURCE LEADERS (Partial list)

Prince Edward County Christian Association
United States Office of Education
White House Conference on Children and Youth
American Friends Service Committee
National Education Association
Encampment for Citizenship
N.A.A.C.P.
National Council of Churches
National Conference of Christians and Jews

THE PROGRAM - Details will be sent as soon as we receive responses from the letters of invitation.

Mrs. William Thomas Mason is Chairman of the Program Committee.

DIH/ras

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY SITUATION

For your information

NEW DEVELOPMENTS CREATE NEW CRISIS

Public schools in Prince Edward County were closed last Fall to circumvent the Federal Court Order for integration. Meanwhile makeshift private schools have been provided for white children but 1,765 Negro pupils have had to do without schooling. Now a newly organized group of white citizens known as Southside Schools, Inc. has developed a plan to set up private education facilities for schoolless Negro children.

The Negro citizens have rejected the proposal and they want to continue to work for the operation of public schools on an integrated basis. Despite this fact, the Southside Schools, Inc., including many of the leaders in the White Citizens Council, is making appeals to Negro parents asking them to make application for the children to attend the private schools.

The pressures mount as parents are faced with their devotion to democratic principles and the fact that they see their children out of school without even the benefit of community social agencies to meet some of the needs of young people. The text of the letter stated below reflects some of the elements with which parents are being confronted. The need for the creative help and contribution of organizations across the country is critical if the morale of both children and parents is to be sustained.

"Southside Schools, Inc., has been formed to provide schools for those Negro children who have not been able to get an education since the public schools were closed this Fall. It is our intention to set up good schools, get qualified teachers, and so that the Negro children of this County will not lose time from school, to run these schools at least 180 days which is a full school year. The actual location of the schools and the securing of the teachers will be determined after all applications have been received.

There are funds available from the State of Virginia to pay tuition for children when public schools are closed. The Board of this corporation has set a tuition charge of $240 per child. Therefore, each parent can apply for this money after enrolling, which will pay for educating your child. How to do this will be explained to you and help given by this corporation after your child is enrolled in school.

Enclosed is an application for registration. Please fill it out and return it to Southside Schools, Inc., P. O. Box 164, Farmville, Va., as soon as possible but not later than January 15, 1960. No application received after January 15 will be accepted.

We urge you to mail your application immediately as we must know as soon as possible how many pupils to prepare for."

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
P E C C A
309 Franklin Street
Farmville, Virginia

Prepared by: Rev. L. Francis Griffin, President

BACKGROUND: Prince Edward County is one of the several Virginia Counties situated in the so-called "BLACK BELT" of Virginia. The "BLACK BELT" is a rather loosely defined geographical political area where the Negro population approximates or exceeds the white population.

Racial patterns evident in Virginia's "BLACK BELT" follow very closely the patterns found in similar densely populated Negro areas of other southern states, included among which are South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

Prince Edward County, like many of her counterparts in many of the above mentioned states, has traditionally been a strict adherent to the "separate but unequal" doctrine in all matters pertaining to race. Voting has been discouraged. Public employment offers only the most menial job opportunities to the Negro, and even in these he is the last to be hired and the first to be fired. In private employment the same discriminatory pattern follows. More than likely the few who satisfy the prejudiced whims of the white employer hold such privileged employment with tenure that is in direct proportion to the degree to which they are willing to forfeit their dignity, manhood and citizenship rights as free Americans. Public educational opportunities at all levels (elementary, secondary and collegiate) have followed the same pattern.

DEEP SCARS: Negro parents, having been conditioned by the innumerable overt and subtle practices of racial discrimination, found themselves at the mid-century mark (1950) frustrated and in a position bordering on utter despair.

OUR CHILDREN: However, in April of 1951, the Bibical passage "...And a little child shall lead them", came into play. The Negro High School population, numbering 456, noting that their parents were either unable to, reluctant, or indifferent toward doing anything about the educational discrimination they and other Negro pupils were forced to suffer, startled the world with the now famous R. R. Moton High School Strike.

These galant young Americans of color, appealed to their parents for support and received it. The children and their parents appealed to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for assistance and received such.

The Prince Edward County authorities refused to give any consideration to the requests of these children and their parents in their quest for nondiscriminatory public educational opportunties. To secure the constitutional rights of their children, action in the Federal Courts followed.

THE TAIL WAGS THE DOG: Three years later, the Supreme Court of the United States, in its now famous May 17, 1954, decision declared racial segregation in public education to be unconstitutional. The NAACP, heralding the Supreme Court decision as being the law of the land, was jubilant in its expectations that at long last democracy in education would find its way into the public schools of Prince Edward County. However, history has proved otherwise, for it has been made unmistakably clear that the

Constitution of the United States and the Court's interpretation thereof mean little if anything when prejudiced southern whites such as those at the helm of authority in Prince Edward County are confronted by Negroes who seek and demand their basic constitutional rights.

Five years after the historic May 17, 1954, United States Supreme Court decision, and nine years after legal action was instituted, Federal Court orders remain unobeyed.

When the Supreme Court declined to grant a stay of the lower court's order requiring integration of the County public schools beginning September 1959, the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors (the lawmaking body of the County) declined to appropriate funds to operate any public school. No tax was levied for public school purposes.

As a result of this defiant and undemocratic action by the Board of Supervisors, more than 3,300 children of both races are confronted with the specter of educational malnutrition.

The segregationists of the County, waving the Confederate battle flag, proclaim in loud and uncouth terms, "There will be no racial mixing in the public schools, regardless of the cost".

PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC SCHOOLS: These benighted and confused people are attempting to delude the county's white population into believing that private schools are the answer to the white children's educational malnutrition. This same group has constantly appealed to certain elements of the Negro community to forfeit the Negro children's dignity and constitutional rights by the acceptance of a pre-1954 status quo; i.e., the Negroes of Prince Edward County will meekly and without complaint return to a rigid and complete racially segregated society.

We realize that in a representative democracy such as ours our governmental processes will become stagnant unless the education of citizens is broad enought to encourage maximum interest and participation according to one's ability without being hampered by artificial barriers and restrictions. Our advocacy of public education is strengthened when we realize that we no longer live in a provincial society. Today, we are part and parcel of a space age society and being such, if we expect the youth of Prince Edward County to compete with the other youth of this nation and of the world as equals, we must provide for them the strongest system of public education possible. To rely on private education to fill these modern-day needs is utter folly.

NOT WITHOUT BLAME: As Negro citizens of Prince Edward County, we recognize our shortcomings. We, who constitute roughly 43% of the total population, unequivocally declare that our political and civic shortcomings are many.

WE REAFFIRM: However, at this late date, we have elected not to spend these precious days at the "wailing wall". We reaffirm our faith in constitutional law and order as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States; we revere and commend our great champion of equality and justice - The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and we pledge our accelerated moral, spiritual and financial support toward the furtherance of its Christian and democratic objectives.

We view the present prevailing situation in Prince Edward County as tragic.

It becomes even more tragic when we realize that, in a nation whose swaddling cloth was the Bill of Rights, we have lost the spiritual and democratic identity so vital and necessary for the preservation of a Christian democracy.

We believe the problem of Prince Edward County is not only one which has basic legal implications, but that it is also a religious and moral one. One that must be solved in light of Christian love, and creative altruism. Therefore, we, the Negro citizens of Prince Edward County, are irrevocably committed to this Christian democratic solution.

P E C C A: Confronted with the above realities, we have elected to organize ourselves into the Prince Edward County Christian Association - PECCA. This association is governed by a constitution which is rigid in its objectives, but elastic enough to permit us to deal with all of the problems that now hamper our complete acceptance as first-class citizens.

We believe that under the determined Christian and democratic leadership of this organization, the citizens of Prince Edward County will move steadily toward a lasting and just solution to this present problem. However, we humbly recognize that all of our efforts, regardless of our determination, will fall short of our stated objectives unless we receive from outside sources, strong, fortifying support.

To be effective, this support must of necessity be three-fold: spiritual, inspirational and financial.

NO MAN IS AN ISLAND: Believing that no man is an island unto himself, we prayerfully ask that you weigh our current perplexing problem as it presents itself in our county and lend your support to help effect its permanent and lasting solution. For what we do in Prince Edward County, we do not alone for ourselves, but for all disadvantaged and underprivileged people everywhere.

April 4, 1963

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
6401 Virginia Beach Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Nothing would please us more than to be able to respond affirmatively to your letter of March 26 outlining the financial needs for your One-Day Conference. As you know, however, our funds are granted and budgeted for fairly well specified program plans, and we simply are not able to grant money in support of meetings, even such a valuable one as you are having. I might add that if the Conference plans to prepare and distribute a report of its proceedings or conclusions, we might be able to make a contribution to that.

As to your query about speakers, some names occur to me. I am sure you will know Mrs. Ella Baker and Mrs. Septima Clark; in looking over your program it seems to me there are several places where these two ladies might help. They are two exceptional people. Heslip Lee of the Virginia Council on Human Relations would be a resource on whom you could call, and so would be his assistant, Mr. Ocie Lee Smith, who is especially good in matters of farm and small-town problems. You may not know that the Virginia Council has recently employed a field consultant to work in the area of employment. He is Mr. Gregory Shinert formerly the Executive Director of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights.

Immediately before joining the Virginia Council staff he was working for the Department of Defense in merit employment. Tinsley Spraggins, whom I am sure you know, would be excellent on your politics panel. Kenneth Morland at Randolph-Macon Woman's College would be good either on education or the family or the community. Constance Curry, Director of the National Student Association's Southern Project, with offices at 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, might be a possible discussant for your panel on the family. I doubt that you could get Paul Green at the University of North Carolina, but if you could, he would be the best person I can think of to deal with the arts. Another person who occurs to me is William Stryon, the novelist. I don't know this man at all, but he has written some good things, and either now lives or has lived in Norfolk.

We are enclosing a Publications List. If there is anything on it which you would like to have for your conference, please let me know.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo

Ella B

Septima C

Tinsley Sp

H Bulard

C Curry

M Shirt

H Lee

P Green

W Stryer

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

226 Luckie Street, N.W. • JAckson 5-8654

TA please reply (over)

NORFOLK COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, INC.

March 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 28 1963
RECEIVED

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Reports coming in from the Southern Regional Council are uniformly execllent. Excerpts are frequently used in my speeches and never fail to pinpoint the idea I am trying to convey.

The Norfolk Council of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc. (tax exempt) will hold a One Day Conference on Saturday, May 25th at the Golden Triangle Hotel, Norfolk, Virginia. This meeting will climax Mary McLeod Bethune Week eminating from Washington, D.C. beginning May 18th.

The purpose of this Conference an observance of the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation is to briefly remind Negro women of their heritage of courageous struggle and achievement; simultaneously but on a broader scale to challenge them to more dynamic and consistent action as organizations and individuals.

Enclosed please find a brief resume' of Conference content. Our basic problem is finance. Some funds will be raised from the luncheon-conference fee but there is a desire to make a contribution to the Bethune Educational and Memorial Fund if possible from the net proceeds. This will not be a very large amount as the price of the Conference ticket is $5.00.

The estimated budget for this Conference is as follows:

1.	Travel and hospitality of participants	$ 945.00
2.	Printing	274.00
*3.	Honorariums	350.00
	Total	$1,569.00

*Not all persons will receive an honorarium. Speakers connected with government, large corporations and organizations are asked to contribute their services.

Do you think it is possible for the Southern Regional Council to make a contribution to this endeavor?

The Conference is needed very much indeed. There is an air of lethargy and perhaps even self satisfaction that prevades many of our communities. Integration of schools, even though token, admission to "downtown" eating accommodations and the lessening of tensions seem to lull many persons and organizations into inaction or at best superficial concern for problems of a very serious nature.

A jolt or a shakeup brought about by exposure to these problems by qualified experts could result in tangible efforts to stem the tide of "drop-outs", to induce more young women to study for diversified professions, to backup Negro artists, shut-out in great measure from TV and the theater to create family clinics and other resources for strengthening family life and to arouse interest in the growing importance of women in the new African and far East countries.

Any suggestions as to speakers, printed materials and possible sources of assistance will be warmly welcomed. I am grateful for all your kindnesses in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C Mason

(Mrs.) William T. Mason
Chairman, Conference Committee

WTM/cwh
Enclosure

6401 Va. Beach Blvd.
Norfolk 2, Va.
Telephone - Gy 7-6435

ONE DAY CONFERENCE

Golden Triangle Hotel - - - - Norfolk, Virginia

May 25, 1963

Theme: "Knowledge, Communication and Action, a Covenant for Women in an Expanding World."

Morning Session

8:00 to 9:30 A.M.----------Registration

9:40 to 10:15 A.M.----------Opening
Keynote address
Announcements

10:30 to 12:30 P.M.----------Panel Meetings

Panel Sections

Following the address the delegates and other participants will proceed to the panel sections which they have selected previously. In these separate panel meetings a keynote address will be given by one or more authorities in the field followed by comments, questions and general discussion.

It is hoped that three questions will be answered by the panel participants:

1. How can Negro women use the achievements of the past to fortify the present and future?

2. What objectives should Negro women seek now and how can these be achieved?

3. What new and intensified old programs can women's organizations promote to more rapidly and effectively achieve the goals sought?

ORGANIZATION OF PANEL SECTIONS

Each panel section will have four officials:

The Convener
A Recorder
A Summarizer
A Hostess

The convener will be responsible for the usual duties. The recorder will keep a record as to the general discussion and the content of the keynoter's address. The summarizer will relate the address and discussion to the questions set forth as panel discussion objectives. The summarizers will make a brief report during the luncheon meeting.

PANELS

The following subjects suggest themselves as pertinent to the theme of the Conference:

I. THE WORLD OF WORK

A. Preparation for employment in a changing economy.
B. Prospects of new opportunities.
C. Protection of women who work.

Note: We would like very much to have Mrs. Dollie Robinson serve as the keynoter for this section. A discussant from the women's division of AFL-CIO would be able to pinpoint the relationship of organized labor to the Negro woman worker.

II. EDUCATION

A. Problems of education
B. Shoreing up the educational process.
C. The adult learner in an era of change.

Note: We would like for the keynoter to be Edward A. Mearns, Jr., who made the report on "Public Schools - Southern States" for the United States Commissioner on Civil Rights. A discussant from the National Education Association and the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare would be most helpful. A local school authority will also serve on the panel.

III. POLITICS

A. The uses of political action.
B. Participation by sex.
C. Politics a barometer of social changes.

Note: Representatives of the Democrats and Republicans would share the role of keynoters for this section. The local president of The League of Women Voters and the head of The Tidewater Voter's Registration Project would serve as discussants. If at all possible Mrs. Margaret Price and her Republican counterpart would serve as keynoters.

IV. FAMILY

A. The fabric of American family life - dterioration or manifestation of new and modified cultures.

B. Economic and world forces - impact on family life.
C. Population explosion.

Note: We have a number of persons in mind as keynoters but would like suggestions from you. One of the persons is a teacher at Atlantic University. He has made several studies of Negro family life and is a versatile speaker. As discussants, leaders of youth groups would be very helpful. In addition, we will if at all possible try and get Mrs. Mamie Clarke, the wife of Dr. Kenneth Clarke to serve as a discussant.

V. THE ARTS (music, sculpture, painting and the theater)

A. Creativity in the arts (quality and quantity).

B. Art as a media for strengthening essential relationships (the home, the school, the community, the nation and the world).
C. Promotion of individual and community levels of the arts.

Note: It is not always possible to secure an excellent artist who is also a good speaker, we had hoped to secure Richard Barthe, the sculpture, William Grant Still, the composer or persons or similiar caliber to serve as the keynoters for this section.

VI. THE PROFESSIONS (medicine, law, research, science, business, etc.)

A. The scope and utilization of knowledge and skills facing new demands.
B. The acceleration of women into new and old fields.

Note: This panel section would be attended mostly by senior high school and college students in the area. Such persons as Dr. Dorothy Ferebee, Dr. Jane Wright, the research cancer specialist, Mary Tobias, personnel director of one of the large New York department stores, Hilda Simms, actress in "The Nurses", a T.V. program, Labonnie Bianchi, the electrical engineer in Martin Marietta's Nuclear Division in Baltimore and others whose background, training and profession are unusual.

VII. THE COMMUNITY

A. The ties between good citizenship and good housing.
B. Resources for achieving housing goals.
C. Resources in the community.
D. Relating the individual and groups to the community as a whole.

Note: Experts in the field of Housing and Community Relationships would be needed in this section. Local Housing officials and a realtor would be asked to serve as discussants.

VIII. WOMEN THE WORLD OVER

A. People to people strengthen democracies.
B. Similarities and differences-the key to unity.
C. Knowledge and mutual activities undergrids progress everywhere.

Note: Miss Angie Brooks of Liberia, United Nations representative from Liberia has been suggested as the keynoter for this section. Representatives of other countries such as India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Pakistan and new countries in Africa have been thought of as those who would be special invited guests. Perhaps two or three of these women would serve as discussants to this section.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Two luncheon speakers are scheduled for the luncheon meeting. One would be a woman from a foreign country the other an outstanding Negro woman who will present the basic philosophy and goals of achievements for women, stressing the Negro woman. Panel summarizers will give brief reports of each section. The meeting will conclude and be followed by a reception for the distinguished visitors.

BA
MJ-pl

WORKSHOPS IN MISSISSIPPI a program of The National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
147 East 81st Street, New York, N.Y. 10028 (212) 628-7978

See Nat'l Council of Negro Women

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

NCNW Training Workshops-Sunflower County, June 27-28, 1967

A two-day workshop designed as a pilot effort to bridge the gap in communications between government representatives and the rural poor they serve. Planned in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture and financed by a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

A great deal of planning has gone into this two-day Workshop and into the securing of a enabling grant. We consider this a pilot endeavor for future service by NCNW-WIMS in Southern rural settings.

You may expect our report on the completed Workshop in Sunflower County by the end of the summer. Your reactions, questions and continuing interest and support are invited as NCNW continues to expand its Workshops in Mississippi program.

Method and Aims of Workshop Program

Over the past three years the National Council of Negro Women has developed a constructive new approach to the acute problems of the rural poor. Our Workshops in Mississippi program offers "technical assistance" to women determined to better the lives of their families and communities.

NCNW designed this as a limited program, confined to one state and built deliberately from its own particular organizational strengths: outreach and training skill. By thus concentrating our efforts, developing contacts

and ways of working both among Mississippi women and the various government agencies charged with serving their needs, we have been able to put to the test the philosophy behind NCNW's pragmatic social-action techniques.

Our approach is to concentrate on an immediate, personal answering of demands. This is training-in-action: inducing people and institutions to learn to move in new ways to achieve simple human goals.

We ask the women who take part in our Mississippi Workshops: "What do you need?" then take on the job of finding out where in government such services or resources exist, and how the women can go about securing them for their communities. We assemble the people with the ability, will and power to fill these specific needs.

We offer to the government agencies an opportunity to carry out their tasks by seeing that services reach the people who need them most. We ask agency officials to recognize how urgent it is to change old patterns of work.

Each actual Workshop is only one step in an unrelenting effort to create, for the women of Mississippi, the maneuverability they must have to press for what they know they need. If a logical first course of action hits up against a "stone wall" of procedure or of direct opposition, NCNW enters with strategic "technical assistance," either to chip away what looked like stone or to go clear around walls -- discovering new ways to fill the same basic demand. (Example: When the cost of the school <u>lunch</u> program soared beyond reach for the poorest families in one area, NCNW explored new opportunities for Mississippi school children to secure school <u>breakfasts</u> under an experimental USDA and OEO program administered federally as part of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966.) In all instances, invaluable assistance is afforded by the network of well-placed, sympathetic Mississippians, developed over the

years by NCNW. Our contacts in universities, colleges, government, industry, voluntary organizations cut across all specialized fields of interest and give the women indirect access to the state's most knowledgeable people and, on occasion, citizens who can exercise effective political leverage.

Our two recent workshops (a planning session in Jackson, November 1966, followed by a January 1967 weekend workshop in Oxford) provide concrete evidence of the willingness, determination and ability of Mississippi's low-income, Negro rural women to improve the quality of life for their families and communities.

Some 43 Negro women participated in the January Workshop, hammering out a variety of proposals for community services and resources. Each of these is currently being followed through by the women in their communities and by NCNW through appropriate governmental channels.

Introducing a New Objective: Better USDA Services for Mississippi's Poor

The Agriculture specialists who attended the January Mississippi Women's Workshop were briefed on who the women were: that many came from farm families with as little as $300 to $400 annual cash income and that some had virtually no income at all. Despite assurance that they could cope with this, the representatives showed no signs that they could come seriously to grips with the women's real problems. The basic question of the Mississippi women -- "how do you feed a family without cash to buy food?" -- was either parried deftly with a smooth recitation of what the Department could and could not do, or answered flatly and repeatedly by the advice that they go to welfare.

In February, WIMS staff met with high-level USDA officials in Washington to discuss the gulf separating Department representatives and the people they are intended to serve, bringing along a tape recording of pertinent

sessions. (All Workshop sessions were, as usual, recorded.) This tape offered dramatic evidence of the appalling "communications gap," which has kept federal government services from reaching the target population. It was an articulate example as it played back the words of a roomful of grumbling, angry women convinced that USDA had nothing to offer them.

NCNW was asked to suggest a plan of work to bridge the gap in communications and thus facilitate more effective use of resources. Polly Cowan, WIMS Chairman, NCNW National President Dorothy I. Height and WIMS program director Helen Rachlin proposed that NCNW could reach the low-income women, bring them together with the professional USDA personnel, set up a training session of "consultation" designed to build a better understanding between the two groups. Women delegates would be treated as consultants: they could meet with professionals in a new relationship of equality. It was hoped that this would lead to more relevant services and greater use of the new food-stamp program and other USDA services by the families which need them most.

The End Result: A Multi-Service Pilot Training Session

After a series of meetings with Agriculture personnel down the line, plus OEO-Agriculture liaison and OEO rural-services officials, a pilot training program was approved. Out of four choices, USDA selected Sunflower as the pilot County. The OEO agreed to fund the program -- with the understanding that USDA would work on a plan to employ these sub-professional women as "outreach" people in their home communities.

While the following official proposal specifically mentions representatives of Agriculture, it has broadened the training plan to include representatives from the many agencies which operate in the county:

> This is a proposal for a workshop in communications involving the poor and representatives of government agencies. Twenty women selected by the National Council of Negro Women from the rural areas of Sunflower County, Mississippi, will meet with representatives of the Community Action Program, the Technical Action Panel of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and other Federal, State and Local government departments.

It is not possible to predict how the assorted government agencies now scheduled into the training program will fulfill their roles. Coordination problems have been many and difficult. WIMS is currently doing all it can to insure that women will not be brought in to Indianola to be "talked at" irrelevantly. It remains our intention to have each person at the Workshop -- government representative or rural housewife -- listening with a new sense of purpose, thinking about old problems in new ways, and fulfilling the USDA's recently stated goal of a "one-stop" service concept in every rural county to enable local leaders to "tap all government services that can be used to turn dreams into reality."

June 1967

August 29, 1968

Miss Dorothy I. Height
National Council of Negro Women
Workshops in Mississippi
147 East 81 Street, Apt. 1-E
New York, New York 10028

Dear Dorothy:

I have just received a News Release from the Office of Economic Opportunity announcing that the National Council of Negro Women will receive the Rural Service Award. You and Polly and all the people connected with NCNW-WIMS are being appropriately recognized.

Things are always hectic, but I do hope in the future we can get into trouble together more frequently!

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Mrs. Lewis G. Cowan

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

NORTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE
72 West 45th Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

M E M O

TO: CITY DESKS, NEWS EDITORS

FROM: PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE

SUBJECT: PRESENTATION OF RURAL SERVICE AWARD TO NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

DATE: AUGUST 13, 1968

TIME: 10:00 A.M.

PLACE: ABOVE ADDRESS, 8TH FLOOR

DETAILS: MISS JOSEPHINE NIEVES, DIRECTOR, U.S. OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, NORTHEAST REGION, WILL MEET WITH MISS DOROTHY I. HEIGHT, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, WHO WILL ACCEPT OEO'S RURAL SERVICE AWARD PRESENTED TO THE NCNW.

THE AWARD, THE SECOND OF A SERIES, IS IN RECOGNITION OF OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL BY INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS MAKING A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO ALLEVIATING POVERTY IN RURAL AMERICA. OTHER RECIPIENTS IN THE NORTHEAST REGION, WHICH COMPRISES NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, AND THE NEW ENGLAND STATES, INCLUDE GOVERNOR PHILIP H. HOFF, OF VERMONT, AND THE PORTSMOUTH (N.H.) HERALD AND THE CONCORD (N.H.) MONITOR.

(more)

THE NCNW, UNDER MISS HEIGHT'S GUIDANCE, HAS PLAYED A PROMINENT ROLE IN DEVELOPING RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS, PARTICULARLY THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH. THESE INCLUDE PROJECTS TO STIMULATE PUBLIC HOUSING ACTIVITY, TRAIN ANTIPOVERTY WORKERS, AND A COMMUNICATIONS WORKSHOP IN MISSISSIPPI TO GIVE THE POOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THEIR PROBLEMS AND NEEDS WITH FEDERAL, STATE AND COUNTY OFFICIALS.

THESE PROGRAMS ARE A DIRECT RESULT OF SEVERAL YEARS OF THE PROJECT-WORKSHOPS IN MISSISSIPPI CHAIRED BY NCNW BOARD MEMBER MRS. LOUIS G. COWAN, WHO WILL BE ON HAND FOR THE PRESENTATION. AMONG OTHERS EXPECTED TO ATTEND ARE MRS. ANN HEWITT, MRS. BENJAMIN FIDANQUE, JR., MRS. SHIRLEY SMITH ANDERSON, MRS. RUTH HURD MINOR, MRS. MARION LOGAN, MRS. EDWARD DUDLEY, AND MRS. HELEN RACHLIN.

LAST MONTH NCNW ANNOUNCED A NEW EFFORT TO SET UP FOOD CENTERS MANNED BY THE POOR AND THEIR NEIGHBORS, AND A SELF-HELP FOOD PRODUCTION PLAN TO CREATE EMPLOYMENT IN THE HEART OF THE HUNGER BELT.

PHOTO COVERAGE IS INVITED.

* * *

OEO-PUBLIC AFFAIRS
8/9/68
(212) 573-6517

NCNW/WIMS
Workshops In Mississippi
147 East 81 St., Apt. 1-E
New York, N. Y. 10028

ST.

OPPORTUNITY

RURAL SERVICE AWARD presented to

National Council of Negro Women

whose dedicated efforts to alleviate the problems of the poor in Rural America have helped create a better life for our citizens.

Vernon Alden
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

August 13, 1968
DATE

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

SOURCE BOOK

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FOREWORD

This compilation of statements by some of the leading authorities in education, housing, race relations, civil rights, etc., is intended to be a spur to participants in the Interracial Conference of Women sponsored by the National Council of Negro Women to seriously study the drama of Negro life in the United States today.

The theme of the Conference, "Women Working Together Can Surmount Barriers to Human and Civil Rights" is based upon the well-known fact that the power of women to develop sound public opinion and affect changes is almost an axiom. One of the techniques they have used in successful causes is the dissemination of truth, the day in and day out resourceful, persistent reiteration of facts in concurrence with revelant programs of action.

In the struggle to bring about the realization of human and civil rights as contained in the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations, there is the paramount requirement that all who have taken or are trying to help others take an affirmative position must be undergirded by widespread knowledge of cause and effect sothat as individuals they will not be confounded by momentary eclipses of reality and truth.

The National Council of Negro Women is most appreciative of the courageous, dedicated men and women who have participated in this Conference in any way. They have made a significant contribution in strengthening and extending the endeavors and determination of American people to maintain law and order and to continue to strive toward goals that will insure human dignity and human rights to every man, woman and child within the borders of this country.

October 29, 1956

PROGRAM GOALS

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune founded and organized the National Council of Negro Women in 1935 for the purpose of planning and directing Negro women to greater economic, social, educational and cultural development in local communities and on the national and international levels. The aspects of our national program are therefore varied and include departments which deal specifically with citizenship education, education, human relations, international relations, labor and industry, library and museum, public relations, religious education and fellowship, social welfare and youth conservation. The national program committee regards the Interracial Conference as an integral part of our entire program. The Conference represents a technique which we intend to use to synthesize and evaluate the manner in which our various departments are functioning and developing.

During the recent years many events have occurred which affect women everywhere. The members of the National Council of Negro Women are trying to sense the meaning of our times by focussing attention upon new responsibilities in this changing social order. We realize that we must carefully consider the conflicts in human and civil liberties which confront us daily. Therefore, the assembling of delegates, consultants and visitors in a conference to discuss barriers to civil and human rights, and methods of surmounting the same, becomes not only an occasion for inquiry and analysis but one of dedication to a righteous cause.

There is the hope that this conference will serve as a pattern for subsequent meetings of this type in other sections. It is the desire of the Program Committee that the deliberations of this Conference will promote understanding and stimulate us to action as we return to our respective communities.

Dr. Lorraine A. Williams
Chairman, Program Committee
National Council of Negro Women

CRISIS AND OPPORTUNITY IN RACE RELATIONS

By Herman Long, Director
Race Relations Department, Fisk University

The present moment of our national experience, as seen in the perspective of current public debate, propaganda and political reaction over school desegregation, is certainly one of important crisis. For those aspects of human relations which are characterized in public thought and usage by racial definition, the crisis is at once poignant, insistent, pervasive. It is reflected in the news headlines and television features where even the small events, considered unimportant and commonplace in normal times, are highlighted in dramatic emphasis. The local bigots, largely well-known and discredited by responsible elements of their own communities, now become national figures and make easy claim for attention in the national press. They, along with their counterparts of greater prestige in politics and public office, are paraded before the public eye and become, perforce, influencers of opinion and attitude. In the distortions of perspective, the making important of what is usually inconsequential, and the obscuring of central human values the crisis in race relations is pointedly symbolized.

Increased tension and anxiety further reflect the crisis, but they are neither its cause nor its most important feature. What is more significant, perhaps, is that the issues have become commonly felt, publicly recognized and inescapable. Though orientation to these issues by the public may remain confused, partly because of the propaganda claims attending them, the issues nevertheless contain an urgent demand for resolution. Crisis thus portends impending change, and the telling issues cannot be held in indefinite suspension, allowing for time to dissipate them. In this sense, the crisis of desegregation and integration is also one of opportunity. Resolution can mean a huge thrust forward

into new avenues of human freedom and social experience, the casting off of provincial attitudes and the emergence of a more liberating perspective.

But the opposite alternative is likewise present. Crisis can also be resolved by reaction. New racial propaganda of major proportions has emerged. It is not new in substance and attack, for it is a reincarnation of the older beliefs of innate racial inferiority and the appeals to "white supremacy." But its guise is subtle, exploiting uncertainties and half-truths, and it may be dressed up in the authoritative format of a national magazine or the widely-publicized hearings of a congressional committee. Moreover, the issues now lie in the domain of public politics, and they remain dependent upon the hazards, uncertainties and imponderables of the political process. Even though the present force of reaction may not be strong enough to "turn back the clock" of constructive change in racial and human relations, an ominous shadow of possibility remains.

The resistance and deliberate measures to circumvent the decisions of federal courts which outlaw state-imposed racial segregation have placed the particular issues of race in much larger and important context. It is not only a matter of racial justice but human freedom; not only civil rights but the basic civil liberties which undergird them; not only of maintaining law and order but preserving the federal establishment and national integrity. We have, in the present crisis, therefore, the joining of several issues essential to the democratic life, and they are reflected in the vicious attacks now being waged: attacks upon the Supreme Court and efforts to restrict its authority; attacks upon the federal jurisdiction, as shown in efforts of nullification and interposition; intrusions upon individual freedoms of thought and association, through repressive state laws; the rise of state autocracy under the guise of states' rights; and the general effort to substitute public opinion for constitutional law as the ultimate dictate of individual rights.

The tasks before us in human relations exist on a broad and decisive front. They are the crucial tests of democracy itself and require the widest possible involvement of groups dedicated to the democratic ideal -- civic, religious, business, labor and women's groups. The N.A.A.C.P., American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, Urban League, and Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith -- to mention only a few -- have long stood courageously at the frontier; but the issues now demand the enlistment of other national groups in this and other unfinished tasks of democracy.

* * *

Statement

by Herbert Brownell, Jr.
Attorney General, Washington, D.C.

I wish to extend my greetings to the National Council of Negro Women on the occasion of its 21st Annual Convention which will place special emphasis on interracial problems.

The theme of your meeting, its purpose and deeply dedicated approach should go a long way toward helping to spread the gospel of better human relations throughout the United States. There is a universal and heart-warming appeal in your determination to sit down together as citizens of this Republic and pursue the immediate objective which, as described to me, is to "devise ways and means whereby women working together can safeguard and extend human and civil rights."

You who are seeking to sweep away the last vestiges of prejudice and give to all, regardless of race, creed or color, the rights guaranteed to them may well ask how can you help. What can we do to supplement the work of government agencies charged with the enforcement of the civil rights statutes.

I would break down the great need of today into two categories. Both are of equal importance. No great human gains can be made without invoking a program of public education which will convince the most adamant dissenter that prejudice is evil and soul destroying, and tears at the very foundations of our way of life. Unhappy is the man or the woman who pursues it, and sad is the plight of the bewildered victim. Facing bitter hostility and deprivation of his inalienable rights, he is left to wonder if the humanities prescribed in the Constitution are beyond his reach because his skin happens to be darker than his neighbor's. Above all, we must have a common patience and understand that the reforms we propose cannot be accomplished overnight by the mere stroke of a pen or the execution of a court edict. The will to make our chosen course prevail must be so strong that each separate obstacle encountered along the way can be met with calmness and abiding respect for law and order.

We also need to face up to the ugly fact that irresponsible action, if left uncurbed, tends to become a progressive, more violent chain reaction that tends to get out of bounds; one that callously tramples on everything - life, liberty and property - that may stand in the way of its force.

Much remains to be done in the legislative field. The Eisenhower Administration's proposals consist of four major points:

1. Creation of a bipartisan Commission of six persons who would have subpoena powers to investigate allegations that in certain areas of our country the Negro citizens have, on a wholesale basis, been denied the right to vote. The Commission would establish the facts not only to complete the public's education in this area, but to find out whether new Federal laws are necessary to eliminate this practice which would seem clearly unconstitutional if proved.

2. Creation of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice. Thus, a Presidential appointee, confirmed by the Senate, would take over all the responsibility in the civil rights area.

3. Establishment in the Department of Justice of authority to prosecute civilly in the civil rights field. Thus, injunction actions could be instituted in an effort to prevent violations of civil rights before they happen.

4. Elimination of a loophole in present civil rights laws. Presently, prosecutions may be instituted only where public officials deprive men and women of their civil rights. The proposed legislative action would permit prosecution where one private citizen is deprived of his civil rights by another private citizen.

It is my firm belief that once every citizen finds he can go to the polls without fear of prejudice and feel that he is a working partner in the administration of the affairs of the United States, we shall have opened the door to solution of most of our problems in the field of civil rights.

We have made strides toward our goal. There is no doubt about that. But much remains to be done in the name of justice for all.

* * *

STATEMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, INC.

By Patrick Murphy Malin, Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

The present civil rights crisis, focussed on the struggle of American Negroes to achieve the full equality guaranteed by the Constitution, is not a post-war phenomenon or a transitory event. The present conflict is one phase - a vitally important phase - of the continuing drive by all minority groups and their supporters to bring the actual practice of equality squarely into line with the constitutional principle -- to make the ideal of justice a reality.

Measured by the slow process of social reform, the civil rights campaign is moving ahead quickly. Sparked by a general national determination to erase discrimination from American life, the Supreme Court decisions, notably in the field of education, are the high-mark of this effort. For the first time in our history the full power of our highest court is solidly behind the idea that members of minority groups are entitled to equal treatment.

But the Supreme Court's decision, like all legal decisions, must be put into effect. The problem of compliance is a formidable one, for at the root of discrimination and segregation lies prejudice and fear, emotional hurdles which are difficult to overcome. How can compliance be achieved? A few suggestions may be offered:

(1) prime recognition in all our activity that the decision of the Supreme Court is the law of the land and our citizens and public officials must both obey and enforce the law; and recognition that democracy grew strong through the public school system, which must be preserved throughout the country;

(2) where violence occurs or is threatened, emphasis must be placed on upholding the law. A firm determination to support integration is important, but it should be expressed with an understanding of the difficulties of social change. A spirit of revenge will increase rather than diminish opposition.

(3) recognition that the attitude toward compliance will be different in various parts of the country, as recent events have shown, and that automatic and full compliance cannot swiftly be expected. As the Supreme Court has said, local circumstances must dictate the speed with which communities move ahead. However, we should emphasize that delays cannot be a disguise for evasion;

(4) in the South, which is most affected by the Supreme Court decision, the lead toward compliance - by exhortation and self-practice - must be taken by churches and labor unions, the mass social groups which have direct contact with large numbers of people.

Dependence on the Supreme Court decision, or the several administrative decisions attacking discrimination, are not the entire answer. In most areas our laws do not sufficiently protect civil rights. The South's reaction to recent civil rights advances, in some instances, has been to assault Negroes physically and intimidate them when they sought to vote. Adoption of federal legislation to protect the safety of the individual and his right to vote is an urgent necessity, and the civil rights program proposed by the President last Spring and endorsed by leaders of both parties should be vigorously pushed in the next Congress.

This program is of immediate importance, but these other important objectives should not be lost sight of: (a) ending discrimination in housing; (b) fair employment practices; (c) total elimination of discrimination in public accommodations, transportation and the armed forces.

To complete this unfinished business, in the spirit of recent fine decisions by the courts and executive agencies, we need to use various methods and at various speeds. Legislative, executive and judicial actions, on local, state and federal levels, should be used severally or in one combination or another, depending on the specific job to be done and its particular circumstances; so should the manifold types of private effort, organized and unorganized, by which much of our past progress

has been achieved. The most important thing is to move toward the goal as quickly and surely as we can, with an accurate sense of what each specific job requires at any given moment.

The spotlight in the current crisis is properly trained on the South, but the civil rights struggle is not only a sectional problem. It is a national problem. Discrimination and segregation, no matter where it occurs, should be opposed.

We must achieve equal treatment for Negroes in the North's public housing developments, as well as in the South's public schools; we must achieve equal treatment by the police and the courts for Puerto Ricans in New York, Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, and citizens of Asiatic extraction on the Pacific Coast; we must achieve equal treatment for American Indians in their negotiations with the Department of the Interior, and for Jews in their access to medical schools and hotels.

* * *

Statement by Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

I am delighted to know of the Interracial Conference of Women to be held November 16-17 under the sponsorship of the National Council of Negro Women.

In the pressing task of securing human and civil rights, the understanding and active support of the women of the nation are of the utmost importance. The great enemy of progress in this field is ignorance, ignorance of both white and colored people of the facts, the issues, and the procedures necessary to embark on a sensible and just program looking toward a solution.

Much of the misunderstanding today, and the consequent standstill on the civil rights front, has been due to misinformation spread assiduously by the enemies of the Negro and other minorities. I am certain you have noted the linking of vicious and filthy anti-semitic sentiments with anti-Negro propaganda, and the blanketing of both of these with subtle and overt insinuations as to communism.

The people and organized groups engaged in this kind of campaign are also the enemies of freedom as typified by the American heritage. They could not succeed if people generally were in possession of the facts. The women of America can set this thing straight. They can aid immeasurably in spreading the knowledge that will permit the overwhelming majority of fair-minded citizens of both races to work toward the kind of society in which no segment of the population will suffer racial and religious discrimination imposed by government.

Statement by Don Shoemaker, Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
Nashville, Tennessee

Approximately 570 school districts or school units of the 4,700 such areas having Negro students in the South had begun some measure of public school desegregation during the 1955-56 school year, bringing roughly 260,000 Negro children into "integrated situations."

In preparation for the 1956-57 school year, some 245 more school districts with about 50,000 Negro children have indicated the desegregation process will be started. This will leave more than two million Negro pupils in segregated schools.

At the level of higher education, 106 of the 208 colleges and universities supported by public funds in the region now accept Negroes in practice or in theory. At last count, 95 to 98 formerly all-white publicly-supported institutions actually had Negro students enrolled. With the exception of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, the southern states now admit Negroes to their tax-supported colleges and universities. While the number of Negroes who have enrolled in formerly all-white colleges and universities is not accurately known (few institutions keep records of race), a study of this situation being readied for publication places their number at about 2,000, with Negro enrollment in no case exceeding one or two per cent.

Against these measures of compliance with the Supreme Court decisions of May 1954 and 1955 must be balanced a strong effort of resistance, centered primarily in the Deep South states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina and spreading into the Mid-South states of Arkansas and Florida. Indicative of this resistance movement on the official levels is the enactment of some 84 pieces of pro-segregation legislation since May, 1954, with 59 of these measures winning approval in the 1956 legislative sessions of eight states. These include pupil assignment plans based on various factors other than race, resolutions of interposition and

protest and plans for closing public schools when desegregation is imminent.

At the unofficial level, resistance to desegregation has crystallized in the formation of some 46 organizations primarily or solely for the purpose of supporting maintenance of segregated public schools. The Citizens Council movement, the largest of these organizations, now claims half a million members in 11 states.

The 17 states and the District of Columbia which practiced segregation by statute may be divided into three general groupings. Such desegregation as has occurred is largely limited to the border region which includes Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and the District of Columbia.

In Delaware, some 21 of the state's 103 school districts, most of them in the northernmost county of New Castle, have desegregated. Also included are the capital city of Dover and one other Kent County community. In the remaining areas resistance is strong. Eight school boards have been named in suits brought by the NAACP seeking to end segregation practices. Official state policy favors desegregation, but the state board of education has been made a party to the suits for its refusal to order local school boards to desegregate.

Eight of Maryland's 23 counties and Baltimore City began desegregation last year. Two other counties adopted transfer policies without regard to race, but no applications for transfer being received, no desegregation occurred. For the 1956-57 school year, seven other counties have announced desegregation plans. Five more counties have lay advisory groups at work on the problem, leaving only one county——Caroline——which has made no move toward compliance.

Of West Virginia's 55 county school systems, all but three have begun the desegregation process or have announced plans to do so. West Virginia's university system was one of the first to lower all racial barriers after the 1954 decision, and now one formerly all-Negro college has a majority of white students, though it has retained a Negro administration.

In Kentucky, 41 of the state's 184 school districts having school age Negroes began desegregation last school year, and "nearly every" district is expected to have some measure of desegregation in some school program this fall.

Missouri, using a variety of methods ranging from immediate to gradual, had placed 58,000 of its 67,000 Negro pupils in integrated situations last year, and prospects were for 4,500 of the 9,000 remaining in segregated systems to be added to this group in the fall. During 1955-56, 114 of 224 districts with Negro students had some measure of desegregation.

Oklahoma last year had desegregation in 119 of its 1,650 school districts and likely will see desegregation occur in 31 more this fall. The State Department of Public Instruction has implemented its policy in favor of desegregation by a financial policy which places the burden of maintaining segregated schools on the localities.

Desegregation in Texas has taken place in 66 of the state's 1,800 school districts, all of it in the south and west portions of the state, where about 10 per cent of Texas' Negroes live. Some 10,500 Negro pupils are reported in integrated situations, and about 1,650 in mixed classes.

The Mid-South group of states includes Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia and, by reason of attitude rather than geography, Florida. In all of these states, state and/or federal courts have declared school segregation laws unconstitutional.

However, desegregation in Arkansas has been limited to three small districts with less than 50 Negro students involved. In Tennessee, only the federal city of Oak Ridge, with about Negro students, had desegregated last year. For the coming year, Clinton in Anderson County has, under compulsion of court order, admitted 12 Negro students to its formerly all-white high school.

North Carolina, Virginia and Florida have no public school desegregation, though two recent court orders in Virginia have directed desegregation during the next school year.

No desegregation at any level save the colleges of Louisiana has occurred in the Deep South states which also include Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. A federal district court has held Louisiana segregation laws unconstitutional, and the South Carolina segregation laws were directly at issue in the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954.

Thus it can fairly be said that the present period is one of legislation and litigation. For along with the 80-odd pieces of legislation enacted on the subject of school segregation, the period has seen 95 court cases taken into state and federal courts. In general the cases so far settled have adhered to the non-segregation principles enunciated by the Supreme Court, with the courts in areas of relatively small Negro percentages setting deadlines for compliance and, except in two recent Virginia decisions, no such deadlines established in strongly resisting states. Emerging from the courts as the legal doctrine of widest applicability is the precedent that in cases involving claims of constitutional rights (in these cases the right to non-discrimination in educational facilities), administrative remedies such as are established in pupil assignment laws should be exhausted before turning to federal courts for relief.

Areas of the school segregation-desegregation issue about which relatively little is known include questions of teacher tenure and school operation costs. While some teachers have been discharged for reasons of race and others which have been displaced when desegregation has resulted in school consolidation, it is estimated that not more than 500 of the South's 75,000 Negro teachers have been directly affected.

Also, school cost considerations have varied from district to district, with some districts benefitting financially by desegregation and others finding their costs rising.

These areas may well be investigated with profit.

"THE NEGRO WORKER IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY"

by

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Any description of the status of Negro workers in American Industry must necessarily deal with a number of pertinent facts -- some good -- others not so good. On the favorable side, the most significant fact is this: During the past fifteen years, Negroes have steadily improved their precarious position in several important industries. On the other hand, there are vast areas of industrial employment from which Negroes are all but excluded. This article is an attempt to evaluate the changing fortunes of Negro industrial workers. It is written from the vantage point of thirty years of experience as a staff member of the National Urban League, an organization which, for forty-four years, has worked to expand employment opportunities for Negroes.

Where We Stand -- Today

The nation's Negro population is a working population. About 63 percent of all Negroes aged fourteen years or over were in the labor force in 1950 compared with about 57 percent of all whites. The proportion of males in the labor force was the same for both groups -- 84 percent -- but for women, the rate for Negroes was 45 percent, while that for whites was about 30 percent. Altogether, the Negro labor force in the nation includes 3,882,000 men and 2,043,000 women.

What Jobs Do Negroes Get?

According to the Dictionary of Occupations, Negroes will be found in every one of the thousands of occupations listed, but the overwhelming majority of both male and female workers are concentrated in the unskilled,

semi-skilled and service occupations. Only 8 percent of all Negro workmen were employed as craftsmen in 1950. For white workers, 19 percent were in this category. Two percent of Negro males were in professional occupations compared with 8 percent for whites. Twenty-two percent of all employed Negro men were in manufacturing, compared with 27 percent of whites. About 3 percent of Negro males were in clerical occupations, while 6 percent of white men were in this category.

Among Negro women, 60 percent were in service occupations in 1950. There was a sharp increase in the number of Negro women in clerical occupations between 1940 and 1950, but the 4 percent so employed in no way compares with the 30 percent of white women in clerical employment. About 15 percent of Negro women workers were semi-skilled operatives, considerably below the 20 percent of white women. Six percent of Negro women were in professional occupations, compared with 12 percent of whites.

What Does the Negro Earn?

In 1950, the urban Negro family earned an average of $1869.50 yearly, while the urban white family earned $3445.00 annually. The Negro's earnings were just 54 percent of the income of his white neighbor. The average individual Negro wage and salary worker earned $1300 annually in 1950, which was about 52 percent of the $2500 earned by the individual white worker. The depressed earning power of the majority of Negro wage-earners constitutes one of the most serious economic problems faced by Negroes and the nation as a whole. Although Negro family and individual incomes have more than trebled since 1939, the inescapable fact is that Negroes do not enjoy equal employment opportunity in most areas of our economy.

One important reason for the recent improvement in the economic fortunes of Negroes has been the shift from agricultural labor to industrial employment. In 1940, one-third of the nation's workers were in agricultural

employment. By 1950, only 18.2 percent of the labor force was in agricultural occupations. While Negro workers shared in this significant occupational shift, the number of Negro agricultural workers in 1950 was disproportionately high. Only 12.5 percent of white workers were in agriculture compared with 16.4 percent of Negroes.

Against this background, the Negro industrial worker must be viewed as a comparative newcomer. As such, he has encountered many obstacles, some of which he has not yet overcome. Because most jobs in manufacturing industries pay better wages than casual, unskilled labor, white workers have resisted the entry of Negro workers. Even when a few Negroes are employed, the practice has been to confine them to certain jobs -- frequently referred to as "Negro jobs." As a rule, these have been the unskilled, low-paying, and often undesirable (for white workers) jobs. The Negro industrial worker is further handicapped by the fact that he has had few opportunities for the kind of training that would prepare him for factory employment. The segregated high schools in the South are rarely equipped to give Negro boys basic training for industrial work. Few Negro colleges have adequate training facilities for technical and industrial work. To enter industrial employment, Negroes have had to fight first for any kind of job and continue to fight for on-the-job training and upgrading to better-paying jobs.

In an increasing number of industries, Negroes are making real progress. This progress has been spotty, however, and the majority of Negroes are still classified as unskilled laborers in most southern industries and in a good many outside of the South. Almost 1,000,000 Negro males in the South were employed as unskilled laborers. They constituted 41 percent of the total male Negro population in the area. Negro women workers in all sections of the nation have fewer occupational choices than Negro men. In the South, for example, 500,000 Negro women were private household workers, and another 185,000 were employed in service jobs other than in private households. Only

15,000 Negro women in the South were employed in sales jobs out of a total of 338,000. Of the 953,000 female clerical and kindred workers in the South, only 20,000 were Negroes. In the professions, Negro women accounted for 81,000 of the total 524,000 women in this category in the South. The majority of this number were school teachers.

Undoubtedly the Negro industrial worker has enjoyed more opportunities in the North, East, West, and Middle West. Two world wars and the more rapid industrialization of these areas have increased the demand for industrial workers. The more liberal racial attitudes in these areas have yielded to these pressures, thus permitting the employment of Negroes in a wider range of jobs. The large industrial centers, such as Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and Pittsburgh have become the "promised land" for literally thousands of Negro job-seekers. But even in these cities racial discrimination persists. Moreover, the untrained Negro farm laborer or casual worker is seriously disadvantaged as a competitor in a highly industrial economic setting.

What About the Negro As An Industrial Worker?

Is he efficient and dependable? Does he create problems? In the writer's opinion, these are academic questions. Human behavior, whether on the job, or in any other activity, is difficult to classify by race. Most of the generalizations about Negro performance fall in the category of sheer nonsense and idle speculation. The vast majority of employers who now use Negro workers in semi-skilled and skilled jobs in industry readily admit that race makes no difference in performance. Given the same opportunity and the same prospects for the rewards of efficient work, the Negro worker is just as capable as any other worker. This fact has been clearly established through numerous studies and investigations, but the Negro worker often finds himself "on trial", so to speak.

How Have Labor Unions Affected the Status of Negro Industrial Workers?

During the past two decades, labor unions have become increasingly important in the lives of industrial workers. Although only about 15 million workers, one-fourth of the labor force, are presently organized, most of the important manufacturing industries are well organized. It is reliably estimated that almost 1,500,000 Negroes are among the total organized labor force. Although neither of the two major branches of the labor movement -- the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations - has released exact figures on racial membership, the best information available indicates that there are about 750,000 Negroes in the AFL, 450,000 in the CIO, and 300,000 in the United Mine Workers and other independent unions.

Unquestionably, Negro workers have gotten many benefits as a result of union membership. In 1930, only about 200,000 Negro workers were members of labor unions. The vast majority of Negro workers were subject to exploitation that was often raw and brutal. Wages were pitifully low. Working conditions were at times almost unbearable. Job security was seldom enjoyed by Negroes. Opportunities for advancement came only as the employer felt disposed to grant them.

The Negro union member is definitely in a healthier position today. His earnings have increased along with other workers covered by a labor-management contract. Where unions have improved working conditions, Negro workers have shared on equal terms with other workers. In most unions, the right to advancement is clearly established for all workers. Health services, insurance benefits, paid vacations, pensions, and other so-called "fringe" benefits are now enjoyed by thousands of Negro industrial workers. Slowly but surely the Negro is losing his identity as an unwelcomed threat to the security of white wage-earners. He is becoming an integral part of the national labor force subject to economic changes affecting all workers.

It would be most heartening indeed if it could be said that unions pose no problems at all for Negro workers. But no honest labor leader would dare to make such a statement. There are too many unions which insist upon setting up segregated unions. Most of them are in the South where competition for jobs is often racial. These segregated unions frequently create situations in which whites will not work with Negro union members. In some cases, Negro union members cannot be employed until all white members are working. These and other unfair union practices deny Negroes maximum benefits from their union membership.

In spite of the liberal pronouncements of some international and national unions, racial discrimination is practiced by too many local unions affiliated with these bodies. Negro membership is discouraged and, at times, denied Negroes in many of the AFL metal trades and craft unions. Since union membership is a prerequisite to employment in such trades as plumbing, electrical work, printing, structural steel work, and the like, very few Negroes have been able to enter these fields. The picture becomes even worse in the matter of apprenticeship opportunities and in-plant training. Negroes are rarely able to get the kind of training that is available to the average white youth. Until the labor movement, particularly the craft unions, take definite action on some of these problems, Negroes will make little progress in these fields.

The organization of the mass production industries by the CIO has improved the lot of the Negro industrial worker in many ways. Relatively little formal training or experience is required to qualify for entrance jobs in many mass production and assembly line operations. The job-seeker who is willing to learn has many opportunities for training on the job and advancing to higher-rated jobs. Since few Negroes have been able to get technical training before entering the labor force, it can be said that the assembly line, whatever disadvantages it may have, has made it much easier for Negroes to move into manufacturing industries.

What About the Negro Technical and Professional Worker?

For a good many reasons, Negroes until recently have made little progress in these fields. The first and most important has been racial discrimination. Until World War II, a Negro engineer or scientist simply didn't get hired by the large manufacturing industries. It wasn't the policy to employ Negroes in these jobs, and nobody took the time to argue the point. One result was the realization on the part of Negroes that this was an "area of exclusion", so far as they were concerned, and they didn't consider these fields when choosing a vocation. The production of Negro engineers by our educational institutions scarcely totals 150 per year, despite an urgent need for all kinds of technicians and scientists. Racial discrimination is on the way out in the technical fields. Such companies as General Electric, Western Electric, Sperry Corporation, International Telephone and Telegraph, General Cable, Standard Oil, Carrier Corporation, and others too numerous to mention are seeking engineers, chemists, physicists, and other technically prepared Negro young people. The problem now is to increase the number who can qualify, and that job has not been seriously tackled.

The employment of Negro non-technical management personnel has not kept pace with other trends in industrial employment. A few companies have begun to employ business administration and accounting majors. Fewer still are employing the liberal arts graduate who eventually qualifies for a supervisory management job. The fear, of course, is that white workers will refuse to work under the direction and supervision of a Negro. As long as we cling to our simple notions about race and "acceptable" relations between Negro and white workers, this will remain one of the difficult employment areas.

What About Legal Attacks On Employment Discrimination?

In twelve states and thirty-one cities, there are laws and ordinances that prohibit racial and religious discrimination in employment. They are exercising a tremendous influence on discriminatory employment and labor union practices. Although six or seven years are hardly enough in which to measure the effectiveness of most such laws, the plain fact is that they have created a new context in which to view this problem. To the knowledge of the writer, scores of employers will admit that the existence of these laws has greatly influenced their attitudes and actions on this subject. It is to be regretted, however, that attempts to get federal legislation have bogged down in the mire of political double-talk. The need for federal action on this problem becomes more and more urgent when one observes the pattern of employment in the railroad industry; the communications industry, especially in the South; the banking industry; the publishing industry, and many others in which Negroes have made little progress during the past two decades.

Some conclusions can be drawn from a careful analysis of the position of Negroes in our industrial economy, and most of them are on the favorable side.

....The Negro worker, like his white brother, has left the farm and found a place in industry. True, the Negro is about twenty years behind in making the transition, but his place appears to be pretty secure.

....The opportunities for well-trained people are rapidly increasing. Technically trained young people are very much in demand and will be for many years.

....Opportunities for trained Negro women are rapidly expanding. Competent office personnel are being sought in almost every industrial center, except in the South. It is reasonable to expect changes in the South as a result of the Supreme Court's recent decision banning segregated schools.

....It has been clearly demonstrated that legal attacks on racial discrimination in employment are productive. Employment discrimination has been banned in twelve states, and other progressive states may be expected to enact such laws during the next few years.

....Finally, there is growing recognition of the fact that employment discrimination is wasteful and indefensible. How to take full advantage of these trends is the problem facing a large part of the Negro working population in every section of the nation.

The questions to which we usually address ourselves, and I thing they are the same questions that you would like to have answered, are:

1) <u>How do we proceed in our efforts to change the patterns of racial employment in these communities where discrimination is flagrantly practiced</u>?

   I would assume that a good many of your conferees will be coming from different cities in the United States. Not having all of the specific facts about these cities, it might be suggested that one of the things needed at this time is a careful examination of racial employment practices in the cities represented at this conference.

2) <u>What help can you expect from your white conferees in approaching the owners and operators of many of the business and industrial concerns that persist in discriminating against Negroes</u>?

   Occasionally we find it very helpful to interest important women's groups, such as the League of Women Voters, the Junior League, the various church clubs, and other women's civic groups. Many of their husbands and relatives are connected with some of these business establishments, and a little prodding will often result in some attention to the problem. I would strongly suggest, therefore, that you talk to that point.

3) <u>How do you reach a community to make it aware of the pernicious effects of racial discrimination in employment</u>?

   As I have indicated above, one characteristic of the present economic situation is that too many Negro families have insufficient income and are, therefore, unable to provide proper housing, recreation, health service, and education for their children. This means that Negro family life is handicapped. It also means that a much larger percentage of Negro women are forced into the labor market because the husband or father is unable to earn enough money to maintain the family as it should be. I believe any thoughtful group will understand the implications of this general situation, and this seems to me a very important point to emphasize.

Statement from Mrs. Alice K. Leopold
Assistant to the Secretary of Labor for Women's Affairs
to the
National Council of Negro Women, Inc., on the occasion
of their Twenty-first Annual Convention
November 16, 1956 - Washington, D.C.

THE NEW ROLES OF WOMEN

A realistic appraisal of women's employment in late 1956 reveals several factors of very great significance. One is the degree to which women have been integrated into this Nation's great working population of some 69½ million persons. Another is the fact that employment horizons for women are constantly widening, offering to those who are qualified opportunities undreamed of in earlier periods.

The extent of the progress women have made over the years is illustrated by the well-known statement of Harriet Martineau, a visitor to North America in the mid-1800s. Miss Martineau, according to reports, was not impressed by the position of women in the new continent to the west. She was, in fact, "surprised to find them occupying a very subordinate position in a country calling itself free and to find that they had entered only seven paying occupations."

Harriet Martineau was indeed correct, for the occupations which women performed for pay were few indeed, including only teaching, factory work, household work, and the jobs of seamstress, tailoress, milliner, and dressmaker.

But to the Harriet Martineaus who visit the United States today, the picture is in striking contrast, because at least some women are reported in each of the 446 occupations listed by the decennial census. There are women physicians and surgeons, women chemists, women engineers, and women technicians of all kinds. And, as formerly, women also are in the majority among teachers, nurses, dietitians, librarians, and office workers of many kinds. But the fact that women are entering new areas of work is of great significance, for it indicates that the barriers to employment as well as to training are being continuously overcome. The surmounting of these barriers is of

great importance not only to the individual but to the Nation as well. To the former it indicates that qualified women can aspire to practically any kind of work. To the United States of America it means that women not only are an integral part of the labor force, but that they possess skills which are in great demand and that other women have the potentiality for developing such skills.

The future for all women workers is promising, and this includes the Negro women who are presently in the labor force and the young people who will increase their ranks in coming years. Over the past decade, we have seen a growing number of Negro women enter into professional and clerical jobs, into sales and service jobs, into factory and other operative jobs, and into some of the crafts. A number of Negro women also are in the employ of their Government, serving with distinction in many capacities.

As we plan for the future of women workers, we must endeavor to search for and then help develop the many skills our woman population possesses. These skills, as noted before, are needed to maintain and improve the social and economic structure of our great republic. The full development of skills also has another objective, that of bringing satisfaction and fulfillment to the individual concerned. It is in this framework that we as women and as citizens can perhaps make our greatest contribution, because inherent in the realization of individual accomplishment is the factor of motivation.

One of our greatest challenges, in my opinion, is to provide the motivation which will enable our young people to lead happy and useful adult lives. The young people of today will make the decisions of tomorrow. Their adequate preparation for the world of work and for their place in the community is therefore not only desirable but essential to progress and to an understanding between peoples the world over. Our task then becomes clearly defined. We must be ever ready to help young people, to understand them, to advise them, and above all to motivate them toward

the acceptance of the great responsibilities which will be theirs in this second half of the Twentieth Century. Women everywhere, because of their particular roles in life, are equipped to fulfill this special mission. This is especially true of the members of the National Council of Negro Women, an organization which can offer the prestige of leadership as well as the human understanding so vital in meeting today's problems.

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By ROBERT C. WEAVER

Recent Developments in Urban Housing and Their Implications for Minorities

IT IS PERHAPS indicative of a significant trend in governmental policy that a paper concerned with recent trends in urban housing will deal for the most part with privately financed construction. This is in striking contrast to earlier concern of this Institute with public housing and its problems. It should be observed at the outset, however, that, in my opinion, there is no less need for public housing today than there has been in the past, and that much of what is termed privately financed construction enjoys some form of public assistance. One of the great apprehensions I have in the current situation is the tendency of advocates of various programs to imply or state that one special tool or one identified approach offers the answer to the housing problem of American cities. Basic to anything I may say subsequently is my firm conviction that the housing problem of our cities is so complex and so vast in its magnitude that it cannot be conceived of in terms of public housing versus private housing or urban renewal versus new construction. Of necessity, any successful approach must be a synthesis of these various devices—a synthesis which becomes difficult to effect, since each element has become identified with its own proponents and the principal champions of each have often been the most deadly foes of some of the others.

I sometimes feel that the prevalent segmented approach-orientation reflects failure to outline clearly and categorically the goals of a housing program for America. It seems obvious, however, that certain elements must be involved. First and foremost, housing is for people, and it is adequate housing only when and if it meets the needs and suits the paying ability of the population. Secondly, a sound housing program must be developed within a concept of effective city planning. Of course, today most professionals in the field give lip service to the importance of planning. However, there is far from complete agreement as to what good city planning involves, although progress has been made in realizing that we must be concerned with land use and the provision of those services and institutions which are needed in a modern community. Current discussions of slums and blight remind me of the general condemnation of sin. Few, if any, will be in favor of these social ills, but there is a vast difference between being against sin and knowing what

to do to eradicate it. Similarly, opposition to slums is far from commitment for their eradication or realization of the painful and slow process that is involved in effecting this objective.

There is one significant contribution which has been made by emphasis upon urban renewal. We have for the first time thought and spoken in terms of doing a complete job of wiping out and controlling substandard housing. This has its advantages and its disadvantages. Among the former is the obvious one that a thorough rather than a piece-meal job is involved, and secondly, the stage is set for demonstrating the need for a combination of the various tools and approaches to achieve the announced goal. By the same token, a tremendous potential of public support is created since the total approach inspires and arouses local pride in its achievement. And finally, there are possibilities in this program for securing the maximim cooperation between local, state, and Federal governments in carrying out programs for urban renewal. Theoretically, at least, there should also be a favorable climate for cooperation between public and private housing.

Among the disadvantages, the major one is already apparent. Because of the very magnitude of this undertaking, it can, and often does, bog down in execution. We are, therefore, faced with the possibility that urban renewal may be talked rather than executed; that it may become the subject of a tremendous promotional program which will excite the imagination of the people without at the same time providing effective vehicles for its execution. Actually, our horizons have been lifted and our concepts have been broadened at the same time that results have not been commensurate with the thinking, the planning and the hopes which have brought urban renewal into the foreground as a program for housing in American cities.

When we turn from this general discussion to the implications of urban renewal for minority groups, we are still, as we were a decade ago, largely in the realm of conjecture. In my book, *The Negro Ghetto* (New York, 1948), I devoted a chapter to this subject under the title "Urban Redevelopment—A Threat or an Opportunity." In my opinion, the current situation may be summarized by substituting "Urban Renewal" for the term "Urban Redevelopment." Today, even more than in 1948, the threat in urban renewal looms large and has been documented by experience. On the other hand, the opportunities under this program for establishing racially integrated neighborhoods remain as a possibility and a challenge to those concerned with good housing and sound human relations.

Such progress as has been made to date in urban renewal has raised serious questions and created serious problems among minority groups. As one would expect, the displacement of non-whites under this program of slum clearance and rehabilitation has been disproportionately

high. While this was almost an inevitable consequence of the program, it has been greater than it might have been because of the administrative policies adopted by the Federal government and by local authorities. The basic law which provides Federal assistance for the purchase of blighted and slum areas and their re-sale at a marked down figure to redevelopers also provides for the acquisition and resale of vacant sites. Despite this fact, few vacant sites have been included in the program to date. Thus we have the appalling situation of developing a program which reduces the supply of low cost housing at a time when there is an existing shortage of shelter of this type.

The idea of slum clearance germinated during the depression when there were many vacancies, so that substandard properties could be torn down and families relocated with a minimum of difficulty. That concept was carried over and still persists despite the fact that the Defense Production Program, World War II and its aftermath occasioned large-scale migrations to urban centers and created an entirely different housing supply situation.

During the last decade we have been faced with a housing picture which makes slum clearance workable only if it is coordinated with a large construction program and if that construction program is of such a nature as to provide additional units for low and middle income families of both sale and rental types. Many of the champions of urban renewal have attempted to get around the situation by reviving the ghost of what some of us thought was a repudiated concept. I refer to the filtering down or upgrading process which says in effect that any increase in the supply of housing immediately eases the pressure for dwelling units in all segments of the market. The October 1953 issue of *House and Home,* which contains one of the best and most comprehensive statements on urban renewal, puts the issue in these words:

> This high volume of new construction [required to facilitate urban renewal] need not necessarily mean building any great number of new homes specifically for occupancy by the people moved out of the slums. With more than 31 million people moving from house to house each year, the entire US population changes homes on an average of every five years, and surveys show that every good new house makes it possible for as many as 13 families to play musical chairs and each move to a nicer home. The end of this upgrading process is that for each good new home built one less family will have to live herded into an overcrowded slum tenement, or one more unit unfit for human use can be junked.

One difficulty with this concept is that it assumes away the problem which faces minority groups in their quest for shelter. The filtering down process is based on the existence of a free competitive housing market. Residential segregation repudiates the basic idea of free competition in the housing market and, to the extent that any segment of the population is denied free access to the total housing market, the fil-

tering down process must bog down. Nor is this all. Slums and blight are not alone reflections of physical decay. Occupancy patterns and standards are equally important; and as a matter of fact they often precede and forecast the physical deterioration. The type of overcrowding and improvised living which follows in the wake of the geographic expansion of the racial ghetto into surrounding areas of housing ill-designed to meet the pocket books of low-income families of minority groups has been and remains a principal factor in the spread of blight and generation of slums.

This, too, is in part a reflection of administrative inadequacies in the execution of urban renewal programs. One of the Federal government's requirements is a workable program which requires, among other things, a relocation program and adequate local building codes. The latter would include, in addition to minimum physical housing standards, prescribed occupancy standards. As a matter of fact, workable programs have been no more than promises and intentions; thus slum clearance has frequently been initiated at a time when there were no effective limitations upon overcrowding and doubling up. A program which in theory would expose the need for and require the creation of additional housing units for displaced families has, in practice, proceeded without occasioning the prescribed increase in dwelling accommodations. We clear one slum only to create others.

There is also another basic consideration which must be kept in mind. It is the fact that in most instances rehabilitation involves a major change in cost of the new housing. In practically all instances, slum clearance and re-building by private enterprise on the land made available through urban renewal produces much higher-priced housing. Thus, urban renewal has generated two major problems: it creates the need for relocation housing for those families which are initially displaced, and it involves permanent displacement of a large segment of the families now living in the areas affected by the new program.

From the beginning of the urban renewal program relocation has been a major problem. Problems of large dimensions developed in cities like Chicago, Detroit and New York, where low income families were forced out by economic and political pressures or were required to purchase second-hand properties at inflated prices or were further overcrowded in contiguous areas which were already substandard or in the process of becoming substandard due to over-occupancy. With the exception of those families which qualified for the available public housing (in which they had priority) the relocation experience was generally unfortunate and often fraught with extreme hardship for those involved. At the same time, priority for displaced families in public housing projects, when combined with concentration of urban renewal areas in sites inhabited largely by non-whites, has increased the proportion of col-

ored tenants in subsidized projects. As a consequence, many racially integrated public housing projects in the North are becoming predominantly or exclusively Negro developments.

We are discovering, too, that relocation has often created additional slums and brought blight into new areas. This is particularly true where minority group families are concerned, since contrary to the filtering down theory, they do not have access to the total housing supply and are relegated to only a segment of the total housing market. There is danger that unless and until additional housing available at low rentals or selling prices and open to all ethnic groups is provided simultaneously with the demolition of substandard houses, we will often tear down slums in one neighborhood only to spread blight and create slums elsewhere. In Washington, D. C., for example, where relocation to date has been carried out with care and adequate records reflecting where families have moved, some of the older Negro occupied areas have been adversely affected. Southwest Washington is being cleared only at the price of creating the need for additional clearance in Northwest Washington. When the latter is begun, there will be another movement of Negro displaced families into established colored areas and their environs so that the process will begin anew. Here, again, is a graphic illustration of the fact that enforced residential segregation stands as an insuperable barrier in most cities to an effective, comprehensive program for housing reform.

There is still another development which has particular pertinence to the status of non-white families. It is the result of selecting for urban renewal sites in which whites and non-whites now live side by side under substandard conditions. In some instances in southern and border cities, it is planned to redevelop these areas for the exclusive occupancy of white families. Even when this is not clearly indicated in the local plans, it will sometimes become a *de facto* situation due to elimination of minority groups on economic rather than racial grounds. Where in a few cities there has been a protest against this, a compromise has been reached involving a re-use for other than residential purposes. Thus, a slum area formerly housing both Negro and white families will be proposed as the location for industry or a public institution. Here, again, urban renewal becomes an instrument for wiping out racially integrated living in one area at the same time that it fails to provide for an equal degree of racial integration on the site or in another section of the city.

As pessimistic as this picture may be in its current stage, there is one ray of hope which should not be ignored. It arises from the fact that a real job of urban renewal cannot be effected unless the defects which have been outlined above are corrected. It is, I believe, significant that in Washington, D. C., where a total program has been envisioned and

outlined, redevelopers have been committed from the outset to a program of open occupancy in the new housing which will be built in renewal areas. This means that there will be white and non-white families living together in a limited amount of public housing and in privately-financed middle and upper income housing. Actually, with the exception of the public housing developments, the degree of non-white participation will be relatively small, due to income distribution among non-whites. It will be significant, however, insofar as this represents the stamp of governmental approval on open occupancy housing at the higher income ranges where prestige values are significant. By the same token, there is every reason to believe that outside of public housing, the concentration of lower income non-whites in racial ghettos will probably increase under the new program. This, of course, will be facilitated and accelerated by the escape from the city which is offered to white families of moderate income into the suburban areas outside the limits of the Nation's capital.

Already there are unmistakable evidences that urban renewal, while failing to date to solve the housing problems of minorities, is forcing public officials and private developers to face up to the problem. A few are realizing the impedement to their objectives inherent in residential segregation and its restrictions upon maximum utilization of the housing supply. Others are talking and thinking in terms of more and better Negro housing; all—or almost all—have come to realize that something has to be done in the realm of housing for minorities. As James Downs, Coordinator of Housing and Rehabilitation of Chicago, recently observed:

> Not only do we have to build houses to accommodate both the people who are now overcrowded and the growth of our population, but we also have to be willing to move the people into them. Up to now racial tension has prevented us from doing so. . . . Eventually we must lower the density in overcrowded areas by allowing people to move directly to outlying districts.

By definition, a successful program for comprehensive slum eradication and prevention must provide decent housing for all elments in the population. This is the logic of urban renewal. Its translation into fact will be long and difficult. Surely it will require all the tools we now have and many new ones. In many cities it is impossible of achievement within the pattern of residential segregation. Only time can tell where and how the compromises and advances will be made.

As urban renewal takes the spotlight on the national scene, there are other developments in certain areas which deserve attention. As an official of the State of New York, I may be pardoned if I pay special attention to the Empire State. This is not entirely chauvinism, since there are at least two recent developments which are somewhat peculiar to the State of New York and have direct bearing upon the housing of non-whites. The first of these is a new housing program designed to meet

the needs of a neglected segment of the housing market. The second is in the form of two laws extending existing non-discriminatory housing regulations.

In the last Legislature of the State of New York the Mitchell-Lama bill was passed. This law provides for the financing and other assistance to housing for income groups somewhat higher than those now eligible for existing public housing projects and yet lower than the income groups served by privately-financed construction. In addition to government loans for fifty years, the legislation permits real estate tax adjustments up to fifty percent of the full value of the property or any increase of the value of the property over the assessed value for a period of thirty years. This Act permits limited profit companies and cooperatives to borrow ninety percent of the cost of housing for fifty years and it will provide in the State of New York modern and desirable shelter for some of those who have been in the "no man's land" in housing in the past.

It is the intention of the State Division of Housing to see that there is no discrimination in this program, and to take positive steps to assure participation of non-whites in the projects under the Mitchell-Lama law. In addition to providing housing for non-white families within the eligible income ranges, this program will supply additional evidence that open occupancy and racially integrated housing is successful. Because of the income structures in our communities, there is little danger that the project so developed will become entirely or disproportionately highly inhabited by minority groups, except in those instances where the location of the project mitigates against the attraction of a sizeable proportion of white tenants. Since such instances will surely be the exception rather than the rule, we shall have for the first time a program which will be integrated from the start and remain in such occupancy patterns over a long period of time.

The second important development in the State of New York was the passage of two anti-discrimination laws in housing. Both are identified as Metcalf-Baker Bills. The first extends the jurisdiction of the State Commission Against Discrimination to the enforcement of the anti-discrimination provisions governing public housing already contained in the Wicks-Austin Act. This in effect means that the State Commission Against Discrimination is now responsible for enforcement of non-discrimination in all public housing projects, in Title I redevelopment areas and in other housing constructed with State assistance, either in the form of tax concessions or use of eminent domain. This provision will accelerate the advance already made in breaking down discrimination in public housing in upstate New York and in the existing limited dividend housing companies under the jurisdiction of the Division. It should also go far in protecting the rights of minorities to participate in the Title I urban renewal developments throughout the State.

An even more important bill was the second Metcalf-Baker law which bans racial discrimination in Veterans Administration and Federal Housing Authority insured housing. Now, for the first time, there is a non-discrimination clause governing a significant segment of new housing produced in outlying areas where racial discrimination has been standard practice and where its existence and countenance by the Federal government has given aid and support to residential segregation in the second-hand housing market. Consequently, effective enforcement of the provisions of the law will not only augment the supply of housing available to minority groups, but also facilitate a significant change in practice and policies in areas which heretofore were typified by racial exclusiveness—areas which gave prestige-support to racial discrimination in housing in other sections of our cities. It is our feeling that this fact alone will do much to support and accelerate acceptance and development of non-discrimination policies in what has heretofore been considered publicly assisted housing. By working simultaneously on the traditional public housing programs and the FHA and VA insured housing developments there should be mutual support and significant results.

All of these recent trends suggest that residential segregation is being supported and extended in certain quarters while it is being challenged and weakened in others. Not mentioned above is the continuing movement of non-whites into existing housing in new areas of our cities —a trend which has been more than offset by the accelerated movement of whites from older houses in the cities to new homes in all-white suburban areas.

We are now in a period of change—change as reflected in spatial patterns and in public policy. It is a change supported by higher earnings of non-whites and by a climate of liberalism in racial relations in the Nation. Still it is clear that housing has not yet caught up to the pace of integration which is characteristic of other areas in American life. It is, however, fast becoming the number one item in democracy's unfinished business.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

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TRENDS IN HOUSING

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Cole Denies HHFA Helps Segregation

HHFA Administrator Albert Cole last month denied charges by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing that Federal housing policies encourage the spread of segregation.

The Committee had written President Eisenhower in August, that "despite your declaration that federal authority and funds should not be used to perpetuate or promote segregation . . . federal housing programs continue to reinforce and spread segregation."

Specific examples of Federal aid to segregated housing were cited in public housing, FHA- and VA-insured private housing. The Committee asked for a conference with the President, and noted that a sim-

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Open Occupancy Grows In Private Housing

The number of private open occupancy housing developments around the country is growing. Whether motivated by ideals or dollars, these projects have been successful — once they have hurdled difficult problems of land and financing.

Fifty unrestricted developments, ranging from 10 to 300 units, were found this year in a survey made for the Commission on Race and Housing.

Trends has collected information on several outstanding developments through interviews and correspondence. Projects of single-family houses are reported in this issue. Future articles will cover rental and other multi-family developments.

Sunnyhills, Calif.

Potentially largest of open-occupancy developments is Sunnyhills, a new subdivision with capacity for 1500 homes, sponsored by the United Auto Workers in Milpitas, Calif. It is a success story today after three years of struggle.

The UAW got into the housing business reluctantly but determinedly when a Ford plant employing 3500 members moved 60 miles from Richmond to Milpitas. Although new tracts were booming, the union found costs inflated and no houses available for 225 Negro members.

Shortly after Ford announced its projected move in 1953, the local union's housing committee surveyed the membership and found over 300 ready to buy a moderately priced house in an open-occupancy tract. The committee then talked with countless

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Broker Al McKee signs up a couple for their home in United Auto Workers project.

Builders Tell How To Aid Integration

Builders of integrated projects offer these tips for success:

- Project should offer equal—if possible, superior — value to competing all-white developments.
- Site should be good, and not near Negro or changing neighborhoods. Some isolation may be desirable, to avoid reaction of neighbors.
- Sales staff must fully understand and believe in integration policy.
- Promotion should be chiefly to white market; word of mouth will reach Negroes. Do not advertise "inter-racial." This means "Negro" to many.
- Where nonwhite demand is heavy, some occupancy control seems necessary.
- Land and financing remain the chief blocks; once these are located, experience shows a good chance of success.

Open Occupancy Grows In Housing

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builders and received many offers — but every builder insisted that "we can't build in the same location for your white and nonwhite members."

Finally, a builder agreed to try open occupancy, but he was repeatedly blocked in attempts to obtain land. Then, with the help of the local FHA Race Relations Advisor, Bob Pitts, another builder was found who already had land near Milpitas.

But no mortgage commitment could be obtained without staggering premiums. Bill Oliver, Co-Director of the International UAW's Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, and Phil Buskirk of the American Friends Service Committee flew to New York. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. agreed to take the mortgages on the same basis as other loans in the area.

Opposition from local governmental bodies came next. Without warning, or explanation, costs and requirements for sanitation and water facilities were sharply raised. A neighboring subdivider organized protest meetings and filed suit to prevent the Board of Supervisors from approving the UAW subdivision's plans. At this point the builder gave up, and the project seemed licked.

In November 1955, the UAW found a new firm willing to develop the project. The chief opposition—the adjoining subdivision of partly occupied and partly unsold homes — was also bought out.

Sales Boom

The new joint subdivision was opened last winter with a successful Christmas party for residents and prospective buyers —the latter including some Negro families. Eighty white families had been living in the original restricted tract; few have moved out since the advent of the new UAW open-occupancy policy. Existing houses sold slowly through the winter, but since Spring, when the first new UAW-sponsored models were put on view, sales have boomed.

In August, an FHA official said that "the level of 6 sales a week since July 4 hasn't been equalled by any developer in the country."

Eight models are now available, ranging from $10,700 to $16,000 for 3 bedroom 1½ bath homes. Sales are handled by two real-estate firms, one interracial, one white. Not all of the new homebuyers are Ford Workers. About one-third of new sales have been made to Negroes, who now are about one-tenth of Sunnyhills' residents. Salesmen have encouraged scattering of Negro families throughout the development.

Although in an earlier stage the union proudly released stories about its new "interracial" project, present promotion does not mention this aspect. Brochures stress "the West's first true planned community" with illustrations of the new school, recreation center, shopping center, $53-monthly payments, etc. The International UAW has taken an option on adjoining land for future development. Local 560 has purchased 8½ acres for a union center and recreation area.

UAW was helped in its long struggle to develop this project by many community groups in the area concerned with democratic living opportunities. The American Friends Service Committee's full-time Community Relations Secretary, Phil Buskirk, works closely with the union, the community and the building industry. Councils for Civic Unity, ministers' and other groups have helped. The AFL building trades unions cooperated by setting up a committee on building standards to guarantee good value in the project.

Buskirk and Arnold Callan, UAW Sub-Regional Director, are enthusiastic about prospects for integration in Sunnyhills and its important effect on the surrounding Santa Clara Valley. Local opposition has calmed down, and thousands of new residents pouring into the area give it a flexible character, suitable for further interracial development, they believe.

Concord Park, Pa.

Most publicized of new developments is Concord Park, a project of 139 moderately priced homes in suburban Philadelphia, now almost completely sold on a 55%-45% white-Negro controlled occupancy basis.

Morris Milgram, a young Philadelphia builder, became convinced in 1952 of the need and feasibility of building unrestricted housing. But his personal conviction proved insufficient to secure financing until he joined forces in 1953 with George Otto, a Quaker and established community developer of conservative reputation. Together, they formed Concord Park, Inc. a stock corporation with a respected Board of Directors. Within a year, members of the Society of Friends and other interested persons oversubscribed a $150,000 stock issue. Construction funds were then pledged by a local bank.

The corporation purchased a 50-acre site in Trevose, Pa. relatively isolated from other housing developments. Then followed a difficult 17-month period seeking mortgage sources for homebuyers. Over 2 dozen institutions turned them down. Mortgage and loan associations, union and church pension funds and savings banks all thought the project too risky.

In 1954, after some houses were already up, the Bowery Savings Bank of New York agreed to take a majority of the mortgages, some at par, some at 1½% discount.

The original occupancy goal was simulation of Philadelphia's population — about 80% white and 20% Negro. Promotion was aimed at the white market, with general press and radio advertising and special mailings to lists of liberal and peace organizations. But the first rush of buyers were overwhelmingly Negro.

Milgram attributes this to the simple fact of pent-up demand; less than 1% of new housing had been available previously to the Negro 20% of the population. But he also holds responsible an original sales force, trained in conventional real estate practices, which regarded Concord Park as a Negro development and concentrated on Negro sales, often discouraging white applicants.

Controls Set

Although some of the Board felt that the intense Negro housing demand should be met, the corporation decided that if Concord Park was to be an example of a true interracial community, some controls must be imposed.

The pattern of 55%-45% enables salesmen to state that "the majority of residents will be white families." Although there were fears that Negroes would resent this policy, Milgram reports that those turned down or put on the waiting list until there are sufficient white sales, appreciate this aim.

In April 1955, a new sales manager, dedicated to the open-occupancy goal, came to the project, and sales to white families mounted. Today, with all but 16 houses

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Reports due soon

Detailed and evaluated case studies of open-occupancy housing developments will be published early in 1957 as part of a comprehensive study by the Commission on Race and Housing.

Operating under a $235,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic, the independent Commission, chaired by Earl B. Schwulst, President of the Bowery Savings Bank of New York, is conducting 24 research projects on minority housing.

A report on a questionnaire survey prepared by The Committee on Civil Rights in East Manhattan will also be available this fall.

Open Occupancy

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sold, Concord Park is an integrated as well as interracial community, in the opinion of its builder and residents. A number of community organizations — womens' clubs, girl scouts, the civic association—have interracial membership with officers of both races.

Although most of the original stockholders and the builders were prepared to make no profit on their pioneering investment in Concord Park, by June of this year, backers had received two dividends. In view of the lack of experience which led to an expensive trial and error process, backers feel that future projects may prove even better investments.

Milgram and Otto are now completing Greenbelt Knoll, 19 contemporary homes of outstanding design on an attractive wooded site, selling from $19,000-$24,000. Eleven homes have been bought to date, one by Milgram himself. Benefiting from experience, occupancy in this development will be controlled at two-thirds white and one-third Negro.

"Hell's Half Acre"

In Madison, Wisconsin, builder J. J. Sinaiko has since 1952 put up 36 low-cost prefabricated homes and sold half to white and half to Negro families. Eight of these houses sold at $12,400, five at $9500 and 22 at $6250.

Sinaiko's lowest-priced house was a prefab by National Homes, its price kept down by his purchase from the city of tax-delinquent lots in a then-blighted area known as "Hell's Half Acre."

Today, stimulated by Sinaiko's new building, a concerted cleanup campaign by city agencies and neighborhood groups has helped transform the area into "a good residential neighborhood where Negro and white homeowners live amicably side by side" according to Madison's *Capital Times*.

Prior to Sinaiko's activity, there had been no building in the area since 1910-25. A few Negro families had moved in during the 20's, but even today, the neighborhood remains predominantly white. Two of Sinaiko's original purchasers have resold to white families since 1953. There have been no panic sales or hostility evidenced to Negroes. Values have definitely improved. Six new homes are being built in the area, one by a Negro family.

Although Sinaiko originally expected to sell most of his houses to Negroes, he has been forced instead to set a white "quota" and to solicit Negro purchases through church groups to assure balanced sales. He attributes this to absence of comparable low-cost housing in Madison, and the relatively small Negro population.

Sinaiko's chief problem has been financing. His current project of 20 homes at $9500 was turned down by five mortgage brokers. He has recently secured financing through the efforts of the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program from the New York Life Insurance Company, but delays have added to his costs. Although in 1954 he stated "there are now no insurmountable problems in the way of producing low income open occupancy housing wherever it is needed," today Sinaiko feels that "unless the money market changes, this is an exceedingly speculative venture and should be processed with great care."

Yellow Springs, Ohio

The Porter Construction Company has put up 42 prefabricated homes in Yellow Springs, Ohio and to date sold 13 to white and 9 to Negro families.

Builder William Hooper says: "We started our subdivision on an open-occupancy basis because we felt this was the only logical way to add to a village that was already largely integrated." A controlled occupancy policy was soon found necessary to keep the project from becoming predominantly Negro, even though no publicity had mentioned the tract's unrestricted policy. Hooper says that about 30% of the total occupants will be Negro families.

Initial mortgage financing was secured from a local bank without difficulty, but when the bank was unable to supply further needed funds, Hooper had great trouble finding additional financing. "The mixed character of the subdivision is the *only* aspect that has made this difficult" he believes.

Relations among families in Westgate are very good, Hooper reports, and community reaction has in general been positive. He admits that some sales were lost because of belief that the project would be all or predominantly Negro, and his unwillingness to publicize a quota policy.

"Although I'm a builder first and interested in aiding mixed housing second, I would like to encourage other builders to take a lead in this field" Hooper declares.

Scattered Lots in Minneapolis

In Minneapolis, builder Edward N. Tilsen has since 1944 sold 44 single homes on lots scattered in a 20 square block predominantly white area to 40 Negro and 4 white families. Despite the heavy Negro proportion of sales, the scattered locations have produced an integrated neighborhood, less than 20% of which is Negro.

Homes in the $12,000 range were promoted chiefly to the Negro market. Considerable panic selling followed the first purchases by Negroes, some of it encouraged by real estate brokers, according to the Minneapolis Urban League, which helped Tilsen with promotion. Today, about two years later, a stabilized pattern appears to be holding.

Shelton Granger of the Urban League notes that "although this project has worked it has not proven effective in changing attitudes of builders in suburban communities."

Groups Buy Land

Another approach has been taken by middle-income groups in Connecticut, Illinois and California, who have bought land together, then sold lots on an unrestricted basis.

Village Creek, Conn.

In 1949, a group of New Yorkers bought an attractive parcel of land in Norwalk, Conn., then sold lots with covenants *prohibiting* discrimination. Much of the land was isolated, bordering on Long Island Sound and marshland, but one close neighbor worked hard to stop them. Roger Willcox, builder, and one of the origin-

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NCDH Meeting in N.Y. Seeks Housing for All

"Rebuilding Our Cities for Everybody" is the theme of the Annual Meeting of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, at the Hotel Park Lane in New York City on October 12.

Panel sessions will discuss "Keys to Desegregation" in public housing policy; "Neighborhood Stabilization;" and "Toward a Free Market in Private Housing — The Role of Builder, Lender, Broker and Neighbor." Leaders from all segments of public and private housing will participate.

An evening dinner session will feature major addresses by Robert C. Weaver, Administrator, New York State Temporary Housing Rent Commission; Lloyd Garrison, prominent civil rights attorney and advisor to Adlai Stevenson; and George Doub, U. S. Assistant Attorney General, who has handled housing cases for the Eisenhower Administration.

Presentation of the First Annual Walter White Award for Outstanding Achievement in the Field of Intergroup Relations and Housing will be made at the evening session. The award will be made by a committee composed of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Oscar Hammerstein II, Judge J. Waties Waring, Ben Fisher of the United Steelworkers and Reginald Johnson of the National Urban League.

Minorities Get Little Aid From 1956 Housing Act

After a bitter fight, chiefly over public housing provisions, in the last minutes before its July adjournment Congress enacted a 1956 Housing Act which failed to meet the needs outlined by groups concerned with minority housing, but which in the words of the industry publication *House and Home*, "has something for nearly everyone." Chief provisions affecting housing for minorities:

Low-Rent Public Housing. Authorizes 35,000 units of public housing per year for the next two years, in addition to the balance of uncommitted units authorized under the Housing Act of 1955.

Before a locality is eligible for any public housing, its "workable program" for the prevention and elimination of slums must be approved by HHFA.

Urban Renewal. Relocation payments for those displaced by urban renewal operations will be reimbursed by the Federal Government up to $100 per individual or family and $2,000 for a business.

Authorizes federal funds for preliminary studies of the feasibility of urban renewal programs, and for longer-range programs.

FHA. Rental Housing (Section 207). Increases the FHA-insured mortgage from 80% to 90% of estimated value of the project and increases the mortgage ceilings to $8100 per unit for four-family structures and $8400 per unit for elevator buildings.

Single Family Homes (Section 203). Existing houses may now get the same FHA mortgage terms as new houses.

Cooperative Housing (Section 213). Reduces the proportion of veterans needed in a cooperative to qualify it for a 95% FHA-insured mortgage and expands the definition of veterans to include World War I as well as World War II and Korea.

Permits construction of a project while a cooperative group is being organized, and permits FHA to insure mortgages where the developer certifies that he intends to sell the project to a non-profit cooperative at actual project cost within two years after completion.

Provides an FHA staff to help non-profit cooperative groups.

Low-Cost Housing for Displaced Families (Section 221). Increases mortgage ceilings to $9,000 and $10,000 in high-cost areas. Increases the maximum repayment period to 40 years and increases the ratio of loan to value to 100% of appraised value.

Repairs and Improvements (Title I). Increases the maximum loan for improvement of single-family homes to $3,500 and increases the maximum repayment period to five years.

FNMA Secondary Market Operations. Gives FNMA new authority to make advance commitment to purchase FHA-and VA-insured mortgages.

Housing Research. Authorizes program of housing research to provide data on the nation's housing inventory, the need for low and middle income housing and the housing market demand.

Brokerage Firm to Aid Minorities in Suburbs

A real estate brokerage firm has been set up in Ardmore, Pa. to sell houses to minority group families in suburban Philadelphia. The Society of Friends and other religious groups took the initiative in organizing the company.

An executive secretary, real estate broker and insurance broker form the staff of Friends Suburban Housing Inc., a licensed real estate corporation. Initial expenses will be covered by issuing shares of stock; to date 143 persons have subscribed $4300. It is expected that the usual 5% brokerage fee will eventually make the operation self-supporting.

In the first two months a number of listings were obtained and one sale, in an established fine neighborhood, was made to a Negro family.

One Market FHA Goal Official Tells Brokers

"The essential encouragement which FHA is giving to the matter of minority group housing is and must continue to be in the direction of the one market concept," Deputy FHA Commissioner Charles E. Sigety told the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, meeting in August in Los Angeles.

Sigety noted the tremendous growth of the Negro market, and the need for more information on housing demand and present restrictive factors.

The FHA official mentioned 39 integrated private housing developments throughout the country which have received FHA insurance. "The fact that these integrated projects have been successful has led other sponsors to submit proposals to our offices," he said.

Cole Denies Bias

(continued from page 1)

ilar letter, written to him one year previously, had never received a reply.

Mr. Cole replied for the President in mid-September that "his present schedule makes it impossible to arrange the conference with your committee." Cole indicated his own sympathy with the aims of the Committee, but disagreement with measures it had recommended. He cited information previously made public by him, showing that Federal housing programs are aiding minority housing.

Answers One Year Later

The Committee's charges had originally been made to Mr. Cole in June 1955 in a letter written at the request of Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut. Bush forwarded the letter to Cole. In May of this year, almost one year later, Cole released to the press his reply to Senator Bush, denying the Committee's complaints. He cited programs previously reported in his testimony at Congressional hearings on the 1956 Housing bill (see *Trends*, August issue) to show that the Federal Government's objective is "the realization of a good home in a decent neighborhood for all Americans," and that "our efforts in this direction have been vigorous, continuing, and I believe, productive."

Chief actions cited by Cole were a 1954 conference on minority housing with industry and civic leaders, the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program's loans for 1800 units of minority housing, and the provision of public housing for large percentages of minority families needing low-rent housing. He reiterated that in policies of tenant selection and relocation housing "we should rely heavily on local responsibility and local wisdom to work out solutions, with appropriate assistance, stimulation and leadership from the Federal Government which is continually "seeking to find new and better ways . . . for the elimination of racial discrimination in housing."

In July, The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing wrote Senator Bush that Mr. Cole's answer did not deny the basic charge of Federal aid to segregation, "which is a clear abdication of federal responsibility and in violation of decisions by the Supreme Court." His reply, it was pointed out, merely reported attempts by his agency to foster production of "minority housing." His statement that Federal encouragement had led to production of much new housing for minorities was termed vague. Figures showing specific results were requested.

CORRESPONDENTS REPORT:

Champaign-Urbana

1455 citizens of these two adjoining towns in Illinois have signed an Open Letter, appearing as a full page advertisement in two local papers, affirming their belief in an unsegregated community, and their welcome for neighbors "on a personal basis without regard to race, creed, or country of origin."

The Open Letter, a brief statement of dedication to equality in personal practices, was prepared by a group of citizens who had first been aroused by anti-Negro incidents in the South. Meeting to discuss what they could do to help, they realized that serious employment and housing problems and definite segregation existed for Negroes in their own town. Because many realtors stated that "we wouldn't mind selling or renting to Negroes but neighbors wouldn't stand for it," the group felt that a public announcement would show the community that there were "neighbors" who would stand for it.

On Palm Sunday, every church in the two towns offered copies of the Open Letter to its congregation. Forms were taken home and mailed in individually to avoid group pressure. After publication of the Letter, favorable newspaper comment was received, and no unfavorable reaction was publicly expressed. A chief reaction was surprise from citizens who had been unaware that Negroes faced difficulties. Organizers of the campaign felt an important dividend was the educational effect from many discussions provoked by the Open Letter. A Council for Community Integration has been formed to put the principles of the Open Letter into practice.

Brooklyn

Twenty-nine womens' organizations, working with the Kings County Council of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, have issued a "Statement on Democratic Housing" affirming their belief that all persons should have equal opportunity to rent, buy or build anywhere in Brooklyn, and expressing their personal welcome to all good neighbors.

The group included Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish organizations, Sororities, parents' and health groups, and women's clubs. News stories quoting the statement were carried in all major New York City newspapers. As a follow up, an institute with the housing industry is planned.

Philadelphia

The city's Human Relations Commission has started a thorough study of the integration program of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, under the direction of Dr. Robert B. Johnson. It is expected to be completed by early Fall.

Houston

The NAACP has requested a hearing on desegregation of San Felipe Courts, Houston's largest public housing project. The all white project, built in 1938 in a predominantly Negro area near the city's center, displaced many Negro families, who were relocated in other Negro public housing projects. Today San Felipe has 650 white residents and 340 vacancies. Housing officials attribute the vacancies to the fact that the project is in a predominantly Negro area. They admit that there is a great need among Negroes for housing and that if Negroes were admitted there would be no vacancies.

Richmond, Calif.

New housing now being planned to replace temporary government war housing which had been operated on an integrated basis, will not be available to nonwhites. The number of new housing units will be less than those destroyed, and tenant removal and demolition of structures has been started far in advance of any new building. Civic groups had previously warned of inadequate protection for resident minority families in the Public Housing Administration's program for disposal of its war housing.

Portland

A survey recently completed by the Portland Urban League has produced evidence that entrance of nonwhite families into new neighborhoods has not affected property values and that although many people say they would not object to Negroes living nearby, most believe their neighbors would.

A market price study revealed a general upward trend in test and control areas, and showed that general characteristics of house and neighborhoods affected selling prices more than racial factors. An attitude study found that about 50% of those interviewed favored integration in housing, but that two-thirds of those living in close proximity to nonwhites answered favorably.

The survey has been widely circulated by the Urban League, and a housing program is now underway based on its findings.

Nonwhite Dispersion Opens D.C. Market

Increasing residential dispersion of nonwhite families in Washington, D. C. has opened up the housing market and made the urban renewal relocation program far more successful than that of more restricted cities, reports George Nesbitt in the August issue of *Land Economics*.

The writer, a racial relations specialist in the Urban Renewal Administration, discusses in detail the increasing pattern of residential dispersion in the nation's capital over the past 15 years. The scattering of nonwhite families has proceeded in an orderly fashion, he reports, and for the most part without expressions of violent opposition and "panic selling," nor has it occurred only or chiefly in deteriorating neighborhoods. This has happened despite a network of property groups organized to oppose nonwhite entry into neighborhoods, and—until recently—segregation in public housing and schools.

Favorable factors in Nesbitt's view were the large volume of new home construction for rental and sale in Washington, a significant portion of which was available to nonwhites, the suburban movement leaving housing available in various sections of the city, the unusually high average of nonwhite family incomes, and a deep-rooted tradition of home ownership among Washington Negroes of all income levels.

Relocation Aided

Nesbitt points out that the dispersion trend has given the city opportunity for more rational planning and management of its land use and housing supply. For example, 1,000 nonwhite families were relocated in all parts of the city from its first re-development area in what Housing Administrator Cole termed "the most successful undertaking of its kind yet carried out in any American city."

"Freed from the pressure of excessive pent up nonwhite housing need," Nesbitt notes, "a renewal program can attack racial minority congestion community wide, enjoy an expeditious relocation operation, expect a greater degree of citizen acceptance and look forward to surer, more lasting upgrading in renewed areas."

Nesbitt notes that the Washington experience should now accumulate evidence challenging assumptions that nonwhites "like to live that way," "are happier with their own," "won't move far out," "won't maintain property" and the like. First hand experience is now available, he believes, which will shift the focus of the industry from racial factors and fears to more objective realities.

Bankers Approve Negro Loans

A published report of the Committee on Financing Minority Housing of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America states that "the Negro market . . . will provide a growing source of desirable loan business," and declares that "where such loans have been well conceived, they have ordinarily been successful."

The Committee urges that lenders concentrate on the availability of more sites for Negro families, as the "key obstacle to a more rapid expansion of effective demand."

In a questionnaire circulated to over 1300 lenders, the Committee found little evidence of bias as motivation for not lending to Negroes. However, evidence of fear and uncertainty, based on lack of knowledge of characteristics of the Negro market, was noted.

A tendency of lenders to lump Negro borrowers as a group, rather than to treat them as separate individuals with the same consideration as white borrowers, was criticized by the Committee.

The report concluded that wherever loans had been made to minority families based on the same criteria used for the white market, they have "without exception been successful."

Catholic Digest Sees Gap In Principle and Practice

"Eight out of ten whites agree with the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are created equal'. Seven out of ten say they like, rather than dislike most Negroes. Yet only four out of ten would be willing to live next door to Negroes. Only five out of ten would be willing to live in the same neighborhood."

"Of northern whites who express a wish to do away with segregation, a good fourth say they would refuse to live next door to Negroes."

These statements, illustrating a wide gap between principle and practice, are quoted from a recent nationwide survey made by the *Catholic Digest*, reported in its August issue. Two-thousand interviews in all parts of the country revealed that "in theory most whites accept Negroes; in practice, few do." "The only explanation for the contradictory answers" concludes the Digest, "is that many whites are guilty of contradictory thinking."

Congress Studies Housing

A study of the relationship between income and housing is underway this fall by the Senate Banking Committee in response to proposals for a middle-income housing program. Other housing studies will examine FHA's management and sale of foreclosed property, and review the banking and credit picture.

CAA Bars Separate Facilities

Segregated airport facilities may no longer be constructed with federal funds, the Civil Aeronautics Authority announced in May. The C.A.A. had projected expenditures of some $63 million of federal funds for the year starting July 1.

Party Platforms Ignore Testimony on Housing Bias

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing asked platform committees of both political parties in August for a plank pledging executive action to bar segregation in all federally-assisted housing programs. Platforms adopted by Republican and Democratic parties bore no evidence of this testimony.

Presidential candidates of both parties have expressed themselves on the problem of housing discrimination. President Eisenhower in 1954 pledged strengthening of administrative policies" . . . to assure equal opportunity for all citizens to acquire . . . good and well located homes," and said that where Federal funds and authority were involved there should be no discrimination. Adlai Stevenson, on several occasions, has declared that housing segregation in the North is as serious a problem as school segregation in the South, and was reported by the New York *Times* to have placed equality in housing ahead of equality in public education on his list of civil rights priorities.

Renewal Institutes Set

The National Urban League has scheduled a series of 10 regional institutes on urban renewal, for exchange of ideas and facts among planners, housers and intergroup relations specialists.

Institutes have been held in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Warren, Ohio, each covering a number of cities in the area. Further institutes this year are scheduled for Detroit (late November) Oklahoma City (early December) and Washington, D. C. Institutes will be held in Kansas City, (January), Chicago (early Spring), and three other as yet undetermined regional centers.

Literature

A Manual of Intergroup Relations, by John P. Dean and Alex Rosen. 1955. Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago 37, Ill. $3.75. Practical principles and techniques for those working to reduce discrimination.

The Negro Potential by Prof. Eli Ginsberg. Columbia Univ. Press, 1956. Part of a study on "Conservation of Human Resources." Ginsberg finds that the Negro cannot take his proper place among whites in work if he has not mingled with them as child and young adult.

Non Discrimination Clauses in Regard to Public Housing, Private Housing and Urban Redevelopment. Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D.C. Texts of existing legislation, revised, September 1956.

Houses and People; A Study Guide on Housing. Department of Social Welfare, National Council of Churches. Detailed study units for local church groups, carrying out the policies against housing segregation adopted by national church groups. Published in September, 1956 issue of *Social Progress*, by Dep't of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church of U.S.A., 1009 Sloan St., Crawfordsville, Ind.

A Banker Relates Experiences in Financing Nonwhite Housing. Earl B. Schwulst, President, Bowery Savings Bank of N. Y. reports that substantial loans made to open-occupancy housing developments were a "good business proposition." Available from the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

"The Negro's New Economic Life," "*Fortune,*" September 1956. Describes the expanding Negro market, pointing out that it has no basic difference from the white market. Housing is seen as the only field where the Negro's situation may be worsening.

RADIO SCRIPT —"*Termites in the House.*" A hard-hitting half-hour script effectively dramatizes facts on housing discrimination. Available in script form (free) or recorded ($3.00) from American Jewish Committee, 386 4th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

FILM —"*Barrier.*" Half-hour film, shows problems faced by a Negro doctor who purchases a home in a new tract development in California. Available on loan (free) from NCDH.

Nonwhite Market Surveys Measure Housing Demand

Studies of the nonwhite market made by the Federal Housing Administration in a number of cities have revealed population increases, gains in income, and the specific price brackets in which minority families need and can pay for housing.

To date, FHA has made 59 specific studies and devoted a substantial part of 40 other studies to the nonwhite market. Ninety-three other studies contain some information in this area. Thirty-five studies were made in 1956, and studies are now under way in Seattle, Portland and Cleveland. Underlying data is available to local groups.

FHA's goal of minority market studies in all its 168 Standard Metropolitan Areas has been limited by lack of funds and personnel. Local groups may submit requests for such studies in their area, and may find it useful to work with FHA market analysts in setting up specific questions needing answers.

Urban League

The Urban League of Columbus Ohio has prepared its own survey of the nonwhite market, and is now circulating to the housing industry specific information on income, size of families, desires for rental and purchase at different price levels and other relevant information.

Wagner Names Group To Speed Integration

The Mayor of New York City has appointed a committee to help formulate public housing policy to advance integration, following conferences with representatives of civic groups concerned about residential segregation in the city.

On August 1, representatives of 18 major New York Civic agencies, under leadership of the New York State Committee Against Discrimination in Housing presented a "site-selection" statement to the Mayor. The statement urged a 2-year moratorium on selection of sites in areas of heavy minority concentration, location of new housing on vacant land, management policies designed to promote integration in public housing, and consideration of race-relations factors in all city planning, with the aim of fostering residential integration.

Following the meeting, the Mayor appointed a committee composed of the City Planning Commission Chairman, the Director of the city's Commission on Intergroup Relations, the Executive Director of the New York Housing Authority, and an Assistant to the Mayor.

The New York Journal-American editorialized: "Racial bias is deplorable anywhere. It is particularly deplorable if expenditure of public money tends to promote it."

Legal Action

Savannah Appeal Heard

Argument on an appeal from a District Court decision upholding segregation in Savannah public housing projects was heard before the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals on October 8th.

Attorneys for the NAACP seek an injunction to prevent allocation of federal funds for construction of segregated public housing. The case against the Savannah Housing Authority was dismissed by the District Court last October.

FHA Case Set for January

January 10, 1957, is the new trial date for a major case testing discrimination in selling FHA-insured housing in Sacramento, California. NAACP attorneys are challenging the right of the Sacramento Real Estate Board and individual builders to restrict sale and rental of housing receiving federal mortgage insurance. Trial was put over from an original July date. (The above cases were reported in detail in the August *Trends*)

LAW ENFORCEMENT

New York: Metcalf-Baker Law

Fifteen cases involving private housing discrimination have been filed with the New York State Commission Against Discrimination in the first two months of its new jurisdiction over FHA and VA-aided housing. The Commission also received reports of the first voluntary compliance in a private rental project.

Chairman Charles Abrams reported last month that nearly 300 Negro families had recently acquired residence in Title I developments where tenants were predominantly white, and that no friction had occurred. He also noted that there had been no reduction in new construction because of the new anti-discrimination laws.

"Experience . . . has shown," said Mr. Abrams, "that if compliance with the law begins with the initial renting of the developments, few difficulties are experienced thereafter." Builders' fears that renting to minority families would discourage others have not been realized, he stated. Moreover, he added, recent studies show that the demand among Negros for privately built houses was not large enough to justify fears of "inundation."

Mr. Abrams also reported "widespread pledges of cooperation" from realtors and builders to see that minority applicants were considered on the same basis as others.

Other steps taken in enforcement of the law:

- FHA and VA have agreed to send the Commission periodic lists of all federally-insured housing. These lists may be made available to interested groups and those seeking housing. Both agencies have agreed to revise a sticker used on builders' application forms to set forth provisions of the anti-discrimination law and SCAD's jurisdiction.

- FHA and VA have assigned representatives to work closely with SCAD and with lenders and builders, to promote compliance.

- SCAD has written builders, realtors, lenders, mayors of cities and Boards of Supervisors, outlining the law's provisions and the availability of SCAD's Housing Division for aid.

Ed Rutledge, SCAD housing director, noted that a drop in FHA commitments may be expected in the months ahead, because its interest rate is restricted to 4½% and banks can now get higher rates on conventional loans.

Los Angeles: Redevelopment

In 1951, after a hard battle, community groups won a city ordinance providing that all plans and contracts for redevelopment should specifically prohibit discrimination and segregation. This year, the first major redevelopment project in the Bunker Hill Area got under way. The Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations protested that initial plans contained no anti-discrimination provisions. The City Attorney recently ruled that the city ordinance was "advisory" only, and that another specific resolution must be passed by the City Council to apply its provisions to the Bunker Hill project. Another hard fight is anticipated. The NAACP has indicated that it will file suit if anti-discrimination provisions are not included.

Providence: Public Housing

Civic organizations united in the Rhode Island Committee on Discrimination in Housing have been conducting a battle with the local Housing Authority on its segregation policies for many years. In 1950, the City Council of Providence passed a resolution opposing racial discrimination or segregation in any publicly supported housing. In 1952 a formal documented complaint of segregation was submitted to the State Commission Against Discrimination. The Housing Authority continued to claim that its "separate but equal" policies did not violate the law.

In July, a *Providence Journal* reporter unearthed a never-publicized 1952 opinion of the State's Attorney General, declaring the Housing Authority's practice of segregating Negro families in separate projects or separate units of projects to be in violation of the State Anti-Discrimination law. Despite repeated complaints by civic groups, the opinion had never been made public by SCAD.

The *Journal* termed the Commission's silence on the ruling "a shameful suppression" and declared "The Commission's resignation is not too high a price to pay for restoration of public confidence in the administration of Rhode Island's anti-discrimination law."

The Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has submitted a complaint to the Public Housing Administration in Washington and has been advised that the situation will be investigated. The State Commission's reaction to the publicity on its suppression of the Attorney General's decision is also awaited, while some groups are considering court action.

Letters

"*Trends in Housing* is a splendid addition to the tools of our trade, and I congratulate and thank you for making it available to intergroup workers and other concerned persons who need such information very much. Our united effort should now be directed to making it most widely available."

MARSHALL BRAGDON, President
National Ass'n of
Intergroup Relations Officials

"I congratulate you on a very impressive publication. It has a lot of meat... is well written, and the layout is excellent. Your only headache now is to keep up the high standard you have set..."

IRA S. ROBBINS, Executive Vice President
N.Y. Citizens Housing & Planning Council

"Congratulations for taking this important step. Your first issue is chuck full of important information. We are processing an order for a dozen copies."

GEORGE SCHERMER, Exec. Director
Philadelphia Commission
on Human Relations

"Very informative...I would like to congratulate you on a first rate publication."

SHELTON B. GRANGER, Exec. Sec'y
Minneapolis Urban League

"The first issue of *Trends* was excellent, and I am convinced it will be of immense value to us."

PHILIP G. SADLER,
Special Ass't to the Commissioner,
Public Housing Administration

"The first issue was excellent, attractive in format, meaty in content, and interesting to read. Herewith a check for 10 subscriptions."

MORRIS P. GLUSHEIN
International Ladies Garment
Workers Union

"We at Concord Park wish to congratulate you on this very fine job. For the first time we have a source of facts for our frequent discussions with prospective purchasers when they refer to situations in other parts of the country."

STUART WALLACE
Sales Manager

"Congratulations on your first issue. It is forceful and informative. We are enclosing an order for a group subscription of 17 copies."

DR. FRANK S. HORNE, Executive Director
New York City Commission on
Intergroup Relations

Open Occupancy

(continued from page 3)

ators of the community, feels that this opposition contributed to long delays in approval of mortgage financing by FHA.

Lots sold from $500-$3000, and included beach rights and community property. Buyers put up and financed their own houses, which range from $8000-$50,000. Negro buyers had no trouble getting financing, Willcox reports. Today the community is about two-thirds white, one-third Negro. Original buyers were New York commuters, but recently some Norwalk residents, including a few local Negroes, have bought lots. 42 houses have been built to date on 72 available lots.

All sales have been by word-of-mouth. There has been no advertising. Willcox reports that after about 20 lots had been sold to whites, real effort was made to locate Negro buyers. After the first sale to a Negro, he recalls, "the grapevine in Harlem must have really gone to work. In the next 2 weeks, 16 lots were sold to Negroes." Some of our original people began to worry that the balance might be tipped, that this might become a majority Negro community." We talked it over with our first Negro buyer and she felt the same way. The grapevine then went to work in reverse. For 2 months not a single Negro prospect showed up. We never had a quota, but the approximate two-third, one-third ratio has remained, even with considerable resale of lots."

Lawrence Tract

In California, a small tract was bought by members of the Palo Alto Fair Play Council five years ago, to be developed as a demonstration in interracial living. Lots were sold to equal numbers of Negroes, Orientals and Caucasians. Today fourteen families have built houses conforming to high architectural standards and live in close neighborly relations. Provision has been made for the group to buy back a house if it cannot immediately be sold so as to maintain the racial balance. The neighboring area has undergone rapid development since the tract was started, and has become integrated to some extent, as builders have put up homes for a few minority families.

York Cooperative

In 1944, a small group of Church of the Brethren members started a housing cooperative in a Chicago suburb. Membership soon included families of Catholic, Jewish and other Protestant denominations. A Japanese-American family was admitted without question in 1945, but when a Negro lawyer, who had done legal work for the Co-op applied for membership in 1946, a heated issue arose.

The membership finally voted by a bare majority to maintain the open membership policy, which is a part of every Rochdale cooperative's by-laws.

Some families withdrew, but new white families entered the co-op along with later Oriental, Negro and interracial families. Today, its 72 families are predominantly Caucasian. About one-sixth are Negro.

At one period, a flood of Negro applications produced fears that the pressure for housing would lead through turnover to a heavily Negro community. The problem was discussed, and all members agreed that maintenance of an interracial community was a mutual goal. Membership now seems stable and the Co-op has a waiting list of racial composition similar to present membership.

The Co-op had no difficulty in original land purchase nor in later purchase of additional land. There has been considerable neighborhood opposition. When the first Negro family joined, petitions were circulated and a public protest meeting was held. Members of the Co-op presented their views and stood their ground. Recently, efforts to zone the Co-op out of the local school district were defeated with the aid of the Superintendant of Schools. Today, relations with the surrounding community have improved considerably, and neighboring land has been developed into subdivisions, with no effect noted on sales or prices.

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Founded in 1950, the National Committee coordinates the activities of 25 civic, labor, religious and minority organizations concerned with discrimination in housing. A subscription to *Trends in Housing* is $2 a year; for a group of 10 or more the rate is $1 each.

ALGERNON D. BLACK, *Acting Chairman*

FRANCES LEVENSON, *Director* • EVELYN MERSON, *Editor*

SOME "MUST" READING

on Housing and Renewal

This list is a brief selection of materials of three kinds: (a) Government informational materials, mostly of recent publication, basic to citizen action in housing and renewal, (b) Reflections of current government, industry and minority interest attitudes about equal housing opportunity, and (c) Publications useful in planning action programs.

1. "Housing and Home Finance Agency -- Organizations and Functions" *
2. "An Introduction to Urban Renewal" *
3. "How Localities Can Develop a Workable Program" *
4. "Open Occupancy in Public Housing" *
5. "Nondiscrimination Clauses in Regard to Public Housing, Private Housing and Urban Redevelopment Undertakings" *
6. Address by Charles E. Sigety, FHA before the National Urban League Conference, September 7, 1955 *
7. "Minority Housing"
   (A reprint from House and Home magazine, April 1955. Obtain from National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.)
8. "Statement of Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Thursday, June 9, 1955"
   (An extract from House Banking and Currency Committee Hearings on HR 5827. Obtain from NAACP.)
9. "Equality of Opportunity in Housing"
   (Obtain from National Community Relations Advisory Council, 9 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York.)
10. "Equal Opportunity in Housing"
    (Obtain from American Friends Service Committee)

11. "Guide on Changing Neighborhoods"
(Obtain from American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th Street, New York 28, New York.)

12. "Desegregation and Open Occupancy Trends in Housing" *
(Reprint of article by B. T. McGraw in Fall, 1954 Journal of Human Relations.)

*These items obtainable from Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C.

SELECTED REFERENCES
BEARING ON THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION
AND RELATED SUBJECTS

THE ANNALS. "Racial Desegregation and Integration." The American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1956. 211 p.
Articles from 16 contributing authors on segregation as it affects U. S. beginning with the history of racial segregation and presenting many of the significant aspects of the changes in certain sections of the country.

American Friends Service Committee. The Right of Every Child. Washington: Community Relations Program, 104 C Street, N. E. April 1955. 15 p.
A story of the Washington, D. C. program of school integration.

Answers for Action--Schools in the South. Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Regional Council. June 1954. 32 p.
Discusses the "next steps in the South," following the Supreme Court Decision, and raises significant questions and answers on some of these major issues in order that citizens may intelligently meet the problems that lie ahead.

Ashmore, Harry S. The Negro and the Schools. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954. 228 p.
The first of a series of studies on bi-racial education in the United States sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Twenty-four comparative tables dealing with schools and population present a picture of the situation as it is today.

Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools. Maryland: The Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, 719 St. Paul Street, July 1955. 32 p.
A study made by the Baltimore school Commissioners of experience encountered during the first year of school integration including a discussion of why, how, and when the schools were integrated.

American Unity, 14:3-5, September-October, 1955.
A summary of the report on desegregation in the Baltimore Schools.

Brameld, Theodore. Minority Problems in the Public Schools. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946. 264 p.
A study of administrative policies and practices in seven school systems, September 1944 to April 1945, to obtain a broad overview of administrative policies and practices in intercultural education.

Brown, Ina C. Socio-Economic Approach to Educational Problems, National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes, Misc. No. 6, Vol 1. U. S. Office of Education, 1942. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942. 166 p.
A survey dealing with socio-economic factors as a background for understanding the educational problems involved in the higher education of Negroes, throwing penetrating light on the basic aspect of needs, and pointing out ways in which each college can develop its own objectives.

Caliver, Ambrose. Education of Negro Leaders, Bulletin 1948, No. 3. U. S. Office of Education. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. 65 p.
A study of the various factors--racial, regional, national--which influence the education of Negroes in the pursuance of graduate and professional studies.

_____. Fifty Years of Progress in Public Education. (Reprinted from the Pittsburgh Courier. Washington: U. S. Office of Education, 1950. 14 p.
Summarizes the history of Negro leadership--individuals and organizations--in advancing education for Negroes beginning with the Reconstruction Period. Also includes the work of the Rosenwald Fund, Jeanes Fund, Slater Fund, etc. which provided school facilities.

_____. "Education of Negroes: Segregation Issue Before the Supreme Court," School Life, 36:74-76, February 1954.
An analysis of some of the historical facts leading up to the Supreme Court Decision on school desegregation.

_____ and Emory Foster. "Education of Negroes: Progress and Present Status in the Segregated Pattern," School Life, 36:
A review of the progress of Negro education from the pre-Civil-War days to the present, with observations of the relationship to the issue of segregation.

_____ and Theresa Wilkins. "Education of Negroes: Successful Transition From Segregated to Nonsegregated Situations." School Life, 36: 101, 111, April, 1954.
Factual information about current and past events which can be expected to continue in educational and other areas of life as related to the education of Negroes. (For text of the Supreme Court Decision, see School Life, May 1954, pp. 117-118.)

_____ and Joseph H. Douglass. "Education of Negroes: Some Factors Relating to the Quality of Education of Negroes:" School Life, 36: 134-135, 143, June, 1954.
Written prior to the Supreme Court decision, this article discusses the social, economic, and scholastic factors in Negro education which should be helpful to schools planning a program of desegregation and integration.

Cole, Stewart G. and Mildred Wiese. Minorities and the American Promise. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1955 p.
Provides examples of work done in fair employment, housing and civil rights, and discusses the potential contribution of intercultural education.

Dean, John P. and Alex Rosen. A Manual of Intergroup Relations. University of Chicago Press, 1955. 193 p.
An analysis of some tested observations of social scientists in direct application to social situations.

Dodson, Dan W. "The North, Too, Has Segregation Problems." American Unity, 14: 21-24, November-December, 1955 (Reprinted from Educational Leadership, Vol. 13, No. 2, November 1955)
Selected experiences in northern States with reference to dual education--zoning, school programs, separate grouping, etc.

Evans, James C. Integration in the Armed Forces. (Prepared by the Office of the Civilian Assistant) Washington: Department of Defense, January 1955. 14 p.
A discussion of the progress of integration in the Armed Forces, including dependent schools, from July 1, 1949-1954.

Franklin, John Hope. From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. p. 622.
An analysis of the essential factors in the history of the American Negro from his ancient African beginning down to the present.

Goldberg, Arthur J. and David E. Feller. Enforced Segregation Denies Equal Protection of the Laws. Washington: Congress of Industrial Organizations. 13 p.
Brief for the Congress of Industrial Organizations as Amicus Curiae, in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1952.

Grambs, Jean D. Education in a Transition Community. New York: National Council of Christians and Jews, 1954. 124 p.
Background interpretation of the nature of communities (including status of minority groups) and selected common problems which they face. Oriented largely toward teachers for the purpose of improving intergroup relations with suggestions to be employed in achieving integration.

_____. Group Processes in Intergroup Education. New York: National Council of Christians and Jews, 1952. 82 p.
An analysis of the theories underlying intergroup education, together with application of the methods which can be used as guiding principals in this field.

"A Historical Decision for Equality." Life, 36: 10-16, May 31, 1954.
Portrayal of five Negro children named in segregation suits upon which the Supreme Court ruled, and of a situation in Orangeburg, S. C. where Negro school facilities were equalized in 1946.

"Integrated Schools: the Slow Grind." Newsweek, 46: 35-36, September 19, 1955.
Report on the status of desegregation as school opened in the fall of 1955.

"Integrating Minority Groups into the Public Schools." Educational Leadership, Vol. 13, No. 2, November 1955. p. 70-117. Washington: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
A series of articles by educators describing areas where integration is working successfully, and emphasizing "how" and "when" the Negro should be integrated into the American public school system beginning with the nursery school.

"Integration: An American Doctrine." Collier's, 136: 86, July 22, 1955.
Comments on the "deliberate" speed of integration ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Journal of Negro Education. "Education for Racial Understanding." 13: 265-446. Summer Number 1944.
Explores the possibilities of education as an instrumentality for attaining better racial understanding in the United States.

_____. "The Courts and the Negro Separate School." 4: 289-464, July 1935.
Symposium based on a study of some of the most effective ways and means necessary in dealing with the dual problem of legally and illegally separated schools.

_____. "Next Steps in Racial Desegregation in Education," Yearbook Number 23, Summer 1954. 201-399 p.
A series of articles by educators on non-school desegregation--Armed Forces, sports, religion, industry, etc.; and desegregation in education--case studies pertaining to school integration in selected areas following the Supreme Court decision.

Journal of Public Law. "Segregation in the Public Schools--A Symposium," No. 1, Spring 1954. Ga.: Emory University Law School. 283 p.
Articles and book reviews discussing such subjects as equality in a democratic society, problems of desegregation, history of school segregation and legal analyses, and the impact of the Supreme Court Decision.

Kenworth, E. W. "A Beachhead for Integration." Interracial Review, 28: 27-30, February 1955. New York: Interracial Review, 20 Vessey Street.
A discussion of the survey on integration in the Navy, Air Force, and Army made by President Truman's Committee on Equality of Treatment, 1948.

Koclanes, Theodore A. "Prejudice Gets 'Direct Treatment.'" American Unity, 14: 8-11, November-December 1955.
Discussions of the experiences of 12th grade core pupils in touring Chicago's Black Belt in order to evaluate the evils of prejudice.

McCulloch, Margaret C. Integration, Promise-Process-Problems. Nashville, Tenn.: Race Relations Department, Fisk University, 1952. 77 p.
An analysis of what is meant by integration, together with historical and social consideration of its variant interpretations.

_____. Segregation: A Challenge to Democracy. Nashville, Tenn.: Race Relations Department, Fisk University, 1950. 39 p.
Question and answer discussion concerning the religious, economic, social, political and international costs of segregation with examples of its operation and suggested ways and means by which the Nation may be rid of it.

McKinney, Theophilus E., Jr. "United States Transportation Segregation, 1865-1954." The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes, Vol. 22. No. 3, July 1954. p. 101-150.
The history and development of racial segregation in the United States, and a careful analysis of federal Court and Interstate Commerce Commission cases on transportation segregation following the Civil War.

Marshall, Thurgood. "The Tension of Change." Time, 66: 23-27, September 19, 1955.
A study of the author's efforts in working for desegregation accompanied with a "Report Card" showing the progress of the various States towards school desegregation.

"Mission Accomplished." American Unity, 13: 11-15, January-February, 1955.
A story of the integration in public schools of Tucson, Arizona (based on a report prepared by Edward P. and Marianne Dozier of Northwestern University).

"A 'Morally Right' Decision." Life, 39: 29-31, July 25, 1955.
An illustrative account of the opening day of a school in Hoxie, Arkansas, where 800 children, including 21 Negroes, enrolled for new term, and the successful results of integration.

Morse, Arthur D. "When Negroes Entered a Texas School." Harper's, 209: 47-49, September 1954.
A record of the Del Mar College which in 1952 successfully integrated Negro and white students when the investigating committee of Regents found a local Negro Junior College inadequate.

National Education Association and American Teachers Association.
Legal Status of Segregated Schools, Part I. 31 p.
Progress of the Education of Negroes, 1870-1950, Part II. 46 p.
Montgomery, Ala.: American Teachers Association, January 1954.
A study of the status of the education of Negroes.

Nichols, Lee. Breakthrough on the Color Front. New York: Random House, Inc., 1954. 235 p.
Reveals the struggle for complete integration in the Armed Forces, and the dependent schools.

Noar, Gertrude. ed. Current Problems and Issues in Human Relations Education. (Proceedings of the National Conference on Human Relations Education, April 29-30, 1955) New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, 515 Madison Avenue, 70 p.
Addresses and panel discussions of leading educators dealing with such subjects as education and tolerance, desegregation, religion in education, teacher education for human relations, and materials needed for human relations education.

Phillips, Cabel. "What Happens When Segregation Ends." New York Times Magazine, p. 7-9, 41-43, May 30, 1954.
Experiences encountered in integrating the schools of Jeffersonville, Ind., where about 10 percent of the population is Negro.

Pierce, Truman M. and Others. White and Negro Schools in the South: An Analysis of Bi-Racial Education. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 338 p.
An analysis of the general racial and cultural background of the South which may be useful in dealing with the segregation issue and other problems in southern education.

Progressive Education. Vol. 33, No. 2. March 1956, p. 33-50.
A special issue devoted to the question of school segregation. Warren E. Gauerke, William H. Kilpatrick, Hal G. Lewis and Melvin C. Baker, George S. Mitchell, and Jean D. Grambs discuss respectively, the effects of Federal rulings on school segregation; modern educational theory vs. inherent inequality of segregation; teaching ethics in a segregated community; how to desegregate; and what lies ahead.

Records and Research Pamphlets, 4, 5, 6, 7:

"A Selected List of References Relating to Desegregation and Integration in Education" 21 p.
"A Selected List of References Relating to the Elementary, Secondary and Higher Education of Negroes." 18 p.
"A Selected List of References Relating to the Negro Teacher." 3 p.
"A Selected List of References Relating to Discrimination and Segregation in Education." 9 p.
Bibliographies compiled by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, July 1955.

Smith, Maude I. "A Class Studies Prejudice." American Unity, 11: 12-16, May-June 1953.
A description of a teacher's project in Denver, Colorado whereby Junior High School pupils learn to appreciate and better understand the people of our country by studying their various cultural patterns, etc.

Southern School News. Vols. I, II, 1954-56. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Education Reporting Service. P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station. Appr. 16 p.
A monthly report of chronological facts describing the continuing experience in 17 segregated-school States and the District of Columbia, following the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954.

Spurlock, Clark. Education and the Supreme Court. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955. 252 p.
Deals with cases since 1789 involving loyalty oath, teacher tenure, bus transportation, religious instruction, and school segregation.

Stocker, Joseph. "What Happens When Segregation Ends?" Look, 18: 25-29, May 4, 1954.
A story based on the experiences of a Negro girl who entered the white high school in Phoenix, Arizona.

Supreme Court of the United States: October Term, 1949--No. 44. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, June 5, 1950. 6 p.
Opinion delivered June 5, 1950 on Texas regarding segregation in the law schools.

_____. October Term, 1953--Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 10. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, May 1954. 11 p.
Opinion delivered May 17, 1954 on Kansas, South Carolina, Delaware, and Virginia cases, regarding segregation in the public schools.

_____. October Term, 1953--Nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, and 10. Supplemental Brief for the U. S. Reargument. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, November, 1953. 188 p.
Restoration of certain school-segregation cases to the docket for discussion.

_____. October Term, 1954--Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, May 1955. 5 p.
Opinion delivered May 2, 1955 on Kansas, South Carolina, Eastern district of Virginia, District of Columbia and Delaware regarding segregation in the public schools.

Sutherland, Arthur L. "Segregation and the Supreme Court." Atlantic, 194: 33-36, July 1954.
A review and analysis of the U. S. Supreme Court Decisions involving the rights and privileges of Negroes from 1847 to May 17, 1954.

Swanson, Ernest W. and John A. Griffin, eds. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955.
A statistical handbook containing 64 tables interpreting the South's educational problem since the Supreme Court Decision; basic materials upon which its solution must rest; and an evaluation of the South's economic capacity to meet the problem.

Wertham, Frederic. "Nine Men Speak to You: Jim Crow in the North." Nation, 178: 497-499, June 12, 1954.
An experiment in the La Fargue Clinic, New York, pertaining to Delaware, demonstrating the emotional conflict that can be imposed on Negro and white children as the result of being segregated.

The National Council of Negro Women

- *Purpose*
- *Programs*

The National Council of Negro Women

Mrs. William Thomas Mason, *President 1953-1957*
1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

1. WHAT WE ARE

Background and History: The National Council of Negro Women is a coordinating body of national organizations and local units. It was founded and organized in 1935 by Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, together with a group of outstanding women leaders.

Purpose: The group saw the need for united planning and concerted action for the economic, social, educational and cultural welfare of Negro women on national and international levels. It has brought together national organizations of Negro women to achieve the numerical strength and stature necessary for representation at home and abroad.

Organization: To further implement the broad program of the National Council of Negro Women, councils were organized in local communities. The membership of a local council is composed of representatives of local branches of national organizations affiliated with the National Council of Negro Women and other women who subscribe to its purposes. There are 21 national organizations and 90 local and junior councils. They are capable of reaching some 850,000 women.

Governing Body: The Board of Directors is the governing body of the council and is made up of the officers of the National Council of Negro Women, the presidents of national organizations, the presidents of local and junior councils, the chairmen of standing committees and national departments and the nine

members of the Executive Committee elected at large at the annual convention.

Headquarters: The headquarters building of the National Council of Negro Women is located at 1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W., in Washington, D. C.

Staff: The staff consists of an Executive Director, an Administrative Secretary and two secretaries.

Affiliation: The National Council of Negro Women is affiliated with the National Council of Women of the United States, Inc., and with the International Women of the World.

Status: The National Council of Negro Women enjoys a well earned reputation among other organizations as a result of cooperative efforts in programs of national interest and concern. Activities include participation in national conferences on domestic and foreign problems, cooperation with national welfare organizations such as the American Red Cross, CARE, American Heritage Foundation, the NAACP, the National Urban League, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, the American Cancer Society; with government agencies including the United States Department of State, the Department of Labor, the Women's Bureau of Labor, the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Federal Civil Defense Administration, the several White House Conferences and the President's Committee on Traffic Safety.

The National Council of Negro Women has an observer and an alternate observer at

the United Nations. Many and varied demands over and above those of the regular program are made upon the council.

Throughout the years of its organization, women have maintained unwavering interest in the Council and faith in its objectives.

II. WHO WE ARE

National Affiliates: National organizations affiliated with the NCNW project important and varied programs in the prevention and elimination of juvenile delinquency, in the improvement of business and professional standards, in human and civil rights, in adult education; in providing library services, camp opportunities, national and international scholarships, recreation for children and adults; Christian education and missionary work, improvements in rural life, in the development of new careers and the inspiration of finer womanhood. Hundreds of local groups, affiliates of the national organizations have made extraordinary contributions to better living on grass roots levels. The demonstrated strength as well as the accomplishments of these national organizations of Negro women is composite proof of the vitality and importance of women's organizations. Unified in the NCNW they are the bulwark of the organizational structure.

Local Councils are composed of members of the national affiliates and other women committed to the purpose of the National Council.

Junior Councils are composed of young women from 16 to 22 years of age. They function under the auspices of the local Councils.

NATIONAL PROGRAM DEPARTMENTS

WHAT WE DO

Program: The core of the program of the National Council of Negro Women is vested in its several program departments. This program is carried out on national and local levels.

1. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The National Council initiates and participates in Citizenship Education Conferences, The Crusade for Freedom, Radio Free Europe; expresses opinion on matters of vital interest, submits testimony to Congressional Committees, joins with other organizations in studying national issues and cooperates with the federal government and other agencies in furthering the aims of good citizenship. NCNW is a member of the National Women's Advisory Committee of the Federal Defense Administration.

Local Councils carry out programs to educate citizens on responsibility for voting by means of public meetings, lectures, candidates' forums, registration drives, pamphlets and films; discuss issues involving local and national problems and make opinions known to proper authorities; conduct campaigns to "get out the vote"; secure the facts and take constructive action on matters pertaining to human and civil rights.

II. EDUCATION

The National Council participates in national and international conferences on education; is a member of the Committee for "More

Teachers," utilizes the services of experts in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the National Education Association and others for national council programs.

Local Councils carry out programs to secure one American school system, cooperate with Parent-Teacher Associations; attend meetings of the Boards of Education; work for improvements of school facilities, and for increase in length of school terms, health and welfare services.

III. HUMAN RELATIONS

The National Council joins with and participates in activities with governmental agencies, civic and welfare organizations; conducts workshops and public meetings to promote better human relations. The NCNW has conferred citations on outstanding women and men for meritorious achievements in the field of human relations. The National Human Relations Department conducts institutes to disseminate information, to develop skills and stimulate the desire to improve human contacts.

Local Councils join with other organizations in the community to carry out programs to promote better human relations; conduct forums and institutes on problems of community relationships, digging out the facts and using them to build understanding and unity; join with local organizations in community projects; participate in civic and charitable drives.

IV. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The National Council maintains an observer and alternate observer at the United Nations;

is a member of the United States Committee for United Nations; has been cited by the State Department for outstanding work for U.N.; coordinates national programs pertaining to international affairs; is a member of the International Council of Women of the World; participates in international conferences on global problems, works actively with the several American Heritage Foundation projects including Radio Free Europe and with the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Dept. of Labor in Programs of Education and Training for foreign exchange students and visitors.

Local Councils observe United Nations, Pan American, Human Rights Days and others with public lectures, films, exhibits, forums, luncheons, etc.; promote understanding of different countries by educational programs; participate on city-wide committees to understand problems and people of other lands; attend national and international conferences; participate in the United States Women's Bureau and State Department Exchange Programs.

V. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

The National Council supports legislation to protect wage earners; works for increased educational training and employment opportunities; holds workshops on the current trends and changing problems of labor and industry and develops new opportunities for Negro women in employment.

Local Councils conduct public meetings to interpret wage and hour laws, social security laws; work for passage of legislation for improved economic conditions, for greater protection for women and children in industry,

and to secure new opportunities in employment for Negro people.

VI. LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

The National Council stimulates the search for and provides a temporary museum for historical treasures which are contributions to the cultural, political and social development of America by Negroes; emphasizes the need and obligation to preserve the historical record of the Negro people in American life. NCNW radio programs, pageants and special historical programs relate the story of racial contributions to America and world history. The Harriet Tubman quilt—an artistic and beautiful needle work portrait, depicting the famous ex-slave and abolishionist, is jointly owned by NCNW and the Harriet Tubman Foundation of the A.M.E.Z. Church. *Local Councils* provide books written by and about Negroes for schools and libraries; conduct research to discover concrete evidence of contributions of Negroes to the growth, culture and building of America, such as old manuscripts, clothing of other eras fashioned by Negro women; creative material such as poetry, prose, paintings, sculpture; legal documents as old deeds, bills of sale, Bibles containing family histories and other curator items; cooperate with the National Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

VII. PUBLIC RELATIONS

The National Council extends hospitality of Council House to organizations, committees and individuals; distributes available information concerning Negro women upon inquiry; publishes a monthly bulletin, sends out news

releases; participates in conferences, meetings and joint projects of other organizations; makes recordings of events of special significance for the archives library and for sale. *Local Councils* register with all public agencies in the community; conduct radio and TV programs telling the objectives and work of the National Council of Negro Women; keep local government agencies informed of the composition and work of local councils; distribute reports and other data on the National Council of Negro Women; join with other women's organizations in public projects; utilize the resources of civic, charitable and welfare agencies; keep informed and abreast of happenings on the local scene; provide information and pictures for the press about the activities and contributions of Negro women to American and international life.

VIII. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND FELLOWSHIP

NCNW joins with individuals and organizations of many faiths in common tasks; teaches the universality of human experiences as they relate to the development of maintenance of high ideals in association with religious organizations of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and other faiths.

IX. SOCIAL WELFARE

The National Council advocates and supports welfare legislation; participates in social welfare programs; is a member of social welfare bodies including Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. NC NW works for the elimination of slums, inadequate housing and supports health and hygiene programs.

Local Councils meet unmet needs of a social welfare nature such as shelter for neglected and kindergarten age children. Members serve on social welfare boards; help in surveys to ascertain the extent of social needs in the community; have workshops and seminars on problems pertaining to community problems such as housing, juvenile delinquency, etc.; sponsor youth canteens and secure needed volunteer personnel in welfare organizations, and support social welfare legislation.

X. YOUTH CONSERVATION

Local Councils organize and maintain Junior Councils, developing youth to meet the duties of responsible citizens of tomorrow. The program for the Junior Councils follows programs of local councils, adapted to meet the needs and interests of young people. The program and activities are directed by an elected national officer, the Director of Junior Councils.

XI. LIFE MEMBERS GUILD

The Life Members Guild consists of paid up Life Members who desire to make a continuing contribution to the support and maintenance of NCNW. Guild members seek new life members and raise money for special projects to undergird the work of the organization.

NATIONAL AFFILIATES

ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
CHI ETA PHI SORORITY
C.M.E. CHURCH WOMEN'S CONNECTIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
DAUGHTERS OF IBPO OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
IMPERIAL COURT, ANCIENT ARABIC ORDER, DAUGHTERS OF SPHINX
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY
LAMBDA KAPPA MU SORORITY
NATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT CLUBS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BEAUTY SCHOOL OWNERS AND TEACHERS
NATIONAL GRAND CHAPTER, ORDER OF EASTERN STAR
NATIONAL JEANES ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL SORORITY OF PHI DELTA KAPPA
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FASHION AND ACCESSORY DESIGNERS
SIGMA GAMMA RHO SORORITY
WOMEN'S ARMY FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE
WOMEN'S AUXILIARY TO THE NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
WOMEN'S AUXILIARY TO THE NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
WOMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE A.M.E. CHURCH
WOMEN'S HOME AND FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE A.M.E. ZION CHURCH
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

LOCAL COUNCILS

Councils are located in the States of: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Address inquiries to:
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

Announces the re-election of

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON
of Norfolk, Virginia as

NATIONAL PRESIDENT

November 12, 1955

1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W. Washington 5, D. C.

Mr George S. Mitchell

INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN

Source Book Outline and Discussion Questions

Theme:

"Women Working Together Can Surmount

Barriers To Human and Civil Rights"

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
President

1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D.C.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Naomah W. Maise, Executive Director
COlumbia 5-4434

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason of Norfolk, Virginia, was elected president of NCNW on Saturday, November 14th and was installed with a new slate of officers at the colorful dinner meeting; which closed the recent 3 day Biennial Convention Meeting held in Washington, D. C. The meeting was attended by some 500 women from affiliate groups and local councils from all over the country. The Founder, President Emeritus, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune attended the convention and participated fully in the proceedings. Other National Officers include: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th VICE PRESIDENTS, respectively, Dr. Arenia Mallory, Lexington, Mississippi; Dr. Nancy Woolridge, Hampton, Virginia; Attorney Marjorie Lawson, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Rosa Gragg, Detroit, Michigan; RECORDING SECRETARY, Mrs. Marion Bluitt, Washington, D. C.; ASSISTANT RECORDING SECRETARY, Mrs. Dorothy Lymas, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; TREASURER, Mrs. Jane M. Spaulding, Washington, D. C.; PARLIAMENTARIAN, Mrs. Henrine W. Banks, Indianapolis, Indiana; HISTORIAN, Mrs. Ruth Caston Mueller, Washington, D. C.; CHAPLAIN, Dr. Alma Illery, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; NATIONAL ORGANIZER FOR JUNIOR COUNCILS, Mrs. Helen Meade, New York City; DIRECTOR OF FINE ARTS, Mrs. Ethel Ramos Harris, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT LARGE, Mrs. Josephine Brown, Lansing, Michigan; Mrs. Lula L. Campbell, Denver, Colorado; Mrs. Jeanne D. Dago, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Vivian Alleyne,

Baltimore, Maryland; Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Staten Island, New York; Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Fannye Ayer Ponder, St. Petersburg, Florida; Mrs. Belzora S. Ward, Birmingham, Alabama; Mrs. Thelma Young, Wilmington, Delaware. REGIONAL DIRECTORS, Region I, Mrs. Daisy S. George, New York City; Region II, Mrs. Aliene Ewell, Washington, D. C.; Region III, Mrs. Iola Jones, Florence, South Carolina; Region IV, Mrs. Gwendolyn Floyd, Little Rock, Arkansas; Region V, Miss Bessie B. Garvin, East Saint Louis, Illinois; Region VI, Mrs. Helen Garland, Long Beach, California.

Dr. Lester Granger, Executive Director of the National Urban League, addressed the dinner meeting and challenged the group to analyze its program, scrutinizing every detail of program emphasis, in the light of the rapidly changing times in which we live and work. He stressed his belief in the strength of the organization and in its potential facetiously referring to the cliche "I would be the last person to underestimate the power of a woman's organization". Seriously, Dr. Granger warned that cliches tend to date individuals and organizations and we are past the point of referring to such phrases as "The New Negro", "A set of circumstances" and subsequently the newer term "militant" used to describe a certain action process. He said that just as medical treatment is successful or unsuccessful a program is effectual or ineffectual and even though there are gradations in the quality of the product we need no stock phrase to express what we mean.

Delegates to the convention especially enjoyed and profited by full participation in a well planned workshop program which occupied a prominent place on the full convention program. The theme of the work-

shop was "THE COUNCIL WOMAN WORKING IN THE COMMUNITY FOR A BETTER WORLD." The Coordinator for the workshops was Miss Dorothy I. Height of New York City, who is an expert in this area of work. Dr. Nancy B. Woolridge, of Hampton, Virginia gave a brilliant total summary at the close of the day. Individual reporters from the discussion groups were -- Mrs. Mattie Grant of Los Angeles, Mrs. R. Stillmon Smith, President of the Women's Auxiliary to the National Medical Association, Mrs. Gussella Anderson, Florence, South Carolina, Mrs. Katherine Wetmore, New Jersey, Mrs. Jean Scott, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Eloise Richardson, Annapolis, Maryland, Dr. Sadie M. Yancey, Washington, D. C., Mrs. Charlotte Moton Hubbard, Washington, D. C.

In her summary Dr. Woolridge. electrified the group with her brilliant analysis of the four main areas of thought in the workshop reports: (1) Cooperation in general effort and in relationship with other agencies; (2) A fine quality of self analysis and self appraisal. Dr. Woolridge said it seemed clear that we had; (a) examined our prejudices, faced them squarely; (b) examined our program critically and seriously; (c) examined our abilities and our hearts in relation to the job at hand. (3) The development of good human relations was a third theme which ran all through the several reports. The groups were concerned with getting along with peoples of other temperaments, other races, etc. She said mutual concern for the many psychological elements involved in the area of integration also came through the thread of the more general interest in human relations, i.e., the natural human reactions to threats of one's vested interests, one's economic and personal security and of general fears in this total connection. (4) Methods of technique in program building.

The convention group with Miss Patsy Graves as chairman of the Resolutions Committee ratified resolutions on Civil Rights, the United Nations, the Bricker Amendment, South Africa, the McCarran Act, Genocide, Juvenile Deliquency, Housing, Foster Home and Adoptive Care for Negro Children, Cooperation with Other Groups and on a reaffirmation of the Council's faith in our American form of government.

Spelled out in brief the Council will vigorously support efforts to eliminate every form of local segregation and will institute active educational programs and workshops aimed at the successful achievement of full integration in all areas.

The Council reaffirmed its faith in the United Nations; in its aims and objectives and pledged a more vigorous program of participation by its entire membership in activities which disseminate information about U.N. throughout the nation.

The Bricker Amendment was opposed by the Council.

In the resolution on South Africa the convention group went on record as strongly urging the United States to exercise its strongest efforts in the U.N. and through direct negotiations to convince the Union of South Africa that it should abandon apartheid and adopt policies consistent with principals of the U.N. and with the democratic aims asserted by the free world.

The McCarran Act was vigorously opposed by the group.

In its Housing resolution the Council restated its strong conviction in that adequate housing for all segments of the American population is a continuing need and pressing necessity.

The resolution on Our National Life read as follows:

"WHEREAS:"

"A prevailing atmosphere of anxiety, often erupting into hysteria, seems to grip our nation, creating dissension and spreading discord;"

BE IT RESOLVED:

"That the National Council of Negro Women reaffirms its faith in the United States of America; in its form of government; its Constitution; and in the principles of freedom and justice upon which this nation was founded."

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

"That we believe our greatest contribution to the nation at such a time is found in the words of our pledge that we will make a lasting contribution to all that is finest and best in America, so that her heritage of freedom and progress will be indefinitely enriched by the integration of all her people into the spiritual, economic, social, cultural, civic and political life of their country.

"To that aim, we rededicate ourselves believing that we find our greatest strength in the support of and communion with those who live their belief in the brotherhood of man, and the Fatherhood of God."

Other members of the resolutions Committee included Mrs. Edna McClellan, Attorney Margaret Hawthorne and Mrs. Corienne Morrow.

The Council formally adopted for its program emphasis for the ensuing year the Social Welfare Department of its program. This department is designed to stimulate and coordinate activities in the broad fields of education, housing, health, recreation, family living, rural welfare, child welfare and rehabilitation.

The Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Under Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, addressed a large gathering of delegates and special guests on Thursday evening, November 12th at the traditional International Night Program, held in the Departmental Auditorium of the United States Department of Labor.

Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, retiring president, presided. Mr. Rockefeller said, "The emergence of the United States as a world power is one of the central facts of our time.... We are gradually becoming accustomed to the role of international leadership which is ours because of the productive strength which we attempt to carry to the best of our ability because of our sense of responsibility to ourselves and to others. Not so much has been said, however, of the hundred and one ways in which the free peoples of the world are working to nourish their spiritual strength....their everyday acceptance of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man."

Mr. Rockefeller further stated that, "These deeply held aspirations can be given vibrant meaning. In our own country especially --we have tried to translate our high ideals into practical realities."

Mr. Rockefeller was introduced by Mrs. Jane Morrow Spaulding, Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. In her introduction Mrs. Spaulding pointed out the long hist ry of the Rockefeller family's interest in the progress of Negro population in our country. To this end a fund of some $59,000,000 has been granted to further education among the group.

Mr. Rockefeller spoke informally, at the beginning of his address, of his pleasure in working closely with Mrs. Spaulding, a National Officer of NCNW, in connection with the Department of Health,

Education and Welfare. He said he always considered it an honor to be on any platform with Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder, President Emeritus of the NCNW.

On Friday, November 13, the convention was addressed by the Honorable James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor. Mr. Mitchell was introduced by Mrs. Roberta Church, Minority Groups Consultant to the Labor Department, Bureau of Employment Security.

Mr. Mitchell said at the opening of his address, "I am happy to meet with the National Council of Negro Women because I am able to report important progress in the field of equal opportunity for all citizens, a field in which you are most interested". Mr. Mitchell further stated that to date Negro citizens have been appointed under the Eisenhower Administration, to 22 important Federal posts; that he felt proud to say that the Labor Department is in the van of the crusade of the Administration for equal rights for all American citizens."

Secretary Mitchell spoke at some length about the President's new Government Contract Committee, and said his belief in this assignment is such that he feels singularly honored to represent the Department of Labor on the committee which is headed by Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

On Saturday morning of the convention the group was welcomed by the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, Secretary, United States Department of Commerce. Mr. Weeks delighted the group with his ready storehouse of real life New England stories and then spoke seriously of his concern that we increasingly follow the high set of standards on which our country was founded in our inter-relations with all the people of our country. Mr. Weeks said that agencies still following the

practice of hiring Negro citizens as consultants on minority group problems are lagging far behind the trend which places people where they are best fitted to serve, without regard to racial heritage. Mr. Weeks pointed out the fact that the Commerce Department has abolished the position of Adviser of Negro Affairs and that Mr. E. Frederick Morrow, who introduced Secretary Weeks, to the group, is serving the Department as Adviser on Business Affairs.

Delegates from many sections of our country attended the three day convention. Prominent among those traveling from a distance were: Mrs. Mattie Grant, president of the Los Angeles Council, and Mrs. Azelea Jones of the Los Angeles Council; Mrs. Ruth March, president of the San Francisco Council; Mrs. Lucille Manley of the San Francisco Council, Mrs. Mary Gregory, formerly of Washington, D. C., and now of Berkeley, California. Attending from Texas were Mrs. Carter Wesley of Houston and Mrs. Pauline Watkins Campbell of Huntsville Council. Convention delegates welcomed the participation of Mrs. Leonora Mc Shine, Trindad, B.W.I., and the Honorable Miss Grace Augustin of St. Lucia, B.W.I.

Nat. Conf. A. L & L

August 21, 1950

Miss Veniette Caswell
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Caswell:

Thank you for the good literature sent August 17.

I am not rich enough to help you financially, but I will do all I can to help you get your materials and your movement understood in the South.

Many of your people are my close friends, particularly Marjorie Egloff, to whom please give my warm regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

DR. IRA DE A. REID
Chairman

REV. THOMAS B. KEEHN
Vice-Chairman

MISS ELIZABETH HERRING
Vice-Chairman

MR. PHILIP SCHIFF
Secretary-Treasurer

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Washington, D. C.

REV. WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S.J.
New York, New York

MISS EDITH LOWRY
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PAUL SIFTON
Washington, D. C.

MAURICE L. STONE
New York, New York

MRS. GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND
New York, New York

Executive Secretary

MISS VENIETTE CASWELL

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Telephone:
ADams 0945

RECEIVED
AUG 21 1950
Southern Regional Council

August 17, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director of the Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You probably have been receiving from NCALL for the past two months a bulletin or a newsletter or both. Through these publications the Council is trying to stimulate an active interest in the case of the migrant and his fellow-dispossessed - the sharecropper, the tenant and the subsistence family farmer. Together these groups represent over one-third of the low-income families in the United States.

The big question is what can be done for these people. No longer can we allow hundreds of thousands of farm workers to shift for themselves unprotected by minimum wage laws, unemployment compensation or social security. Nor can we allow a group of citizens neglected and discriminated by the communities in which they live to be used and then thrown aside.

Those who follow the crops have no roots in this rich country of ours. They are everywhere - in New York State, in California, in the south, in the southwest. They live like animals in rat-infested box cars, drink from filthy ditches by the side of the road. They are the homeless of America.

The situation has become so acute in many parts of the United States that the President has appointed a Commission to make a study of conditions among migrants and of the problems created by the migration of workers into this country.

The Council is doing something to help. It is working with church and welfare organizations, government agencies, labor unions and concerned citizens to alert local and national officials to the need for constructive legislation and a program for the farm worker. The Council serves as a focal point for discussion, exchange of information and planning effective coordination of programs and policies affecting farm labor.

The Council is putting on a membership drive. Your support is urgently needed in building a strong permanent organization. Become a supporting member now.

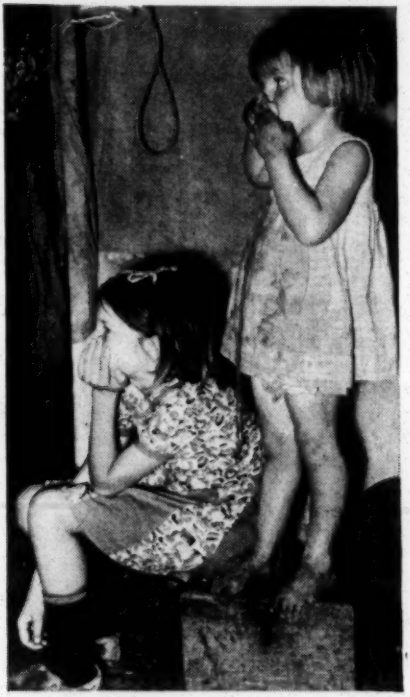
Very sincerely yours,

Veniette Caswell

Veniette Caswell
Executive Secretary

72 Enc.

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor



What it is

and

What it does to help

America's Forgotten People

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

is a non-profit organization representing individuals and organizations seeking remedies for the desparate situation in which a majority of our farm workers—sharecroppers, tenants, migrants and marginal farmers—find themselves. It is concerned with those low-income farm groups which receive none of the rights and privileges accorded other American workers.

The Council is an outgrowth of the National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor set up in 1947 by a group of individuals and organizations interested in the problems of migrant workers in the United States. It is broader in scope than the Citizens Council and recognizes that the welfare of farm workers is closely related to the welfare of agriculture and our economy generally. It is interested in the development of a long-range farm program beneficial to all farm groups.

IT WORKS WITH

religious, welfare, educational, social service, consumer and labor organizations, government agencies and individual citizens. It is an informational and promotional agency encouraging legislative action by cooperating organizations and individuals. It is designed to facilitate cooperation in the field of agricultural labor problems by means of publications, information, meetings and conferences.

ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING WITH NCALL

may work with other groups represented in NCALL and through NCALL. The Council does not take action in its own name. Those organizations cooperating with the Council are not bound by the Council in any way except in unity of purpose and goals.

THE AIM OF THE COUNCIL

"shall be that all people living and working in rural areas of our country shall participate equitably in the advantages of the American standard of living."

SPECIFIC ITEMS IN THE PROGRAM OF THE COUNCIL ARE:

Recruitment and Placement of agricultural workers

Farm laborers need work—farmers need workers. It is essential that the employer, the agricultural worker and federal and state agencies work to use this shifting labor force to the fullest.

The United States Employment Service is responsible for the recruitment and placement of farm labor. The Council believes that this service should remain in the USES and will resist efforts to return it to the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture. Division of recruitment and placement of agricultural and industrial workers is expensive and unsound.

Greater effort should be made to transfer workers from agriculture to industry and back again as seasonal demands develop.

Labor Contractors and Transportation

Licensing and regulation of private employment agencies including labor contractors by state and federal laws. In addition, the Council is in favor of giving the Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction over private transportation of workers from state, to state, as well as regulation of interstate transportation of workers under State laws.

Extension of Minimum Wage Law to agricultural workers

Agricultural labor for the most part is unorganized. It is not now adequately protected by either federal or state wage laws. The Council favors the extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to agricultural workers. In addition, it believes state

laws should be adopted to provide for prompt and regular payment of wages in cash and for collection of unpaid wages.

Extension of workmen's compensation to agricultural workers

Agricultural workers are not, with one or two exceptions, eligible for workmen's compensation. The accident and death rates in agriculture are higher than in major industries. State workmen's compensation laws should be extended to farm workers and minimum premiums should be reduced so that they may have the protection of insurance covering small numbers of workers for short periods of employment.

Educational facilities extended and improved

At present, children of agricultural workers are denied the educational advantages which children of more settled parents enjoy. School attendance laws must be enforced and migratory children as well as resident farm youth should be admitted to local schools. In addition, the rural school system should be strengthened by federal aid to education.

Adequate housing

The insanitary and dangerous housing often furnished agricultural workers and their families constitutes one of the major problems of these workers. The rural nonfarm public housing program must be activated. The Housing Act of 1949 designates ten percent of all funds for low-rent public housing in rural areas.

As provided under the Housing Act of 1950 farm labor camps should be turned over to local housing authorities as soon as possible. The federal farm labor camp program should be extended and state laws requiring the licensing and regulation of private labor camps enacted.

Adequate health facilities

Preventive public health services should be extended to all rural counties. Agricultural workers including migrants should be allowed to benefit from increased federal grants-in-aid for all medical care.

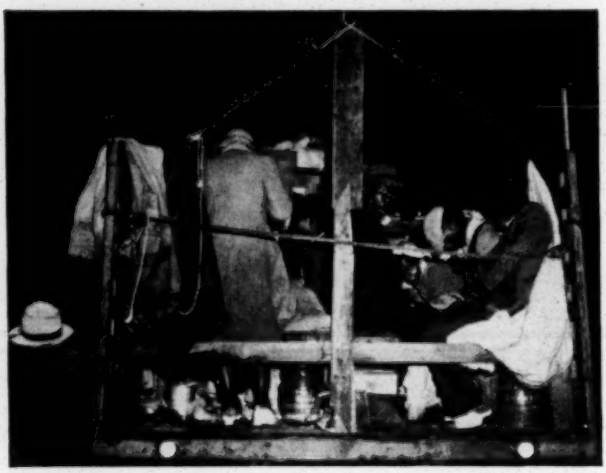
Foreign Labor

The Council opposes the further importation of foreign agricultural labor at this time. It believes that there is sufficient native American labor available if wages, hours, working and living conditions are improved to attract the workers to the farms.

If foreign farm labor is needed, that need should be openly demonstrated through public hearings before the proper Congressional committees where all interested persons and organizations may be heard.

The Council believes that the primary reason for the importation of these workers is to secure cheap labor and undercut the domestic worker in his demand for a decent living wage.

The situation is aggravated by the illegal entry of thousands of Mexicans each year. The Council is interested in a strict enforcement of the immigration laws to prevent the continued residence in the United States of these illegal entrants and to prevent such illegal entries in the future.



A sizable segment of our population, through community and State neglect, has been robbed of so many normal American and human rights that it is almost unbelievable. Child labor, substandard living and a padlock against education have destroyed the rights of children and drastically disturbed the integrity of family life among migrant workers.

Estimates ranging from one to five million individuals comprise America's forgotten people of 1948, agricultural and industrial migrants. This equals the populations of from 4 to 12 of our 48 States.

Unorganized, unprotected by workmen's compensation laws in most States, ineligible for educational, health, or welfare benefits while following the elusive dollar during seasonal employment shifts, migrants frequently find maintenance of even a minimum standard of living an impossibility.

—From the Report and Recommendations of the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor.

SERVICES

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor serves its members, group and individual, through:

NEWSLETTER during sessions of congress

MONTHLY BULLETIN dealing with basic problems connected with farm programs, housing, health, education etc., for farm workers

MEMORANDA on current legislative activities and recommendations for action

COOPERATIVE MEETINGS WITH INDIVIDUALS AND INTERESTED ORGANIZATIONS at the national level

INFORMATIONAL SERVICE TO MEMBERS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURAL WELFARE

★

OFFICERS

Chairman—Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.

Vice-Chairman—Rev. Thomas B. Keehn, Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches

Vice-Chairman—Elizabeth Herring, National Board, YWCA

Secretary-Treasurer—Philip Schiff, National Jewish Welfare Board

MEMBERS OF STEERING COMMITTEE

Richard K. Bennett—American Friends Service Committee

Mrs. Beth Biderman—National Sharecroppers Fund

Mrs. Marjorie Egloff—American Federation of Labor

Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J.—National Catholic Rural Life Conference

Edith Lowry—Home Missions Council of North America

Clarence Mitchell—National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Paul Sifton—United Automobile Workers—CIO

Maurice L. Stone—Jewish Agricultural Society

Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand—National Child Labor Committee

Ag A
NCALL

green

April 15, '51

Mrs. Veniette C. Weil
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
1731 N. Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Weil,

Mr. Maurice Stone, as Chairman of the Nominating Committee, asked me in his letter of April 13 to accept nomination as a member of the Board of the NCALL. I am happy to do so.

The Southern Regional Council will be represented at the April 26-27 meeting by Mr. Albert Cotton, of Richmond, Va. He is currently preparing a pamphlet which the SRC hopes to get out soon, on appropriate revisions in the laws of the Southern States on farm land tenure. He used to work in the Office of the Solicitor of the USDA. Here are the blanks and the checks for his attentance.

I wish I could go, but we have a meeting of the Southern Sociological Society at the same time, here in Atlanta, and I am long promised to be present.

Every best wish,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Telephone:
ADams 0945

RECEIVED
MAY 25 1951
Southern Regional Council

DR. IRA DE A. REID
Chairman

REV. THOMAS B. KEEHN
Vice-Chairman

MISS ELIZABETH HERRING
Vice-Chairman

MR. PHILIP SCHIFF
Secretary-Treasurer

Steering Committee

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Philadelphia, Pa.

MRS. BETH BIDERMAN
New York, New York

MRS. MARJORIE EGLOFF
Washington, D. C.

REV. WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S.J.
New York, New York

MISS EDITH LOWRY
New York, New York

CLARENCE MITCHELL
Washington, D. C.

PAUL SIFTON
Washington, D. C.

MAURICE L. STONE
New York, New York

MRS. GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND
New York, New York

Executive Secretary
VENIETTE C. WEIL

May 20, 1951

TO: Board of Directors
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor

The first meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor will be held on Wednesday, June 6, 1951 at the YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. including luncheon.

Enclosed is a statement on legislative policy for NCALL prepared by Mrs. Zimand, and circulated for your comments. If it is not possible for you to attend this Board meeting, would you please send me your suggestions for improvement or your approval of the statement as it is. It is hoped that the Board will be able to adopt a legislative policy at this meeting.

In addition, according to the Constitution, the Board of Directors shall appoint a Citizens Advisory Committee from the General Membership of not more than 50 persons. This does not mean that you can suggest only those who are members, but technically those who are suggested, in order to qualify, shall have to become members either before or after the meeting. The minimum membership fee is $5.00.

I would appreciate your sending your list of suggested Advisory Committee members as soon as possible in order that a panel can be drawn up in time for the June 6, 1951 meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

Veniette C. Weil

Veniette C. Weil

Encls.
VCW/jc

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MINUTES OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

A meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL was heldin Washington, D.C. on April 27, 1951. These present were: Miss Herring, Father Gibbons, Lee Johnson, Rev. Thomas Keehn, Mrs. Beth Biderman, Miss Lowry, Dick Bennett, Miss Virginia Neel, Mrs. Gertrude Zimand, Mrs. Katherine Ellickson, Rev. Shirley Greene, Rev. E. W. Mueller, Mrs. Warburton, Miss Magee and Mrs. Weil, Executive Secretary.

NEW OFFICERS

New officers were elected for NCALL. Miss Elizabeth Herring and Reverend Shirley Greene were elected Vice Chairmen. Mrs. Gertrude Zimand was chosen Secretary and Dr. Howard, Treasurer with Miss Virginia Neel as his alternate. Father Gibbons, Miss Magee, Miss Lowry and Mrs. Ellickson were chosen as the four additional members of the Executive Committee.

MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANIZATIONS APPROVED

The Board approved the list of organizations having applied and paid for membership in the Council as reported by Mrs. Weil, at the Business session of the Conference.

BOARD MEETING

It was decided that the next meeting of the Board would be held June 6, 1951 in New York City.

RESEARCH PROJECT

Reverend Greene was authorized to explore the possibilities of sources of funds for research project on "The Effects of Migrancy on Child Development and Family among Migrants." He was asked to submit the proposal again at the June meeting of the Board of Directors.

RELEASE

It was proposed that a one page release on the Conference be prepared and sent to these organizational representatives, government observers and individuals who attended the Conference.

Veniette C. Weil
Executive Secretary
NCALL

SUGGESTIONS RE LEGISLATIVE POLICY OF NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR IN RELATION TO ITS MEMBER AGENCIES

Membership in the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is open to agencies and individuals "interested in the social, economic or cultural problems of agricultural life". It now has 17 or 18 national agency members representing varied fields - labor, education, church, social welfare and women's organizations - and is seeking additional agency memberships. These agencies differ widely in the aspects of the agricultural problem on which they are active, and in their individual programs for and their approaches to the problem.

These agencies (and individuals) are the N.C.A.L.L. They all have equal standing in the organization. To maintain their confidence, to secure the interest and support of their local affiliates, and to secure new agency memberships, it is essential that their diversities be recognized and respected; that they be not "pressured" to take action in which they do not care to participate; and that a procedure be worked out by which the Council can be an active functioning organization without implying the commitment of its cooperating groups to specific policies or legislation which their representatives may feel are outside their agency's field of activity, the area of their competence or their organizational authority.

The legislative policy of the NCALL is stated both positively and negatively in the Constitution:

(1) "It shall facilitate action by cooperating agencies and members; providing information on and promoting discussion of the issues involved". (In the discussion at the organizational meeting, it was agreed that the work "facilitate" should be broadly construed and the importance of preliminary work on strategy, drafting, etc., was recognized.)

(2) "It will limit its action on pending national, state or local legislation to providing information on such legislation to its membership."

In this setting, the following is suggested as a clarification of legislative policy:

(1) The Executive Secretary of the Council is authorized to confer with agencies and individuals and to participate in groups discussing strategy, bill drafting, etc., on any subject in line with the NCALL's statement of Program and Objectives. It should be made clear, both to the groups with which the Executive Secretary works in that capacity and to the member agencies of the NCALL, that she does not "represent" the Council in these discussions nor does her participation imply the support of its member agencies for the legislation concerned. Her participation is for the purpose of helping to shape and inform member agencies about legislation which some of them wish to support, and thereby facilitate their action.

(2) The Council shall not assume that member agencies will, or urge them to, take action on any specific legislation, but shall inform all members about the legislation, stressing the importance of suggested action by those who wish to be active on the specific subject at issue. This can be done in two ways:

(a) Directly by the Executive Secretary in communications to members.

(b) Indirectly by the Executive Secretary by sending to members a communication from an agency member which has a special interest in that legislation. The member agency's letter can be as "urgent" as it wishes.

(An example of this method is the attached letter from the New York Consumers League sent out by National Social Welfare Assembly. This method may sometimes be a saver of time and money, when an agency has material prepared in quantity and may even be willing to meet the mailing cost.)

(3) The Executive Secretary can facilitate action for agencies who wish to participate on any given piece of legislation by organizing discussion meetings for them, arranging for hearing, preparing briefs,etc. - but the name of the Council shall not be used on statements, at hearings, etc.

May, 1951

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY, INC.
1790 Broadway - New York 19, New York

March 9, 1951

TO: Executive of Affiliate Organizations

I attach for any action you care to take copies of a letter and attachment from the Consumers League of New York regarding proposals for changes in the Unemployment Insurance Law now before the New York State Legislature.

Robert E. Bondy
Director

CONSUMERS LEAGUE OF NEW YORK
For Fair Labor Standards

112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

March 6, 1951

Mr. R. E. Bondy, Director
National Social Welfare Assembly
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Bob:

The entire basis of our unemployment insurance law is currently threatened by the Hughes-Brees bill now pending in Albany. If you or your organization have not already taken action to combat this measure, I want to urge strongly that you do so, for the bill is of vital concern to all in the welfare field.

Its main provisions are outlined in the enclosed Newsletter. It would deprive thousands of workers in New York State of the benefits to which they are now entitled, thereby throwing many of them back on relief. It would also undermine the financial basis of the program.

At present the bill, despite labor's all-out campaign against it, seems likely to pass. Public hearings have been refused. A real onslaught of protest from social welfare agencies, neighborhood houses, civic and church organizations, however, might well turn the tide. I cannot emphasize enough the importance of your joining in the effort to defeat this vicious piece of legislation.

Won't you please write or wire the Committee Chairman listed on page 2 of the Newsletter, today? Do what you can to get others to do likewise.

Sincerely yours,

(sgd) Eveline M. Burns
Dr. Eveline M. Burns
Vice-President

Rank file

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 Massachusetts Avenue NW Washington, D C 20036

"THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR;

ITS OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAM"

MJ-file

A Statement Adopted by the Board of Directors
on
June 6, 1951

HISTORY OF STATEMENT

This statement, the by-laws, and the legislative policy are the three official documents adopted by NCALL at the time of its organization.

The original drafts of these documents were prepared by an organizing committee consisting of unofficial representatives of the following organizations:

Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches (now Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ)
Division of Home Missions National Council of Churches (formerly Home Missions Council)
National Board of the YWCA
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Sharecropper's Fund

The meetings of the organizing committee were held in New York City, in the offices of the National Child Labor Committee. During the organization process there was consultation in Washington with representatives of several organizations. Among these cooperating organizations were the National Farmers Union, the C.I.O, the United Automobile Workers and the Department of Rural Education of the NEA.

The organizing committee (and consulting Washington based representatives) included persons who had been active in one or both of two previous national inter-agency committees; i.e., an emergency committee to defend the Farm Security Administration and a committee to improve the conditions of migratory farm workers. Both of these inter-agency committees were made up of unofficial representatives of national organizations. The purpose in forming NCALL was to establish a movement which had the official backing of national organizations and therefore would have a strong foundation.

The choice of the name: "National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor" reflected the view of the organizing group that the new national council should have an inclusive interest in the democratic

issues of land and people and of rural community life. The problems of hired farm labor were thought of as one aspect of the larger question. The name of the council and its statement of objectives and program express this broad intent.

The statement also indicates the organizers' wish that NCALL should play a positive role in bringing about action. The legislative policy adopted at the time of organization, states that NCALL would not speak in the name of individual member organizations, nor NCALL as a whole, nor put undue pressure on its members. However the charter members wished NCALL to become a positive force working through as many channels as possible. Paragraph 3 of the statement of objectives and program suggests some of these channels. NCALL's statement of its objectives and program, as finally adopted on June 6, 1951, had been:

Drafted by the organizing committee
Discussed at a meeting in New York City of representatives
of a large number of organizations
Discussed with cooperating organizations in Washington

Elizabeth B. Herring

February 27, 1965

October 15, 1951

Mrs. Voniette C. Weil
National Council on Agricultural Life & Labor
1751 N St., NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Weil:

I don't think that the proposed leaflet is quite up to NCALL's usual very high standards.

I can't put my finger on what I don't like. It's partly the heavy emphasis on migratory labor and the light emphasis on the family farmer.

Then there's the statement, "Agriculture cannot get along without the family farmer." One of our troubles is that so much of agriculture would like to get along without the family farm. Well, if we could be more positive in our support of the family farm.

Admittedly, the leaflet is propagandist--it should be--but people weary a little of such a phrase as "slave wages." And though somebody might find an isolated instance of 25¢ a day cash wages, surely it is pretty rare?

Most of it is quite all right, but I do wish there could be a little more of constructive policy. That's the real thing that NCALL is good for.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C. • Telephone: ADams 0945

October 12, 1951

CHAIRMAN
Dr. Ira De A. Reid

VICE CHAIRMAN
Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Miss Elizabeth B. Herring

SECRETARY
Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand

TREASURER
Dr. Howard A. Dawson

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Harry Drobish
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Gardner Jackson
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Lee F. Johnson
Rev. Thomas B. Keehn
Miss Edith E. Lowry
Miss Elizabeth S. Magee
Walter Mason
George S. Mitchell
H. L. Mitchell
Rev. E. W. Mueller
James G. Patton
Dr. George Sanchez
Philip Schiff
Maurice L. Stone
Mrs. Amber Warburton

Executive Secretary
Veniette C. Weil

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Board Member:

Enclosed is a provisional leaflet which I am sending to you for your comments. The leaflet will printed in as bold type as the number of words will allow. The picture on the front will be of a poor farm family or migrant family. It will probably be in black and white. I have considered using deep red headings and black print on white paper. I may have to eliminate some words for the final printing.

Please send me your comments so that I will receive them before or on Sunday, October 21. I hope to get the leaflet printed and out by November 1.

The leaflet will be accompanied by a contribution blank, an appeal letter and a stamped envelope.

I would appreciate an early reply.

Very sincerely yours,

Veniette C. Weil

Veniette C. Weil
Executive Secretary

Op. 382

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is a non-profit, non-affiliated council of national and regional agencies, and of individuals, seeking to improve the living and working conditions of low-income groups in our farm and rural population.

WOULD YOU GIVE THEM A CHANCE IF YOU KNEW THE FACTS?

(Picture of Migrant Family)

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

HERE ARE THE FACTS

Agriculture cannot get along without seasonal and migrant labor.

There are about 1,200,000 migratory farm workers not including non-working members of the family. Their average income is less than $980 a year.

These farm workers are Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent in the Midwest, Southwest and on the Pacific Coast. American Negroes are found in the Midwest as well as the East. Anglo-Americans are an important group from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

President Truman believed the plight of these agricultural workers so desperate that he appointed a five-man commission to investigate conditions and make recommendations for legislation.

Agriculture cannot get along without the family farmer.

Over one-third of all farm families or a total of 2,000,000 are underemployed. The total income of these families is under $2,000 a year. Full employment of these workers would add the equivalent of 1,600,000 workers to our total working force.

The Nationwide character of rural underemployment prompted an investigation by a Senate Committee and a Report on Underemployment of Rural Families.

FARM WORKERS NEED PROTECTION TOO

Why are American farm workers not always "able, willing and qualified" to work?

There is no state or national minimum wage in agriculture.

Workers are not ordinarily eligible for unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, or old age insurance.

They are excluded from state and federal labor relations laws.

They must compete with foreign labor willing to work for slave wages under oppressive conditions.

They must compete with illegal entrants from Mexico who are used by the industrialized farms in the Southwest and on the West Coast for as little as 25¢ a day.

They and their families live in every conceivable type of housing--tents, chicken coops, barns, warehouses and shelters.

They are often denied the right to benefit from health and educational facilities in the community in which they are working.

WORKER-EMPLOYER RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE AFFECT THE FAMILY FARMER

Many family farmers must supplement their incomes with work as laborers.

They must compete with foreign workers.

Just as the steel industry established "captive mines" to get their coal, so the processors and canners run "captive farms" for vegetable growing. To get labor they turn to the Government to get them foreign workers.

The family farmer's products must compete with the products of large-scale farmers with subsidized labor.

It is inconsistent for the Government to encourage family farming and at the same time encourage and direct a program for importing cheap foreign labor.

ONE ORGANIZATION SEEKING A SOLUTION

NCALL is a non-profit organization working with religious, welfare, educational, social service, consumer, labor and farm organizations and government agencies and individual citizens. It is an informational and promotional agency encouraging legislative action by cooperating organizations and individuals.

The Council does not take action in its own name.

NCALL offers the following services:

- NEWSLETTER during sessions of Congress.
- MONTHLY BULLETIN dealing with basic problems connected with farm programs, housing, health, education, etc., for farm workers.
- MEMORANDA on current legislative activities and recommendations for action.
- COOPERATIVE MEETINGS WITH INDIVIDUALS AND INTERESTED ORGANIZATIONS at the national level
- INFORMATIONAL SERVICE TO MEMBERS
- NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURAL WELFARE.

PROGRAM OF THE COUNCIL

NCALL presents information and urges action on:

- Questions of economic and social import affecting rural areas.
- The social welfare of agricultural workers and their families.
- Improvement of working conditions and the organization of agricultural labor.
- Protection of free speech and civil liberties for agricultural workers and in rural areas generally.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Get the facts by joining NCALL or send a contribution toward its work.

Take an interest in legislation affecting agriculture and the welfare of its workers.

Write to talk to your congressman.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OFFICERS

Chairman--Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania
Vice-Chairman--Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Council for Social Action, Congregational-Christian Churches
Vice-Chairman--Miss Elizabeth B. Herring, National Board, Y. W. C. A.
Secretary--Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand, National Child Labor Committee
Treasurer--Dr. Howard A. Dawson, National Education Association

MEMBERS

Richard K. Bennett, American Friends Service Committee
Mrs. Beth Biderman, National Sharecroppers Fund
Dr. Francis J. Brown, American Council on Education
Harry Drobish, Farmer, Bangor, California
Mrs. Katherine Ellickson, C.I.O.
Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J., National Catholic Rural Life Conference
Gardner Jackson, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University
Lee F. Johnson, National Housing Conference
Rev. Thomas B. Keehn, Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Miss Edith E. Lowry, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Miss Elizabeth S. Magee, National Consumers League
Walter Mason, A.F. of L.
George S. Mitchell, Southern Regional Council
H. L. Mitchell, National Farm Labor Union, A.F. of L.
Rev. E. W. Mueller, Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union
Dr. Geroge Sanchez, University of Texas
Phillip Schiff, National Jewish Welfare Board
Maurice L. Stone, Jewish Agricultural Society
Mrs. Amber Warburton, Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

The Alliance for the Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department, A.F. of L.
Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Consumers League
National Farm Labor Union, A.F. of L.
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund

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The Alliance for the Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
Building and Construction Trades Dept., A. F. of L.
Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Consumers League
National Farm Labor Union, A. F. of L.
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund

October 26, 1951

Mrs. Veniette C. Weil
Nat'l. Council on Agricultural Life & Labor
1751 N St., NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Weil:

We can order 200 copies of the forthcoming migratory labor pamphlet. That's tiny, I know, but we are awful poor.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

KS

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C. • Telephone: ADams 0945

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Executive Secretary
Veniette C. Weil

October 18, 1951

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburne Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

For some time the Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, as well as many other organizations and individuals, has been concerned about the relatively small audience which has been reached by the report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor. As a result of this limited distribution, many thousands of community leaders who should be aware of the migratory farm labor problem are not.

In order to correct this situation, an excellent proposal has been made by the Public Affairs Committee to the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. It was decided at a meeting of the executive board of the Public Affairs Committee on October 2, that the major factors limiting the utilization of the Commission's report were its size, its cost and the lack of existing distribution channels. It was then decided that a Public Affairs Pamphlet based on the report would serve a very useful purpose. Such a pamphlet has been proposed to the Council.

2

The Public Affairs Committee has indicated that this pamphlet would be included in its immediate schedule, providing those organizations cooperating with the Council and other organizations interested in migratory labor can show a need for a minimum of 25,000 copies.

While individual pamphlets cost 25¢, a joint order for 25,000 copies placed by this office on behalf of all our members and other organizations would be filled at 10¢ per copy. The name of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor would appear on the cover of the pamphlet and participating organizations purchasing 1,000 or more copies would be listed on the inside cover. Arrangements could also be made to give an individual imprint to each organization distributing copies to its own members, so as to further identify the pamphlet with that organization.

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is a non-profit, non-affiliated council of national and regional agencies, and of individuals, seeking to improve the living and working conditions of low-income groups in our farm and rural population.

Since the Public Affairs Committee, a non-profit, educational and unsubsidized organization, must achieve an average pamphlet distribution of 100,000 copies, they will undertake to distribute the remaining 75,000 copies not only to their subscription list but to schools, book-stores, clubs, and individuals. The pamphlet, of course, will receive wide promotion through the press.

Would you please let me know as soon as possible what proportion of the 25,000 copies your organization can utilize and pay for at 10¢ a copy. If the project is to be done, we would like to aim at a publication date at the end of January so as to be able to use the pamphlet in legislative work.

I am enclosing a copy of the Public Affairs Pamphlet, The Negro in America, based on the Gunnar-Myrdal report, as an indication of how effective and useful such a shortened version of an extensive report can be.

Very sincerely yours,

Veniette C. Weil

Veniette C. Weil
Executive Secretary

THIS LETTER HAS BEEN SENT TO THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS:

Alliance for the Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department, A.F. of L.
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of American Missions of National Lutheran Council
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Jewish Agricultural Society
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Consumers League
National Farm Labor Union, A.F. of L.
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
The General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
American Association of Social Workers
American Association of University Professors
American Association of University Women
American Council on Education
American Farm Bureau Federation
American Federation of Labor
American Home Economics Association
American Institute of Cooperatives
American Labor Education Service
American Library Association
American Parents Committee
American Public Welfare Association
American Veterans Committee
American Vocational Association
Association for Childhood Education
Common Council for American Unity
Cooperative League of the U. S.
Department of Christian Social Relations, United Church Women
Department of Social Action, Women's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church
Ministry and Home Mission Commission, Church of the Brethren
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Civil Liberties Clearing House
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Farmer Cooperatives
National Council of Negro Women
National Farmers Union
National Grange
National Planning Association
National Social Welfare Association
National Urban League
Rural Life Association
Southern Regional Council
Textile Workers Union of America
Unitarian Service Committee
United Automobile Workers
United Steelworkers of America
Veterans of Foreign Wars
Workers Defense League

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C. • Telephone: ADams 0945

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Mrs. Amber Warburton

Executive Secretary
Veniette C. Weil

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1951
Southern Regional Council

October 29, 1951

Dear Board Member:

Some comments on the provisional leaflet recently sent out were favorable and others were not. I felt obliged, because of the unfavorable comments, to write another leaflet with a different approach to the subject. It gives more information about the Council and its program and eliminates, to a great extent, the so-called "emotional" appeal material.

As indicated in my last letter, the leaflet will be printed in as bold type as the number of words will allow. I have considered using deep red headings and black print on white paper. I may use another picture in addition to the one on the face of the pamphlet.

Would you please send me your comments on the enclosed leaflet by November 4.

I would also like to report at this time that Paul Sifton and Mrs. Louis Billings have consented to be members of the Board of Directors. Another very good bit of news is the unanimous vote of the Board of Directors of the General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women that the Alliance become a cooperating member of the Council. Mr. Sifton and Mrs. Billings' names will now appear on the leaflet and the Alliance will be listed as a cooperating organization.

Very sincerely yours,

Veniette Weil

Veniette C. Weil
Executive Secretary

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is a non-profit, non-affiliated council of national and regional agencies, and of individuals, seeking to improve the living and working conditions of low-income groups in our farm and rural population.

A PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN AGRICULTURE AND ITS WORKERS ____
or
A PROGRAM FOR THE UNDERPRIVILEGED IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE ____
(Please check one)

Picture of Migrant Family

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

WORKING TOGETHER

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is a national agency for rural welfare.

* It is composed of organizational and individual members concerned with improved living and working conditions for low-income farm groups.

* It is a service organization, educating and guiding.

* NCALL does not take action in its own name but encourages and facilitates action by means of publications, meetings and conferences.

FOR IMPROVED RURAL LIVING

The underprivileged of agriculture need an intelligent and sympathetic program which will give them a share in the advantages of the American standard of living.

The need for such a program has been emphasized by two recent reports: the Joint Congressional Committee Report entitled Underemployment in Rural Families and the Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor entitled Migratory Labor in American Agriculture.

These reports show a serious pattern of persistent poverty among certain groups in agriculture—the underemployed family farmer and the seasonal and migratory farm worker.

The interests of both groups are neglected in defense plans, manpower mobilization plans and housing, health and educational facilities.

They are American citizens without bargaining power.

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor offers a long-range farm program beneficial to these groups and to the American people.

THE COUNCIL'S PROGRAM FOR:

THE FAMILY FARMER

Support and strengthen the efficient family farm in the United States.

Stabilization of farm prices with sufficient flexibility to meet changing levels of productivity and consumption.

Democratic and intelligent resource development, utilization and conservation. Included would be watershed protection, river valley development and conservation programs.

Extension of public health services to all rural counties.

State and federal aid to make available equal educational opportunities to rural children.

Aid to less developed rural areas through rural electrification and telephone service, better roads and schools. Industrial development in such areas to augment income.

Improved utilization of the underemployed in rural areas.

Resistance to monopolistic trends in agriculture through regulation, acreage allotments and other methods.

THE AGRICULTURAL WORKER

Inclusion of all agricultural workers under social security and workmen's compensation laws.

Extension of minimum wage to agricultural workers.

Effective recruitment and placement program.

The right to organize and bargain collectively.

Inclusion of housing for agricultural workers in public housing programs.

Regulation of transportation and private labor camps for farm workers.

Prevention of child labor in industrialized agriculture.

Restriction of importation of foreign workers to cases where the need is openly demonstrated at public meetings and domestic labor absolutely unavailable.

Strict enforcement of immigration laws to prevent illegal entry of foreign agricultural workers.

Protection of free speech and civil liberties for agricultural workers and in rural areas generally.

THE COUNCIL IN ACTION

MONTHLY BULLETINS offering the latest information on publications, surveys, legislation and organizational activities in the field of agricultural life and labor.

AGRICULTURAL NEWSLETTERS AND MEMORANDA on legislation vital to agriculture generally and to the low-income groups in agriculture specifically. The memoranda offer advice on appropriate action to take on legislative matters.

MEETINGS giving guidance to and facilitating action on local and national issues involving legislative, administrative and informational problems.

CONFERENCES with member and non-member organizations and government agencies. Such conferences have been held on Social Security, housing for rural areas, child labor, farm labor standards and the importation of foreign farm labor.

RESEARCH on state and national programs for the underprivileged in agriculture.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE on agricultural welfare.

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Dr. George Sanchez
Phillip Schiff
Paul Sifton
Maurice L. Stone
Mrs. Amber Warburton

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS
(As of November, 1951)

The Alliance for the Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.
Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Christian Women
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Consumers League
National Farm Labor Union, A. F. of L
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund

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Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Philip Schiff
Paul Sifton
Maurice L. Stone
Mrs. Amber Warburton
Mrs. Veniette C. Weil

Executive Secretary
Mr. Shirley E. Greene

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1952
Southern Regional Council

October 30, 1952

To: The Members of The Board of Directors of NCALL

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

The Board Meeting scheduled for November 18, from 1:30-4:30 will be held at the offices of the Jewish Welfare Board, 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. If you have matters which you would like to have included in the agenda, I would appreciate your sending them to me a few days before the meeting. If you wish to suggest a new member organization will you please inform me in time to permit the necessary ten-day notice in advance of the date of the meeting.

The Research Project Board is meeting that same day at 9:00 A.M. at the same place. Mr. Greene is sending further details about the meeting to the members of the project Board.

For your information, the new telephone number of NCALL is NOrth 3979.

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is a non-profit council of national and regional agencies, and of individuals, seeking to improve the living and working conditions of low-income groups in our farm and rural population.

NCALL

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. Telephone: North 3979

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American Association of Social Workers
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Parents Committee
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Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
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National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers' League
National Farmers' Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—C.I.O.
United Packing House Workers of America—C.I.O.
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

ELIZABETH B. HERRING,
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

November 24, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Augurn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have good news. Varden Fuller's manuscript for a Public Affairs Pamphlet based on the report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor has been received. The Public Affairs Committee has accepted it for immediate publication.

We have your pre-publication order for 200 copies at 10¢ a copy. Under separate cover, I am mailing you a mimeographed copy of Mr. Fuller's manuscript. Your suggestions about it will be welcomed and can be used if they are received by November 30th.

The executive of one national organization writes, "May I say that I think it is a superb piece of work. It has exceeded my expectations and they were high. Its authenticity and factual basis are obvious and the writing ability of Mr. Fuller is equally obvious. It is an unusual combination and makes for an extremely useful publication."

If you wish to increase your order, will you please let me know? Also, would you like an imprint of your organization's name inside the front cover? This is possible for orders of 1000 or over. The cost is $10.00* for the imprint.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:rf

*approximate. I've just learned that the printer has been changed & he may have slightly different prices.

Farm Families Without Bargaining Power

You Can Help Them

Courtesy Division of Home Missions National Council of Churches

FARM LABOR, SMALL FARMERS, MIGRANTS, SHARECROPPERS ARE THE MOST EXPLOITED OF ALL AMERICAN WORKERS.

THEY GET THE SHORT END OF THE BETTER THINGS IN AMERICAN LIFE.

THEY ARE EXCLUDED FROM VIRTUALLY ALL BENEFICIAL SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

THEY ARE NEGLECTED IN PLANS FOR HOUSING, HEALTH, EDUCATION

Courtesy National Council of Churches

10,000 farm workers call this camp "home".

Photo Naomi Blank

Will these children live to a healthy maturity?

Photo Naomi Blank

Photo Wilma Wilcox

At work during school hours

They are not covered by Federal Social Security and rarely by State Workmen's Compensation Laws.

They have no minimum wage protection.

Free speech and civil liberties in some farm areas are ruthlessly suppressed.

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is a voluntary federation of farm, labor, civic and religious groups of all faiths.

THE NCALL MAINTAINS AN OFFICE IN WASHINGTON.

It acts as a watch dog on legislation and other government action affecting the welfare of agricultural workers and family farmers.

It encourages and facilitates action by its members.

IT PUBLISHES:

A bulletin reporting on legislation affecting agriculture generally and low income farm groups specifically.

Memoranda which offer advice on appropriate action to be taken by those wishing to work on specific issues.

IT HOLDS:

Meetings to give information and facilitate action by members of the NCALL on local and national issues.

IT SETS UP:

Consultations with member and non-member organizations and government agencies. Such consultations have been held on social security, rural housing, child labor, education of migrant children, farm labor standards, and the importation of foreign farm labor.

IT CONDUCTS:

Research on state and national programs for exploited workers in agriculture.

IT CALLS:

An annual **National Conference on Agricultural Life and Labor.**

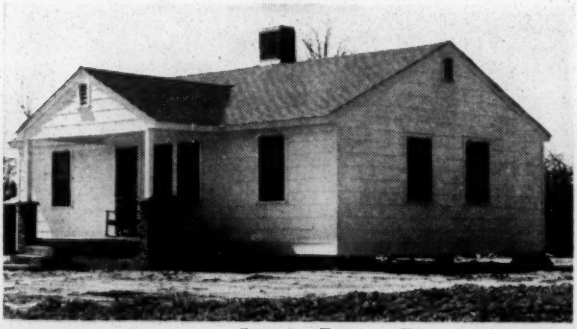
Courtesy National Council of Churches

THE NCALL IS SUPPORTED ENTIRELY BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS. WON'T YOU HELP?

Please make checks payable to: **National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor,** 1751 N St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Before

After



Courtesy Farmers Home Administration

This farm wife is saying "good-bye" to hopeless poverty as she and her family move into their new farm home and become family farmers.

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United Automobile Workers Union, C.I.O.
United Packinghouse Workers of America
Woman's Division of Christian Service of The Methodist Church

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Mrs. Amber Arthun Warburton
Mrs. George L. Weil

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

mcall

February 19, 1953

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life & Labor
1751 N St., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

I had already picked out from the minutes of the last Board meeting April 22 and 23 as the dates for the next conference, in Washington. I will try my best to be there.

I heard from somewhere that high Republican brains were at work on the idea of trotting out Farm Security's kind of program. That will be politically popular and would step up production from smaller farmers. It would take some re-organizing of Farmers Home Administration!

It would be good if you could draw together a special group of Southern people at the annual conference. H. L. Mitchell could tell you some. The Rural Life Council at Tuskegee would be a good nucleus also.

The problem in the South is whether, in the next few years, we can, through increasing farm ownership, jump to a tolerably democratic pattern in the old plantation belt. All signs are that we can't. It looks as though the Southern Negro in the plantation area is in for decades as a semi-skilled laborer, working the expensive machinery of large places owned exclusively by white people. I had been hoping until lately that some way could be found to escape that stage and push over into widespread land ownership. Now I am about to despair. If we can't jump over into ownership, then the thing, obviously, to do is to unlimber mechanical vocational education, which will at least enable hoe hands, or the sons of hoe hands, to jump up into tractor hands. Of course, if we come to the tractor hand business, behind that looms the problem of union organization for them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. Telephone: North 3979

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

ELIZABETH B. HERRING,
Executive Secretary

February 16, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 18

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Conference
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Board meeting in New York, February 9th, was most interesting and some decisions were made about our Annual Conference. The dates will be April 22 and 23, in Washington.

The Conference this year will be focused on very specific Congressional issues which are undergoing public discussion because of the change in administration.

We will be working on the question of government programs for low income farmers, the probability being that we will exercise considerable initiative in trying to bring about a more adequate program.

As I have discussed matters with our member organizations, I have found considerable confusion as to what we are trying to do with low income farmers. Until goals are plain, it is a little hard to know what means to recommend. Another problem is that regional differences are so great that it is hard to talk productively in generalized national terms.

Do you think it would be profitable for us to have a work group in the Conference on the subject of work in the south and, if so, what kind of a group do you believe it should be? We could invite anybody who could help and we could work ahead of time preparing outlines which would insure our getting down to business. Your advice on this question would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

February 26, 1953

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
1751 N St., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

I will do anything I can on offering you advice about the Southern meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NCALL

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. Telephone: North 3979

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American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
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Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
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National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—C.I.O.
United Packing House Workers of America—C.I.O.
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

Elizabeth B. Herring,
Executive Secretary

February 24, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 26
SOUTHERN
Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your interesting letter of February 19th. I am glad to have your approval of the idea of having a work group at the conference made up of people who are informed about the south.

What do you think of our inviting people from two or three foundations? I can see that if we had good luck and could get the right people together, that there might be interesting by-products.

There is interest in the NCALL agencies in the idea of making a fresh approach to credit and other services for low income farmers and there is no reason why we should wait to have the Republicans dream up something. We could do a little dreaming ourselves so as to be ready for the Republicans.

May I count on you to guide me in setting up this group. I shall be grateful for suggestions, both as to issues and persons to be invited. I will follow up the suggestions which you included in your recent letter.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

NCall

May 25, 1953

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural Life & Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

Quotation on "Comments Made by George S. Mitchell at NCALL Meeting April 22, 1953." Nearly at the end. $15,000 barn, not bond.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

VCAL

May 19, 1953

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural Life & Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

I wish I could have answered your letter of May 8 sooner, but we have had our annual meeting, and that took every minute.

Here is a paragraph or two that I hope can be helpful. All sympathy with you in struggling to put together an unrecorded meeting!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

COMMENTS MADE BY GEORGE S. MITCHELL AT NCALL MEETING APRIL 22, 1953

George Mitchell said that attention ought to be fixed on the problem of producing in the rural South, and more particularly in the old plantation belt of the South, an economic base for democratic practices. We all used to suppose that the remedy was a far wider distribution of land ownership. And many of us have put in hard years trying to get that. But it is hard to see now how that can be attained on any wide scale. You can't any longer set up ex-tenants as farm owners on $6,000 or $12,000. It takes $25,000 or $40,000. And it is merely delusion to suppose that such heavy capitalization can be forthcoming through any public program that could reach significant numbers. Neither, I regretted to say, does it seem probable that the multiple skills needed to conduct a farming operation on this new scale will be taught any time soon to most of the people caught still in the dependency of tenancy.

So, he said, it looked to him as though the future for twenty or thirty years would continue the present pattern of large land ownership. And so many of the work people as remain on the land will be skilled or semi-skilled, with a level of living quite a lot higher than what we have associated in the past with Southern farm work. Such people would have a chance to organize and to express themselves as fully participating citizens. They would be an alternative rural voice to the pressures now so strong in our society from the bigger land-owning groups. And, conceivably, they could make friends with organized labor in the cities and towns. And by one device and another, they could get quite nice homes and scraps of land. And some would climb on up. Still, even at its most favorable, that is a picture not bright in comparison with the earlier notion of independent family farms for nearly everybody. And the world has yet to show many examples of successful organization of farm labor groups. And he didn't suppose that they could be free truly unless they were organized.

Finally, he suggested a middle proposal, which needn't cost any money and which could do quite a lot of good quickly. He said the system under which farm land is leased in most of the South is heathen. He didn't know of any single civilized country that permitted its farms to be rented out on unwritten annual leases with no arrangements for compensation for improvements or for damages. Scandinavia abandoned it long ago. So did England, so did Ireland, so did France. He knew the historical circumstances that had fastened our system into the South, where an illiterate work force got back into earning through the sharecropper contract. But nowadays people can read. And the land ought not to suffer any longer from the destructiveness of people who rent it a year at a time. Neither should tenants move or have to move as often as they still do. And as we switch to cattle and dairy cows, how does the tenant on an annual oral lease get into that business? Can he put up a $15,000 barn on the other man's land when he might get thrown off any old year? If we could protect land tenure by statutory leases or by a fast-moving program of voluntary long-term leases, we would open opportunity for many more small people to climb up into security and equal citizenship.

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National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—C.I.O.
United Packing House Workers of America—C.I.O.
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

ELIZABETH B. HERRING,
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
MAY 11
Southern Regional Council

May 8

Dear Dr. Mitchell -

My secretary & her husband are taking a trip to Niagara Falls postponed for 25 years — hence longhand inflicted on you.

I have touched base with Dr. Dawson & written Dr. Neal & Dr. Roberts as asked them for the "after thoughts" described in the enclosed carbon.

Would you be willing to give me a few succinct 64 issues plus proposals for action? I would be most grateful. Would you include what you said about unwritten contracts?

Did you happen to hear the British agricultural attaché

day in the afternoon - that friends were as well off as land lords in Britain because of good or bad luck "Ka Times".

I haven't the minutes yet - one stenotypist was so terrified by my reporting her that she has not been heard from since.

The Southern evening aroused a tremendous amount of interest. Each person I see comments on it - so I hope we can pin the evening down to a few proposals which we can get incorporated in the policies and programs of our member organizations.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Herring

1751 N street N.W.
Washington 6 ,D.C
May 8, 1953

TO: Those who Helped with the NCALL Conference

FROM: Elizabeth Herring

This appeal to you for more help goes to you withapologies for hunt and punch typing.

I am in the throes of trying to write a report of the conference that will be of some use to our member organizations. My present plan is to write a fairly brief summary of what took place and to accompany this with a sec tion known as"afterthoughts ". This will contain a few paragraphs from each of a selected list of leaders and delegates as to what they think the main learnings are from each session as to what should be done.

NCALL is a clearing house organization. As such it cannot adopt a social platform and program of action in its own name. It has an obligation however to pass on to its member organizations in as sharp a form as possible what some of the most thoughtful people think should be done about the various problems which concern us. This is where we need your help. The practical application of the conference discussions is more likely to happen if the issues and proposals are set down in as sharp a form as possible.

Could you find time by May 22 or sooner to write me a few parapgraphs about the topic which I am attaching to this note, and let me know at the same time whether I can quote you?

Thank you again for the help you have already given us.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

June 5, 1953

ELIZABETH B. HERRING,
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
JUN 8
Southern Regional Council

Dear D. Mitchell —

This letter is about an urgent legislative issue. It is a curious urgency because it is hard to locate the enemy.

The gist of the matter is that a determined effort is being made to nullify the 160 acre water limitation provision of the National Reclamation Act. A statement is enclosed of the meaning of that fact for migratory agricultural workers and family farmers.

Washington is now having a visitation of the seventeen year locusts. They appear almost any where. So do the bills designed to do away with the 160 acre water limitation.

Because the bills are so numerous, it is not effective to concentrate on opposing one bill, at least at this time. (See enclosed statement.)

One thing will help at this time, i.e., a letter to the Chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: Representative A. L. Miller, of Nebraska, asking for an opportunity to be heard when any bill is under consideration which deals with the 160 acre water limitation issue.

I need to know also which of our member organizations wish to be kept informed when action on their part will help.

Will you please let me know on the enclosed post card? The NCALL office will be closed most of the summer, but Mrs. Veniette Weil and I will keep track of what is happening to the 160 acre limitation issue until Congress closes and information will be sent to you as soon as action is indicated on any particular bill.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:
Post Card
Statements

In the course of human events I hope to get the conference report done — EH

Also subscribing the current issue of "News from the Land" is one of "News from the Land"

National Council on Agricultural
Life & Labor
1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

SOME QUESTIONS OFTEN ASKED ABOUT THE MERITS OF THE 160 ACRE LIMITATION.

I. Are there any reasons for modifying the 160 acre limitation?

In a few cases special conditions exist, such as high altitude and short growing season which condition the type of crop that can be grown and the acreage needed to make a living. Exceptions for real reasons should be defined by a task force of agricultural economists and not by political pressures. Public reports, public hearings and public reasons are necessary to safeguard the public interest.

II. If a man owns 2000 acres more or less of dry land, why is it fair to let him have water for only 160 acres of it?

These are some of the reasons:

1. Water brought to dry land at public expense tremendously increases the value of that land. Since the taxpayers money is responsible for so large a share of the increased valuation, it would be unfair for the owner of the large tract to get the full increment of value. To quote from an engineer --

> "Irrigation water when made available to arid or semi-arid lands greatly enhances the value of the land. For example, around Yakima, Washington, dry land can be purchased at prices ranging from $10 to $30 per acre, while land of similar quality which is under irrigation is selling at an average of $250 per acre. Part of this difference in value is due to the improvements, such as houses and fences which have been added by the landowner, but most of the difference is due to increased productivity due to irrigation. In Nebraska dry farmed wheat land can be purchased at from $30 to $50 per acre, while land of similar quality without buildings, which is irrigated, is selling at $200 per acre or better. On the Gila Project in Arizona, raw undeveloped land sold during 1951 and 1952 at an average of $97 per acre while similar quality land which has been irrigated sold at an average of $330 per acre. Allowing for improvements made by the farmer, the increased value due to irrigation was calculated at $245."

2. It was the intention of the Reclamation Act of 1902 to furnish water to the public land entryman and the private landowners on the same basis, i.e., an acreage sufficient to support a family. For this reason the 160 acre irrigable limitation for one private landowner was so incorporated in the act.

III. What part of the cost of a reclamation project is a public expense and what part is paid for by the water users?

The costs of construction are divided between the government and the water users. Items in the construction plan which affect the nation and not the individual area with respect to irrigation only, such as flood prevention or navigation, are paid for by the government.

The irrigation charges on many of the multi-purpose projects are considerably reduced by reason of the application of power revenues to such irrigation charges.

The water users pay for the balance of construction costs on a long term plan.

Construction is only a part of the cost of reclamation projects. Preliminary investigations to determine the feasibility of a project and general administrative expenses of the Reclamation Bureau are paid for by the government.

If a Reclamation project is found feasible and subsequently constructed, the costs of the investigation are included in the costs of the project which are repaid to the U. S. by the water users.

Operation and maintenance costs of irrigation are paid for by the water users.

IV. Why are Reclamation projects justifiable if they are not completely paid for by the water users?

1. National security requires full availability of our national resources.

2. Most reclamation projects contribute to general prosperity through "multi-purpose" operations - Flood prevention, navigation, soil conservation and water shed management are involved, as well as immediate farming operations.

3. The Reclamation Bureau considers Basin development in deciding on its projects. Privately financed projects built on a case by case plan are inefficient because they do not take into account the interdependence of a total Basin. Water knows no state lines.

National Council on Agricultural
Life & Labor
1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

CURRENT ATTACKS ON THE 160 ACRE WATER LIMITATION PROVISIONS OF THE NATIONAL RECLAMATION ACT OF 1902

At the recent Annual Conference of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, a speaker told of her efforts in behalf of migrant children in several Southwestern areas. In one she said, "The county is almost entirely owned by one family. About 1500 residents live in an ill defined community at the center of the county. There are about 5000 migrants: Negroes, Texas-Mexicans and Southern whites." Of another area she said, "At the migrant reception center outside town, 40,000 people each fall stayed over night in open stalls with four outdoor toilets for all."

WHAT DOES THE RECLAMATION ACT HAVE TO DO WITH SUCH SITUATIONS?

> "It has been known for generations that a sharply class-stratified rural society, landless and migratory laborers, limited opportunities for business and professional people, and a weak state of community-mindedness frequently accompany large landholdings. A cardinal tenet of American public policy for 150 years, since the Nation began to dispose of the public domain in the early 1800's, has been to prevent such situations. The Pre-emption Act of 1841, the Homestead Act of 1862 signed by Abraham Lincoln, and the National Reclamation act of 1902 signed by Theodore Roosevelt are the great historic monuments that embody this public policy."

The paragraph above is quoted from Dr. Paul S. Taylor of the University of California. Dr. Taylor adds:

> "At the beginning of the great era of Conservation, Theodore Roosevelt created acreage water limitation as the device to favor the family farm on federally-irrigated lands, to limit speculation, and to prevent monopoly of federally-developed waters. The National Reclamation Act of 1902 limited water rights for private landholding beneficiaries to an amount adequate for no more than 160 acres of each holding."

The Reclamation Act does not tell a man how much land he may own. It does say that when dry land is irrigated at public expense, one person may have only that amount of water sufficient to irrigate 160 acres. (That is actually a good sized piece of land for the intensive cultivation which goes with irrigation.)

WHY THE PRESENT CRISIS?

In times past Congress has defeated the numerous efforts to repeal the principle of acreage limitation.

Holders of large tracts began almost at once, after passage of the Act in 1902, to try to escape the acreage water limitation. Congress has reaffirmed it at least a dozen times, under presidents of both major parties.

WHY THE PRESENT CRISIS? (Continued)

But will the present Congress do likewise? Holders of excess land seem to regard the present Congress more hopefully. Their representatives have introduced several bills designed to do away with acreage water limitation in a piece meal way. The procedure with these bills has been characterized by avoidance of publicity; either very quiet hearings or none.

The Secretary of the Interior has not committed himself publicly. The Bureau of Reclamation has been without a head.

RECENT EXPERIENCES OF NCALL WITH THE ISSUE.

One of the bills mentioned, HR 2267, would have provided so many exemptions from acreage water limitation as to have nullified the law.

On the morning of April 20, NCALL discovered that hearings were being held on the bill. A representative of a member organization went to Capitol Hill and discovered that the only people testifying were two people who favored the bill. NCALL reported to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (sub-committee on Irrigation and Reclamation) that several of its member organizations were interested and wished to testify. The Clerk of the Committee assured us and other interested organizations that a hearing would be held when opponents could testify.

Nothing more has been heard from this bill to date, but suddenly one day NCALL heard that HR 2235 to authorize the building of the Santa Maria project, California, had been reported out of committee with a rider giving exemption from acreage limitation. The committee held no public hearings, nor did it wait for the customary advisory opinion from the Department of Interior. The role of the Committee and of the Department in this avoidance of standard procedure cannot be known accurately by NCALL.

HR 2235 has not reached the floor of the House yet. It is said that now, after reporting the bill out of Committee, the Committee is waiting for the opinion of the Department of Interior.

Whatever happens to these particular bills (and others such as HR 4721, Owl Creek-Missouri Basin, and HR 5250, Heart Division-Missouri Basin), it is clear that holders of excess land have adopted the tactic of trying to slip individual project exemptions through as noiselessly as possible, knowing that the general policy cannot survive such exemptions.

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

ELIZABETH B. HERRING,
Executive Secretary

June 6, 1953

JUN 10
Southern Regional Council

To: The Board of Directors.

From: Elizabeth B. Herring

1. The next quarterly Board meeting will be held in New York, on Tuesday, September 29th, from 11:00 to 3:00, in the conference room, at the offices of the Division of Home Missions, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

   Further information will be sent to you in September but this notice will give you the necessary information for your calendar.

2. The Executive Committee met on May 28 and performed the task delegated to it by the Board meeting held on April 22nd, to prepare a draft of certain by-laws involved in the report of the Nominating Committee at the April 22nd meeting. The by-laws require preliminary notice of proposed by-laws. This letter constitutes that notice.

   The proposals are enclosed.

   The minutes of the Executive Committee will be sent to you by Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand, Secretary of the Board.

3. A meeting of the Research Project Board will be held the morning of the same day at the same place. Notices will be sent out by Mr. Greene.

Enclosure:
Proposal

PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE BY-LAWS OF NCALL
As agreed by Executive Committee

To be Acted on at the Board Meeting - September 29, 1953.

Art. VI, Sec. 1 - The standing committees of NCALL shall be . . . . and Nominating Committee.

Sec. 4 - (Omit) the second sentence.

Sec. 5 - (New) The Board of Directors shall appoint a Nominating Committee whose responsibility it shall be to present at each annual meeting a proposed slate of officers and standing committee personnel for the ensuing year. In the case of vacancies occurring between annual meetings the Board may request nominations from the Nominating Committee.

Sec. 5 - (Becomes Sec. 6)

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

Art. IX, Sec. 1 - The officers of NCALL shall be . . . . third Vice Chairman. . . .

Art. VI, Sec. 2 - (a) The Executive Committee shall consist of the elected officers, ... three vice-chairmen, ... and five members ....

(c) A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of five members.

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

Art. IV, Sec. 2 - (b) . . . . . not more than 20 directors-at-large . . .

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

Art. V, Sec. 2 - (Replacement) Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Executive Committee or by the Chairman at the request of five members of the Board. Actions at special meetings may be taken only on matters specifically on the agenda as announced in the call for the meeting.

Sec. 3 - A quorum . . . shall consist of 10 members of the Board.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. Telephone: North 3979

Board of Directors

REV. SHIRLEY E. GREENE, *Chairman*
THOMAS B. KEEHN, *Vice-Chairman*
GEORGE SANCHEZ, *Vice-Chairman*
GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND, *Secretary*
HOWARD A. DAWSON, *Treasurer*

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RICHARD K. BENNETT
DOROTHY M. BILLINGS
ESTHER BRIESMEISTER
RUTH MUSKRAT BRONSON
FRANCIS J. BROWN
LYLE COOPER
GABRIEL DAVIDSON
REV. CLIFFORD EARLE
KATHERINE ELLICKSON
REV. RAY GIBBONS
REV. WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S. J.
RICHARD J. GRAY
ALFRED J. HAYES
ROBERT W. HUDGENS
GARDNER JACKSON
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
LEE F. JOHNSON
LEAH LACHENBRUCH
EDITH E. LOWRY
ELIZABETH MAGEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
H. L. MITCHELL
JOSEPH F. MORAN
REV. E. W. MUELLER
LOWRY NELSON
JAMES G. PATTON
IRA DEA. REID
HAROLD A. ROYER
PHILIP SCHIFF
PAUL SIFTON
THELMA STEVENS
MAURICE L. STONE
ADA BARNETT STOUGH
AMBER ARTHUN WARBURTON
VENIETTE C. WEIL

Member Organizations

Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Association of Social Workers
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education National Education Association
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
International Association of Machinists, A. F. of L.
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—C.I.O.
Jewish Agricultural Society
National Agricultural Workers' Union, A. F. of L.
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers' League
National Farmers' Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—C.I.O.
United Packing House Workers of America—C.I.O.
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

October 22, 1953

RECEIVED OCT 26 1953

ELIZABETH B. HERRING,
Executive Secretary

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Shirley Greene tells me that you made a most interesting speech at Fisk last summer on the stake of labor in the family farm issue.

Is that speech in a form that could be passed on? I would be grateful for it. In the next session of Congress it is going to be very important for farm and labor groups to be clear about the central issues.

The suggestion has been made also that this might be an appropriate subject for our next annual conference.

If the speech is not available in a complete form, would it be too much trouble to give me a digest of the main items?

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

I'm sending you two extra copies of the Annual Conference proceedings — in case they might come in handy —

November seventeen
1 9 5 3

Mrs Gertrude Folks Zimand, Chairman
Membership Committee
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, Northwest
Washington, D C

Dear Mrs Zimand:

I wish the Southern Regional Council had $25.00 and we would send it on as a membership fee in the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

If we ever get to where we can even be tolerably sure of meeting our next payroll, I will take up the matter with the Executive Committee and see what can be done.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. Telephone: North 3979

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National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—C.I.O.
United Packing House Workers of America—C.I.O.
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

ELIZABETH B. HERRING,
Executive Secretary

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Southern Regional Council

November 13, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am writing to ask if the Southern Regional Council would like to become an organizational member of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

You now serve in a personal capacity as a Member at Large on the Board of Directors, but the Southern Regional Council as such is not represented.

We are trying to build up our organizational memberships, and hope that we may enroll your organization since its interests are so closely allied to those of the NCALL.

I believe you know that the membership fee is $25 a year, and is a good investment!

The next meeting of the Board of Directors is on December 2 and I would be happy to present the name of the Southern Regional Council at that time. Perhaps you will be there to vote on your own application!

Sincerely yours,

Gertrude Folks Zimand

(Mrs.) Gertrude Folks Zimand
Chairman, Membership Committee

GFZ:HR
encl.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N.W. Washington 6, D.C.

APPLICATION FOR
ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

_____

Date_____

We hereby apply for Organizational Membership in NCALL

Attached find check for $25.00 for dues for one year.

Signature_____

Address_____

Organization_____

Members receive bulletins, news letters during sessions of Congress, special memoranda, conference invitations.

The accompanying set of minutes of NCALL's Research Project Board is being sent to all Director's of NCALL by request of the Dec. 2 Board meeting. You will be interested in noting the future research and demonstration plans outlined herein.

Shirley E. Greene
Research Project Director

Research Project on
Education of Migrant Children

NCALL

Minutes of a Meeting of the Research Project Board - Dec. 1, 1953

Washington, D. C.

1. Those present were Chairman Howard Dawson, Amber Warburton, Gertrude Zimand, Monica Owen (for Edith Lowry) and Project Director, Shirley Greene. Also present by invitation were Elizabeth Herring and Virginia Weston.

2. The Project Director made an oral progress report which covered work done to date on analysis and write-up of field research findings, re-visits to the Florida and Virginia study centers for reporting and discussions with the National Sharecropper Fund and others looking toward a follow-up demonstration project in Palm Beach County, Florida and Northampton County, Virginia.

3. The Project Director further submitted a financial statement covering the seventeen months of the Project from its inception to Nov. 30, 1953. This report showed expenditures to Nov. 30 of $17,744.81 from a total budget of $20,604.73. It is the Director's estimate that when all other expenses of the field research are paid, there will remain a sum of $1500 to $2000 available toward the costs of publication of our report and its dissemination.

4. The bill from the Dept. of Social Science at Fisk University of $977 for tabulation of information was presented together with a letter which expressed the willingness of Fisk to scale this bill downward since it was higher than an original estimate for this service. In view of Mr. Greene's explanation that the extra cost was due to the fact that we asked for a good deal more cross-tabulation than had been anticipated, the Board voted to pay the full bill of $977 with appreciation to Fisk University for its fine cooperation and its generous attitude in regard to the costs.

5. The Board voted to instruct its chairman to write a letter to Florida State University at Tallahassee expressing our deep appreciation to the University for its substantial assistance to this Project through the allowance of funds from a research grant and the allocation of a considerable block of time of Dr. Hazen A. Curtis, Professor of Education, to direct a pupil testing program in Palm Beach County.

6. A lengthy discussion centered around the launching of a demonstration research project to follow up our field research project. In view of the grant of $10,000 recently received by NCALL from The Doris Duke Foundation for research on migrant education and of the expressed willingness of the National Sharecropper fund to join forces with the Project Board with a substantial contribution to such a project, it was the consensus of the Board that such a demonstration project should be undertaken. Subject to the working out of details, it was generally agreed that such a project should center around the employment of a specialist in migrant education attached to state or county school staffs working with administrators, teachers and communities toward the implementation of action programs along the lines indicated by the conclusions and recommendations of our field study; that it should be contemplated as no less than a three-year project; and that, assuming approval by the appropriate state and local school authorities, such project should be located in the east coast areas cov-

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Southern Regional Council

ered by our field study, i.e. Florida and Virginia with particular focus in Palm Beach County, Florida, and Northampton County, Virginia.

7. To implement this consensus, the Board took the following actions:

a. Voted to recommend to the Board of Directors of NCALL that they authorize the continuation of the National Research Project Board; that they inquire of each of the six co-sponsoring agencies as to whether they wish to continue to act as co-sponsors for purposes of such a demonstration project and if so by what individual they with to be represented on the Project Board; and that the Directors of NCALL authorize the Project Board to enlarge itself by the addition of representatives of other NCALL member organizations as may seem desirable in the light of this new phase of the project and in the light of specific contributions which such member organizations may be in position to make to the Project.

b. Voted to instruct the chairman of the Project Board to write a letter to the Doris Duke Foundation expressing our appreciation for their grant of $10,000 and describing in general terms our plan and intention to use this money for a demonstration project in migrant education; further that this letter specify our intention that this demonstration project shall constitute a follow-up and implementation of the field research already done and our purpose that the experiences and findings of the demonstration project shall ultimately be written up so as to constitute an integral part of the over-all research product of this project in migrant education.

c. Voted to recommend to the Board of Directors of NCALL that they instruct their Executive Secretary again to seek full tax-exempt status for NCALL so that its treasury may become the treasury for this demonstration project and for that purpose accept contributions from individuals and organizations who may wish to make such contributions with tax exemption.

d. Voted to express the profound appreciation of the Project Board to the Committee for Relief and Reconstruction of the Congregational Christian Churches for the two annual grants of $10,000 each which have made this field research project financially possible; and to request of them a grant of $5000 in 1954 to supplement the Doris Duke grant for purposes of financing the proposed demonstration project.

e. Voted to request the National Farmers Union to permit Rev. Shirley E. Greene to devote sufficient time, after Jan. 1, 1954, to this project a) to complete the publication of the reports of the field research and b) to direct the transition from the field research to the action phase of our Project. (It was the understanding that, the National Farmers Union willing, Mr. Greene would not receive salary from the Project Board for these services, but would be reimbursed for out-of-pocket expenses.)

f. Voted to leave such money as remains of the original project budget on Dec. 31, 1953 in the hands of the Council for Social Action to be drawn upon as needed by the Project Board for purposes of publication and dissemination of the reports of the field research project.

8. The other major discussion at this meeting centered around the publication of the findings of the field research project. There was general agreement that three publications are needed:

a. A full report, probably mimeographed in 1000 copies, suitable for use by state and county school authorities, teachers who are grappling with the migrant problem, graduate students, national administrative officials who have to deal with various phases of this problem, and the like.

b. A popularized and abbreviated version, printed, of perhaps the length of the typical Public Affairs Com. pamphlet designed for reading by teachers, P.T.A. members, church groups and other concerned citizens. Here the emphasis would be on action implications of the findings. What can the concerned citizen do?

c. A very brief leaflet-type publication which will carry the barest high-lights of the research findings and advertisement of the larger publications.

9. Numerous other suggestions and recommendations were made and noted by the Project Director regarding the size and composition of these several publications.

Minutes by Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Project Director

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Southern Regional Council

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

New York City

February 26, 1954

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL was held on Friday, February 26, 1954 in the office of the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches, 257-4th Avenue, New York City.

Those present were: Shirley Greene, Chairman, Howard Dawson, Treasurer, Gertrude Folks Zimand, Secretary, Miss Bennett, Miss Briesmeister, Mr. Fleischman, Mr. Hudgens, Dr. Landis, Miss Lowry, Mr. Norman, Miss Raeback and Mrs. Warburton.

The Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors of December 2, 1953, which had been mailed to all members, were approved without reading.

The Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on February 1, 1954, which had been mailed to members of the Executive Committee, were read and approved.

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Mrs. Zimand reported for the Membership Committee that the National Council of Jewish Women had accepted an invitation to apply for membership. IT WAS VOTED that the National Council of Jewish Women be elected an organizational member.

Mr. Greene reported that the National Lutheran Council had expressed a desire to withdraw as an organizational member, but he is to confer with Rev. E. W. Mueller about this decision.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Dr. Dawson presented the Treasurer's Report for the calendar year 1953 and the report for the month of January, 1954. IT WAS VOTED that these reports be accepted. A copy of the Treasurer's Report is attached.* Discussion of methods of increasing financial support was postponed until later in the meeting.

*Sent separately by Miss Herring.

REPORT OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT BOARD

Mr. Greene reported for the Research Project Board with regard to:

1. Plans for publication and distribution of the Report in two forms - the full report to be mimeographed or printed with the number and form determined by receipt of advance orders and a condensed report to be published in the May issue of Social Action published by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches.

2. A two or three year pilot project to begin July 1 under funds received, or to be received, from the Doris Duke Foundation, National Sharecroppers Fund and the Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth.

   A Migrant Education Supervisor will be employed as a staff member of the Boards of Education of Palm Beach County, Florida and Northampton County, Virginia - two of the areas in which the Research Study had been conducted.

   A written memorandum of agreement outlining the duties and responsibilities of this supervisor, and his relationship to the County Boards of Education and the Research Project Board is being drawn up.

   Mr. Greene announced that two new members had been added to the Research Project Board - Mr. Eliot Pratt of the National Sharecroppers Fund and Miss Ruth Strang of the Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth. Mr. Paul Blackwood of the U.S. Office of Education will serve as a consultant on the Research Project Board.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

Miss Herring, Executive Secretary, reported on operating problems and on pending issues. Under the former she mentioned the increased volume of work in the office as indicated by increased mail, a larger mailing list and increasing calls for assistance on various matters as the NCALL is becoming known as a citizen group interested in agricultural problems. She expressed her deep regret that Mrs. Seiler who has served very devotedly and efficiently as office secretary had found it necessary to resign.

IT WAS VOTED that a letter of appreciation be sent to Mrs. Seiler.

Miss Herring reported that a special issue of the Bulletin dealing with various committees and State activities was being prepared. She also mentioned the Annual Conference to be held in April which was discussed later in the day.

In discussing issues Miss Herring mentioned:

1. Items concerning the President's Budget Message, both favorable and unfavorable. The former included the proposed appropriations for migrant work in the Bureau of Labor Standards and in the Office of Education. The latter included the cut in the appropriation for the Immigration and Naturalization Service; the removal of funds for farm housing and the severe cut in the Farmers' Home Administration. The nature of this cut suggests that the FHA will merely become a credit agency and will abandon its educational work with farm families.

2. The Reclamation Act, i.e., the attempt to break down the 160 acre limitation. The Santa Maria project was mentioned as an example of the attempt to "kill it retail" rather than by a frontal attack. She reported that she had called two inter-agency meetings on this - had distributed material through the bulletin and to member agencies. She felt that this required more attention than she could give it, both from the point of view of NCALL's legislative policy and from the point of view of time, and suggested that perhaps a "Defense Committee for the Reclamation Act" should be organized with someone in charge who would be free to lobby and to whom some honorarium should be paid.

   There was some discussion of who should undertake such work and how money could be raised. Mr. Hudgens did not think a formal committee was necessary, that what is needed is to find a person with political sophistication who could watch the situation and alert people in emergencies. In view of the extreme interest in maintaining the 160 acre limitation on the part of veterans he suggested that a veteran might be a good possibility if money for phone calls and incidental services could be made available.

3. The Wetback Issue - Miss Herring reported in detail on developments in the situation and on what she has done to date. This has included letters of inquiry to Board Members and others to solicit their opinions; interviews with the Immigration Service and others; a special memorandum to members who had indicated special interest; discussion with Senator Lehman's

assistants, with special reference to the increase in wetbacks and how to apply humane principles in dealing with the problem; the breakdown on negotiations with Mexico on contract labor; the joint memorandum of the Departments of Labor, Justice and State which led to the unilateral agreement; the joint resolution to change Public Law 78 to permit border recruitment and the hearings recently held by the House Agricultural Committee.

Miss Herring asked Mr. Hudgens to discuss the question. He stated that we have retrogressed considerably from the program of earlier days that included orderly movement of labor, standards of wages, minimum term of employment, return transportation, housing, and written contracts. He felt that the present breakdown was due to our failure to find a long range solution to a complex problem, and referred to the recent unsatisfactory treaty negotiations and the wetback problem as simply symptoms of that failure.

He felt that all of us have overlooked the importance to Mexico of this problem, which must be viewed from the Mexican point of view in light of the "revolution." The "revolution" is still the central political factor in Mexico and was built chiefly on five points of issue in Mexican life. Our failure to recognize this has led us into the error of treating Mexico as an underdeveloped area rather than as a neighbor whose assets and needs are complementary to our own.

He pointed out that the Mexican labor problem at the border is simply an expression of two basic situations, one in Mexico and one in the United States. The first is the lack of order in rural development in Mexico. The other is the disorganization of the use of agricultural seasonal workers in the United States. He does not believe the problem at the border will be solved until these two situations are remedied in long range planning.

Mr. Hudgens mentioned several factors which at the present time constitute unfavorable prospects for a long range solution. 1) that all groups are satisfied with the present arrangements, 2) the Mexican bargaining position is weak because the Mexican workers find a comparatively favorable wage in the United States regardless of whether they enter legally or illegally, 3) there is no real shortage of domestic labor in the United States if it could be organized and regulated, 4) negotiations seem to be exclusively in the hands of the Foreign Office and State Department, rather than of the Departments of the respective governments.

Mr. Hudgens suggested that the NCALL should reconsider the agricultural use of Mexican labor in light of current developments. It is necessary that the NCALL decide on its priority among the following objectives: (a) giving

Mexican laborers needed income, (b) enforcing immigration laws, (c) providing American growers with cheap labor, (d) developing higher standards for agricultural labor in the United States, (e) raising the level of the Mexican economy.

Each of these objectives has been aggressively promoted by one or more groups in the United States, and it is important that NCALL make perfectly clear which of these objectives it will promote.

Advisory Committee

Miss Herring referred to the provision in the By-Laws which permits the organization of an Advisory Committee. She raised the question as to whether it might not be well to organize such a Committee at this time with the members selected with a view to two functions: 1) People with special skills that we need - primarily along the lines of public relations; 2) people who will help financially by writing to larger givers. In connection with this, there was discussion of our tax exempt status.

IT WAS VOTED

1. That Miss Herring and the Chairman be authorized to take steps to set up an Advisory Committee of the type mentioned above and to submit, through the Nominating Committee, a proposed roster of members.

2. That NCALL secure legal advice on what procedures a group of persons should take to bring about the establishment of a non-profit corporation whose sole function would be research with reference to agricultural life and labor and entitled to tax exempt status.

ADOPTION OF AMENDMENT TO THE BY-LAWS

Miss Herring presented the following amendments to the By-Laws which had been recommended for presentation at this meeting and of which notice had been sent in advance to all members. IT WAS VOTED unanimously that these amendments to the By-Laws be approved.

I. To add the underlined sentence to Article V, Section 2, so that the total section will read as follows:

"Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Executive Committee or by the Chairman

at the request of five members of the Board. Actions at special meetings may be taken only on matters specifically on the agenda as announced in the call for the meeting. Ten days advance notice shall be required for a special meeting."

II. To add the underlined words to Article VI, Section 5, so that the total section will read as follows:

"The Board of Directors shall appoint a Nominating Committee whose responsibility shall be to present at each annual meeting a proposed slate of officers, and standing committee personnel for the ensuing year. The Nominating Committee may bring in recommendations for members at large at any meeting of the Board, provided that the proposed names are submitted to Board members in writing in advance of the meeting at which they are to be elected. In the case of vacancies occurring between meetings the Board may request nominations from the Nominating Committee."

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

In the absence of Mrs. Ellickson, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, Mrs. Zimand was asked to present its Report. After some discussion and suggestions from the floor, the following slate was unanimously elected:

Officers

Chairman - Dr. George S. Mitchell (He has been invited as authorized at a previous meeting but has not yet replied). IT WAS VOTED that if Dr. Mitchell could not accept, Mr. Hudgens be invited to serve as Chairman; if neither could accept that Dr. Dawson be asked to become Chairman and a new Treasurer secured.

First-Vice-Chairman - Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Second " " - *Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J.
Third " " - *Rev. Thomas B. Keehn
Secretary - *Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand
Treasurer - *Dr. Howard A. Dawson

Executive Committee

In addition to the Officers:

Mrs. Ruth Muskrat Bronson
*Mrs. Katherine P. Ellickson
Dr. Benson Y. Landis
*Mr. H. L. Mitchell
Mr. Paul Sifton

Members-at-Large

Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Mr. Lewis W. Jones
Mrs. Leah Lachenbruck

Other Committees

The following committee members were elected. (In each case they include a resident group in Washington or New York and a "corresponding" group from other cities. The idea is that the resident group will take primary responsibility for initiating action and will confer with the others by correspondence.

Finance Committee
Resident Group

Chairman - Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Treasurer - Dr. Howard A. Dawson
*Mr. Richard Bennett
*Mr. Gardner Jackson
Representatives from Advisory Committee (if we appoint one)

Corresponding Members - New York

Miss Fay Bennett - with special responsibility for seeking larger contributions from member organizations
Mr. Robert W. Hudgens
Mr. Theodore Norman

Membership Committee
Resident Group in New York

Chairman - *Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand
Miss Marie Gaudette
*Miss Edith Lowry

Corresponding Members

*Paul Sifton
AFof L Representative
*Philip Schiff
*Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J.
Mrs. Ada Barnett Stough

Nominating Committee
Resident Group in New York

Chairman - Miss Esther Briesmeister
Mr. Harry Fleischman
Rev. Ray Gibbons
Dr. Benson Y. Landis

Corresponding Members

Mr. Harold A. Royer
*Mrs. Katherine P. Ellickson
Mr. H. L. Mitchell

*Re-elected to office or committee.

PLANS FOR ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Miss Herring announced that the Annual Conference will be held on April 26-27 at the Unitarian Church in Washington, D.C. Tentatively, the program has been set up as follows: The Conference will open the afternoon of the 26th with a discussion of farm labor - its gains and unfinished business in this area. A dinner will be held at the Unitarian Church with two addresses: The first will deal with the Mexican labor question and the second will deal with the general idea of the impact of sectional farm interests on the preservation of our democratic institutions.

Tuesday morning session will deal with a discussion of agricultural policies and trends bearing on the question of farm labor versus individual farms. After a quick lunch this same subject will be continued during the afternoon session.

Suggestions from members of the Board of Directors included:

1. Securing a very good speaker for the opening session rather than a series of reports from individual States or organizations.

2. That the registration and dinner fee be left to the Executive Secretary to decide, with a view to placing it at a figure that will help NCALL financially, but without cutting down on attendance.

3. That the Executive Secretary appoint a program committee to help her work out plans for the Conference.

4. The Executive Secretary asked the members to write her any suggestions for the Conference program and especially on the handling of the discussion on farm labor.

IT WAS VOTED to hold a brief meeting of the Board of Directors at the close of the Annual Conference.

THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED.

Gertrude Folks Zimand

Gertrude Folks Zimand
Secretary

April 14, 1954

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

Nice of you to write, and nice to have news of you and of Charlie Smith. A lot of work, but certainly better to have means to do it with. Still we've got to raise more money, and get these reorganized State outfits to raising some, too. I am trying to be in at part at least of the Washington meeting coming up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM/m

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL
LIFE AND LABOR

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Southern Regional Council

HOWARD A. DAWSON, *Chairman*
SHIRLEY E. GREENE, *1st Vice-chairman*
REV. WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S.J. *2nd Vice-chairman*
THOMAS B. KEEHN, *3rd Vice-chairman*
GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND, *Secretary*
PHILIP SCHIFF, *Treasurer*

Board of Directors
FAY BENNETT
RICHARD K. BENNETT
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National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

April 12, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am thrilled at what I read in the New York Times about you and hasten to send my congratulations.

I am imoressed by the whole idea and can say that it will make a tremendous difference in the transition just ahead.

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

I had lunch with Charles Smith and had the pleasure of telling him the good news.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N STREET, WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

To: Dr George D. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

May 27, 1954

From: Elizabeth B. Herring

Subject: Inclusion of Hired Farm Workers in Social Security

What has happened

The House Ways and Means Committee has retreated from the recommendation in the President's Social Security message on Farm Labor.

The President's recommendation was that a hired farm worker be included if he earned as much as $50 in a calendar quarter from a single employer, regardless of the number of days he worked.

The House Ways and Means Committee has substituted for this the provision that a worker be covered if he earns as much as $200 within a year from a single employer. As you know, this will exclude many more migrants than the original proposal.

What is about to happen

There is little hope of doing anything about this in the House. The Ways and Means Committee will probably be given a rule which will not permit amendment on the floor.

There is time, however, to do something about the issue in the Senate. I understand it may be sometime before it is reported out of Committee in the Senate.

Next week I will send out a Fact Sheet on all I can find out about the issue. In the meantime I am sending this note to a few of our member organizations with the double intent of giving them time to think about it and of asking for advice as to what they think should be done.

A few angles on the issue

The following points have been made to me by those with whom I have talked.

1. A fight in the Senate would be useful for two reasons: first, to prevent action which is worse (the Senate might require a $400 minimum as in the case of the self-employed); and second, to establish the point that there is a public concern. The chances of victory in the 84th Congress will be better if a fight is made now.

2. An educational campaign in the Senate would be useful even with those with humane intentions. (Many of the staff members I find have had so little contact with the facts of life about farm labor that they do not have a clear conviction as to what to be for. One legislative assistant said to me, "Farm labor <u>is</u> covered."

3. "A strong position for your member organizations to take would be to stand on the President's original recommendation of $50 a quarter. That might provide a basis for compromising on $100 a year from a single employer rather than $200.00."

4. "It might be a good idea for people to write to Secretary Hobby and ask what position the Administration is now taking."

In conclusion

I will get the Fact sheet to you as soon as possible after Memorial Day.

In the meantime, what do you think about all this?

Postscript

I am told that part of the opposition is the unwillingness of some large scale farmers to go to the trouble of keeping track of who their employees are and to do the related paper work. "Why, I don't even know who works for me," said one.

Another factor is that if the Bureau of Internal Revenue becomes involved in collecting Social Security taxes from these farmers, it might also get interested in such matters as income tax et al.

May 27, 1954

Mr. Lewis W. Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you very much for your excellent statement for the Conference report. I am finding several immediate and very profitable uses for that statement. Yesterday I left it with a member of the Social Security Board in trying to explain the situation of farm labor.

Would it be possible for you within the next few days to send me any information that I could use in the fact sheet mentioned on the enclosed memorandum? Could you give me one or two case stories of workers who have been dispossessed as sharecroppers and have settled in small towns and become casual laborers? How would the $200.00 proposition approved by the House Ways and Means Committee affect them? I would be most grateful for some comment from you which I could include in the fact sheet.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N STREET, WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

STATEMENT OF LEWIS W. JONES

Made at NCALL Conference

Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute

Whenever there are any distinctions possible that the employer may play upon, those distinctions will be used to depress the wage level and sustain unfavorable working conditions. We hear now of certain distinctions between nationals and non-nationals. In our history distinctions have been made at various periods between Negro slaves who were valuable property and Irish immigrants who were used to build railroads in the swamp lands of Louisiana and Mississippi because the health hazards were too great to risk valuable property in such undertakings. Since slavery the Negro-white distinction has been used to the disadvantage of workers of both races.

For a long time in the South Negro labor has been regarded as an important asset. When the migration to Kansas in the 1870's grew, Mississippi planters met in a convention at Vicksburg to consider means for halting the movement. Frederick Douglass sent the convention a message which said, "The sands may fly but the earth remains." Negroes have remained the chief source of supply of agricultural labor in the South. When large numbers migrated to man northern factories in World War I, legal and illegal means were employed to prevent the migration of agricultural laborers. Police officers in some places met trains to keep Negroes from boarding them. There are recorded instances in which trains were stopped and Negro workers taken off. In some states local laws were passed to make it illegal for anybody to recruit labor for out-of-state industry. I believe there is still on the statute books of Georgia a law requiring that a $2500 license be paid to recruit labor in that state.

In World War II there was no taking Negro workers off trains as in World War I. The fact that such little objection and barriers against the movement of Negro agricultural workers in this period should have suggested to us that

the time was coming when a great amount of agricultural labor would not be needed. The change was underway from row crops to grass farming and cattle and the mechanisation of row crop production. The full impact of the changes came in the decade of the 1940's.

At the end of the decade, 1,200,000 fewer people were earning a living on farms than at its beginning. On some farms mechanization is incomplete only because the problem of mechanical weeding has not been solved. Seasonal labor is still needed for the hoeing and weeding of cotton. While sharecroppers have been put off the farms, they have not all gone to Detroit and Pittsburgh. Many have gone to the nearest small town and go back onto the farms to work at hoeing and weeding in season. Their wage expectations are higher than those of Mexicans and Jamaicans with whom they must now compete for jobs.

Twenty years ago we were worried about the sharecropper. The sharecropper problem was never solved by the federal government in its agricultural reform policies or by well-meaning Christian people. Sharecroppers did not move up the agricultural ladder; instead they are being eliminated from agriculture. Between 1940 and 1952, the number of hired farm workers in the South declined one-third. Sharecroppers declined 36 percent. Other tenants declined 38 percent.

Considered in absolute terms the wages of farm laborers in the South are better in 1952 than in 1940 -- four times better, average hourly wage rates having risen from 13 cents to 52 cents. Considered relatively the gap between the per hour wages of southern farm laborers and the wages of farm laborers outside the South has widened. In 1940, when the southern farm laborer received 13 cents per hour the non-southern farm laborer received 21 cents per hour. In 1952, when the southern farm laborer received 52 cents per hour the non-southern farm laborer received 78.5 cents per hour. The difference spread from 8 cents to 22.5 cents per hour.

The unstabilized situation of farm labor in the cotton South is not a happy one for the Negro laborer. He has not found a job in industry with the same ease that the white laborer has. He may not compete to an advantage with the laborers from other countries for the job that has been his traditionally. There is no organization working in Negro farm laborers interest as is the case of the Urban League's work in the interest of industrial labor. The problem becomes more serious when we think of the Eisenhower veterans of Pittsburgh and Detroit who may be returned when there is no place to which they may return.

These are the South's agricultural laborers who face the competition of imported foreign labor. There is no scarcity of labor but there is a scarcity of labor that will accept the wages and working conditions that foreign nationals will accept.

Greetings - It was good to have a sight of you at the Conference. I know how you are rejoicing at certain recent events which have repaired our national self-respect. Fine piece by Mr. Fleming in the New Republic.

Thought you would be interested in the enclosed. Yo

answer required — unless
you have time to give me
advice.

Elizabeth Henning

September 24, 1954

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on
Agricultural Life and Labor
1751 "N" Street
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

How much would it cost the Southern Regional Council to become an organizational member of the NCALL?

I am sorry I can't be at the Board meeting September 27, but I just can't.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Cannot the S.R.C.
become a mass
organ? (Small
membership fee included)

9 T.H.

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AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Sept 16, 1954
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United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

September 14, 1954

To: Members of the Board of Directors
From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

I. At the next meeting of the Board of Directors on September 27 in New York City the meeting will begin with a box lunch at twelve noon. Will you please let me know on the slip at the bottom of this sheet whether you would like to have me order a box lunch for you?

The meeting will be in the conference room of the Division of Home Missions at 257 Fourth avenue from 12 noon to three-thirty P.M.

II. On the same slip will you please suggest names of persons who would be good members of the Advisory Committee authorized at a recent board meeting. Functions: to help publicize interests of NCALL and to help with finance.

The Nominating Committee will present a slate for the Advisory Committee at the Board meeting. Your suggestions (soon) will be appreciated.

(detach here)

I. Please {do / do not} reserve a box lunch for me.

II. I suggest the following persons as members of the Advisory Committee.

Signed: _____

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

October 29, 1954

Dictated October 28

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

Best I can think of is Macedonia, a cooperative community near Clarksville, Georgia. The elected head of that is Art Wiser. It has been running along now for a dozen years or more. Under some encumberances, around a thousand acres of wooded or farming land -- not very good land though much improved. Housing accomodations a'plenty.

Until eight or ten months ago it had fourteen or fifteen families, all of whom were white, though in principal the community was open to anyone. Then it suffered a split when all but two complete families hived off into some outfit I don't know much about called the Bruderhof, and settled in upstate New York. The two remaining families are stable people -- Art and Mary Wiser and Dick Mommsen and his wife. Two, three, or four unattached individuals also at Macedonia.

They have a dairy farm which nearly works them to death, and also a goodish business manufacturing and selling nursery school block and toy items. The light work attached to the operations of block-making pays them 75¢ an hour for what time they can put into it. Two, three, or four empty houses, all with water laid on, but out in the country and chilly except for fireplaces and stoves. Some mud (when it rains, which lately it hasn't). I think there was also a problem of some school teaching, though it may be that the community children now go to the bordering neighborhood public school.

A retired nurse from Philadelphia settled among them some years ago, and was comfortable enough until disease overtook her untimely.

Most of the people at Macedonia have been conscientious objectors. They believe in cooperation. There is a pretty stout strain of Christianity that goes through. Wiser was brought up as the son of missionary parents in India, and retains a good many links with an Oriental form of pacifism. In matters economic they are nothing more radical than cooperative.

If they would take Jacque Poole in, I think she would not lack for pleasant association and ample opportunity to be useful. My only question is whether her physical health would sustain the somewhat rugged life in a North Georgia hill winter.

If she is interested, she should correspond with Art Wiser.

Grace Hamilton remembers most warmly Miss Poole, and will be writing you about what she, Mrs. Hamilton, can turn up as a possibility at Spelman College.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

October 26, 1954

RECEIVED 10/28/54 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Would it be an imposition to ask for a bit of information to help with a personal problem? I am trying to help a friend of mine recovering from a terrible automobile accident to find a spot in a southern residence school where she can earn her keep without salary, while she gets her vigor back.

I know about Brasstown and Highlander Folk School. Could you mention three or four more where you think the leadership is good? She is white but would be happy in either a primarily white or Negro institution.

Jacque Poole's father was Assistant Chief of Police in Atlanta some years back. He was cited in the New Republic for his refusal to accede to the request of an Atlanta industry to buy guns for them for strike breaking purposes. Jacque is 44 years old. She was my assistant years ago, then a YWCA local secretary. She is a warm hearted, attractive and creative person. At this moment she likes the idea of doing something with young people in drama, crafts, dress design and dancing. She has also had radio training.

I enclose a statement Jacque prepared on segregation at our Columbus convention in 1938. (She did not have a chance to give it.)

I shall be most grateful for the names of a few people and places where there might be a niche for her. It is just possible that Mrs. Hamilton may remember something about Jacque so I am sending her a carbon of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

J. Poole drafted this to give at the YWCA Convention in Columbus, Ohio in 1938

Madam Chairman:

I am E. Jacque Poole, General Secretary of the Clearwater, Florida, Y.W.C.A. I wish to speak to the resolution of the National Student Assembly recommending that: " - - - (and then a typed page - ending with - - - - We recommend that the YWCA's of the U. S. of America during the coming biennum study - - the implications of segregation and discrimination in American life upon the relationship of white and Negro people in their association and community life.'

Mrs. Speer said yesterday, in speaking of Mabel Cratty, - that Miss Cratty did not put a fire cracker under a person who was not growing sufficiently fast - - or words to that effect! I would never be so presumptuous as to disagree with Miss Cratty - but in the last few days I have 'toyed' with the conclusion that some of us would wake from our inertia if we did find - or feel - a few fire crackers under us! - - particularly when we resort to the statement that 'we dare not move too fast - the people in our communities are not ready for the next step...' etc., etc.

Please do not misunderstand me - - I do realize that this is true - in a great many communities - - but - - is it not also true - that some of use that statement when we have never made any conscientious effort to see if we could move even so far as taking the first step?

A few days ago - here - the question was raised as to 'Why so few of the young white South ever expressed an opinion - either for or against questions brought up in reference to the Negro question.' Because of that question and because it is a challenge - I am speaking at this time (and making it known) - that I am one individual in that group of young white southerners. I was born and reared in the South and I am now working in the South.

The recommendation of a study of the 'Implications of segregation and discrimination' is most welcome to me. I know there are others here - from the South - who feel as I do. I also realize there are others here who differ - on the subject! It is a question that must be answered individually - - and before it can be answered it must be faced realistically and within each of us.

It seems to me that here is an opportunity of finding a deeper meaning in the words "Fatherhood of God - - and Brotherhood of man" - - - and - perhaps - drawing a little nearer the goal to which we are all supposedly dedicated and working for - as members of the Young Women's Christian Associations of America with such a purpose - (which I dare to repeat and remind you of):

> "To build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task of realizing in our common life those ideals of personal and social living to which we are committed by our faith as Christians. In this endeavor we seek to understand Jesus, to share His love for all people, and to grow in the knowledge and love of God."

I as one young white southerner hereby welcome the resolution brought by the National Student Assembly and feel at long last that the necessary "fire cracker" has been placed - and strategically.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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RECEIVED
11/4/54
Southern Regional Council

November 2, 1954

DearDr. Mitchell:

It was wonderful of you to take the trouble to write me such a helpful letter about Jacque Poole. I have written her telling her about Macedonia (enchanting name by the way) and Art Wiser. Also I have told her that Mrs. Hamilton has ideas. She will follow up and I feel sure that these collective efforts will yield some dividends.

Jacque

Are you coming this way some time? It would be good to see you. I suppose you are out doing your patriotic duty today. It is really grim to be an disenfranchised resident of the District of Columbia. Tonight I go down to the Willard to celebrate or weep with the Young Democrats.

Gratefully,

Elizabeth Herring

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American Jewish Committee
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ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations Council for Social Action,
Congregational Christian Churches Department of Rural Education,
National Education Association Division of Home Missions,
National Council of Churches Division of Social Education and Action,
Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women

Mailed - GSM will not attend
11/8/54 end

November 3, 1954

To: Members of the Board of Directors
From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

The Fourth Quarterly Board Meeting will be held in Washington on December 14, 1954, from 10:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M., including luncheon. The meeting will be held at 1637 Massachusetts Avenue.

Among the items of business will be a progress report from the NCALL Appraisal Committee.

FOR YOUR 1955 DESK CALENDAR - THE NCALL ANNUAL MEETING AND CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD IN WASHINGTON ON FEBRUARY 15 AND 16.

Additional information will be sent to you soon.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
FINANCIAL STATEMENT October 31, 1954

FOREWORD: Statement I includes both general and research funds.
Statement II is an account of research funds only.
On November 1st a special account was opened for the Research Fund in order to simplify bookkeeping.

STATEMENT I - GENERAL and RESEARCH

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in bank, January 1, 1954			$10,172.63
From Memberships and Contributions		$4,065.00	
From Library Subscriptions		11.00	
Sale of Publications		108.28	
For Education Project		2,345.88	
Conference Registrations and Luncheons		504.25	
F.I.C.A.		40.07	
Refund: Luncheon, Shirley Greene		1.25	
			7,075.73
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$17,248.36

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$2,251.75	
Executive	$1,375.00		
Office	826.75		
Honorarium	50.00		
Office Supplies		85.16	
Travel, Living & Conference Attendance		84.30	
Advance		100.00	
Office Rent		300.00	
Telephone and Telegraph		112.60	
Postage and Stamped Envelopes		160.24	
Printing, Mimeographing, Stationery & Bulletin		962.72	
Subscriptions to Publications		69.35	
Taxes - F.I.C.A.		132.15	
NCALL	92.15		
Research	40.00		
Education Project		10,310.58	
Deposit	6,500.00		
Expenses	3,810.58		
Messenger Service		2.00	
Annual Conference Expenses		317.18	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$14,888.03
BALANCE IN BANK, October 31, 1954			2,360.33
TRANSFER TO RESEARCH ACCOUNT			2,035.30
BALANCE IN NCALL GENERAL FUND			$ 325.03

BILLS OUTSTANDING

Balance due on 1952 Indebtedness to Council for Social Action for Salary of Shirley E. Greene	120.00
Due on Office Furniture	52.00

STATEMENT II - RESEARCH

Cash on hand, 1-1-54			$10,000.00
Cash Received			2,345.88
Congregational Christian Relief and Reconstruction Fund		$1,667.00	
Balance in Field Research Fund: Designated for Purchase of "Education of Migrant Children"		674.88	
Orders for "Children of Misfortune"		4.00	
			$12,345.88
Cash Expended			
Savings Account		6,500.00	
Salary-Elizabeth Sutton		2,000.00	
Travel and Living		1,055.95	
E. Sutton			
Auto. & Living	$339.25		
Travel	202.02		
Advance	150.00		
S. Greene			
Auto. & Living	73.35		
Travel	271.64		
Field Supplies	19.69		
Headquarters Expense			
Supplies		754.63	
Copies of "Education of Migrant Children"	674.88		
Filing Cabinet	49.50		
Deficit on Executive Committee Luncheon Guarantee	3.75		
Refund for "Children of Misfortune"	4.00		
Contingent	22.50		$10,310.58
BALANCE ON HAND in Security Bank			$ 2,035.30
BALANCE ON HAND in Prudential Building Association			$ 6,500.00
TOTAL RESEARCH FUNDS.			$ 8,535.30

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D.C.

Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

November 8, 1954

Mr. Howard A. Dawson
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dawson:

Perfectly willing to serve on the committee about low income farmers which you describe in your letter of November 3rd.

Sorry I have got to be travelling Monday, November 15th, but I send a comment as follows:

If the Department of Agriculture is serious about helping low income farmers and doesn't want to shell out a lot of money, it has available a ready and effective way of doing it by a systematic campaign to get improved farm leases, particularly in the South.

To save time I attach a memo I did for a Methodist gathering this past Summer.

The truth is that a very large part of the meanness and the political backwardness of the South and of the nation has in its roots the condition of dependence of the bulk of the rural population in the old "Plantation Belt" of the South. Now the thing changes and changes rapidly and, unfortunately, nobody knows exactly how it is changing. But it is quite clear that a whole lot of improvement could be had if we would shift over to long-term leases.

Left on its own the Agricultural Extension Service, in my judgment, is not going to take up the job. Never mind why, but they are too tied in with the landlord group in the Southern states. They could be brought around. This man, Eisenhower, that we have as President evidently believes in educational programs rather than direct action. This is an educational program. And the man has authority over a potential education engine in the Extension Service. So he ought to wrench the Extension Service around so that it does by a mighty effort get over the idea of long-term farm leases.

It is up to the other agencies too, and I think that they too should use the idea. And a lot of help could be had from the churches.

We don't solve these problems in the South about schooling and decency until we obtain status and ambition and chance for the poor guys who farm the country counties. The system of annual oral leases that we have had is a hold-over from way back yonder somewhere. It is quite incompatible with modern society. And I think that the Department of Agriculture ought to begin to do something about it. It won't cost anything and it will do worlds and worlds of good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

RECEIVED 11/5/54 Southern Regional Council

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AMBER ARTHUN WARBURTON
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Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
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National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

November 3, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I hope that you will serve on a short-time NCALL Committee. Please do not be dismayed but read a little further.

The Fifth Annual Meeting and Conference of NCALL has been called to meet in Washington February 15-16, 1955.

Probably you noted in the September 28 Board Minutes the decision that "this year's conference be in the nature of an open Board meeting focusing on one or two special questions."

One of the subjects proposed was "Policy on low income and underemployed farmers." This proposal was inspired by Secretary Benson's request to NCALL last summer that we express ourselves on the study of small farmers and farm labor which has been undertaken by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. His letter is enclosed.

I am inviting you and several others to serve on a committee to plan how we will cope with the Secretary's questions in the NCALL Annual Meeting and Conference. I am inviting a distinguished and busy group to serve on this committee, because they are the persons who have the background to help with the questions.

A meeting of this conference committee has been called for 9:30 A. M., Monday, November 15, at 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. } Dr. Mitchell, you will be enroute to Virginia and Boston

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

We hope that you can come. If not, could we have your comments by mail?

One item on the agenda will be a suggestion that we set up our conference discussion of low-income farmers and farm labor in such a way that we get a printed pamphlet from it which can be widely publicized and used in social action programs. This would involve our asking somebody for some money to print it.

I hope that you will consent to give us your expert help.

Sincerely yours,

Howard A. Dawson

Howard A. Dawson
Chairman

To:
Mr. Robert W. Hudgens
Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Dr. Benson Y. Landis
Dr. George Mitchell
Dr. Theodore Norman
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean C. O.
Mr. Paul Sifton

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

RECEIVED 11/22/54 Southern Regional Council

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THOMAS B. KEEHN, *3rd Vice-chairman*
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PHILIP SCHIFF, *Treasurer*

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National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

November 19, 1954

To: Members of the Board of Directors of NCALL
From: Howard A. Dawson
Chairman

Your help is needed. Some questions are enclosed to which we would like your answers soon.

In line with board action on September 28th, an appraisal committee has been appointed to look at NCALL's current program and make recommendations for the future.

The committee members are Fay Bennett, Shirley Greene, Paul Sifton, Edith Lowry, plus Howard Dawson and Elizabeth Herring, ex-officio.

The committee has conferred by mail and in person and hopes to bring a progress report to the December 14th board meeting in Washington. To do so, they need your opinion of the enclosed propositions.

Will you please send it by December 6th, or sooner?

Enclosures

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

N A T I O N A L C O U N C I L O N A G R I C U L T U R A L L I F E & L A B O R
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D. C.

November 19, 1954

THE APPRAISAL COMMITTEE NEEDS YOUR OPINION OF THE FOLLOWING PROPOSITIONS:

FUNCTIONS OF NCALL

I. General Function

To improve the status and conditions of farm labor and family farmers (the emphasis on migrants and low-income farmers being an aspect of the general function).

II. Particular Functions

1. Keep track of what is going on in the Federal government and cooperate with other citizen groups on issues related to NCALL's general function.

2. Inform NCALL members about what is happening and facilitate action of members.

3. Provide a clearing house of information in NCALL's field for people in national, state and local groups.

- -

MEMBERSHIP

1. The only type of members should be organizational members (national and regional).

2. "Associates" (or similar term) should supplant "individual members." "Associates" would not be promoted but the plan would provide a recognized relationship for persons who work closely with NCALL (from non-affiliated national organizations, state organizations, universities, etc.)

3. "Subscription" should take the place of the "individual membership fee" - All persons (except organizational members) would pay this subscription if they wished to receive NCALL publications.

STAFF

1. NCALL should enlarge its financing plan to provide two or 1½ staff members. (What must be done on Capitol Hill and in the NCALL office requires more than one person.) What are your suggestions?

The enclosed suggested budget proposes a full-time executive, a half-time representative who majors on government contacts, and a full-time office secretary.

2. The possibility of seeking a special grant for the clearing house function should be considered.

- -

WHICH NCALL PUBLICATIONS HAVE FITTED INTO THE PROGRAM OF YOUR ORGANIZATION? (What are your new proposals?)

NCALL INFORMATION RELATED TO PROPOSITIONS

FUNCTION

Congress and Government Agencies

NCALL's emphasis has been heaviest on migrant labor, but is moving into the larger framework (as prescribed by the By-Laws).

Subjects (national level) emphasized in publications, releases and conferences this year have been:

- Inclusion of farm labor (especially migrants) in social legislation and government services
- Mexican farm labor
- Farmers' Home Administration and Farm Housing
- Excess Lands Provision of Reclamation Act
- Rural electrification
- Farm surpluses, full production and human welfare

Beside its "reporter" function, NCALL frequently participates in Washington inter-agency planning.

Clearing House Function

Through its meetings and the NCALL Bulletin, there is exchange of experience and opinion on matters national, state and local.

In addition, a growing correspondence with state and local people, especially on farm labor programs, is a tax on our resources and also an obvious opportunity to speed the trend toward united effort.

One indication of interest was the large number of orders for the special issue of the NCALL Bulletin on state committees and commissions. 600 copies were ordered.

MEMBERSHIP

Beside 34 member organizations (mostly national), NCALL has 134 contributing individual members. No attempt has been made for a year to promote individual membership as a money-raising measure. However, an effort has been made to hold the interest of those who were members already, and to offer membership to people who registered their interest on their own volition.

The amount of money contributed by individuals is not great, but the interest is. In suggesting that NCALL substitute an "Associates" plan, the idea is to retain this sense of identification.

Among our individual members are representatives of 15 national organizations not affiliated with us but interested in what we are doing. Also included are representatives of regional and state organizations, state and regional members of national organizations belonging to NCALL, staff members of government agencies (including international), and a sprinkling of university professors, editors, teachers, ministers, and librarians (libraries actually).

The mailing list for NCALL publications includes 450 names. We send our materials free to a good many people; especially

1. To organizations for exchange of publications
2. A few Senators and Congressmen with whom we have had helpful relations and whose staffs are interested in our activities.
3. Washington representatives of cooperating organizations
4. A few government agency staff members
5. A cultivation list

STAFF

A plan for additional staff members is proposed because one staff member with a part-time secretary stenographer cannot keep up with Washington, get out the publications, carry on a clearing house information service, and keep NCALL functioning as an organized body - (not to mention a standby and budget role in relation to the Migrant Education Research Project).

National Council on Agricultural
Life & Labor
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D. C.

November 19, 1954

BUDGET FOR AN ENLARGED PROGRAM

	We are spending in 1954*	We would spend if we had 1½ staff members @ $7,000
Salaries	$2666.75	$13,900.00
(Part-time salaries)		(Full-time)
Executive $1500.00		$10,500.00
Office 1116.75		3,400.00
Honorarium 50.00		
Office supplies	90.00	100.00
Travel, living & conference attendance	135.00	300.00
Office rent	360.00	360.00
Telephone & telegraph	153.60	175.00
Postage & stamped envelopes	250.00	300.00
Printing, mimeographing, stationery & Bulletin	1280.00	1,500.00
Subscriptions to publications	69.35	75.00
Taxes - FICA	52.00	236.00
Total	$5056.70	$16,946.00

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D.C.
November 19, 1954

*Approximate since the year is not over.

A N N O U N C E M E N T S

AGENDA OF THE DECEMBER 14 MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1637 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C. - 10:00 A. M. - 2:00 P. M.

We are happy to say that Mrs. Clara M. Beyer, Associate Director of the Bureau of Labor Standards, will be present and will speak informally about the plans of the new INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR appointed by President Eisenhower. We will also have the pleasure of meeting Mr. William von Seggern, Secretary of the Interdepartmental Committee.

****

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND CONFERENCE OF NCALL

February 15 and 16, Washington, D. C.

The agenda of the meeting (except for necessary business) will deal exclusively with questions addressed to NCALL last summer by the Secretary of Agriculture. The U. S. Department of Agriculture is making a study of "underemployed farmers." Secretary Benson's questions had to do with both farm labor and low-production family farmers. Further information will be given to the Board at its meeting on December 14.

****

(If you have not already notified NCALL)

- -

(Detach here and mail to NCALL)

I do ____
do not ____(check) expect to attend the Board meeting in

Washington on December 14. Please reserve luncheon for me_____. ($1.25)

(Signed) _____

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D.C.
November 19, 1954

November 29, 1954

Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Zimand:

Bully for you!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 29, 1954

Dictated November 24

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

Thank you for your letter of November 19.

Some of those around you will know of the John H. Rust Foundation. Mr. Rust died early this year, and I have not been able to find out in just what condition his affairs were left. But I know that the Foundation was in working order before his death and had made quite a number of small but carefully placed grants.

Were Mr. Rust alive he would be immediately interested in the problems you pose in Item 4.

I think his widow lives at Pine Bluff Arkansas. Doubtless a letter addressed to Mrs. John H. Rust, Pine Bluff, Arkansas will reach her. She was the treasurer and secretary of the Foundation.

A telephone call to the President of Arkansas A. & M. College in Pine Bluff (Mr. Lawrence Davis) would give you the facts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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11/22/54
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National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

November 19, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter was read with the utmost interest. As you note, "leases" are on the program.

Additional suggestions will be gratefully received. As we progress on the plans, I will write you further about how we deal with the lease issue.

We are very anxious to answer Mr. Benson very thoroughly and publicly, so if you have any inspirations about point 4 in the letter will you let me know?

Father Shean called us from Rockville and underlined the lease idea.

With best wishes and thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:rf

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

Dr. Mitchell -

November 19, 1954

To: The Program Committee for the NCALL Annual Meeting and Conference - February 15 and 16, 1955

From: Howard A. Dawson
Chairman

Thank you very much for your letters, your telephone calls, and your presence at the committee meeting on November 16. Four proposals have resulted.

1. All agree that we build the conference agenda around the questions asked of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor last summer by the Secretary of Agriculture. As you will recall, Secretary Benson informed NCALL that a study is going on in the United States Department of Agriculture of the problems of underemployed rural people. The specific questions which the Secretary asked had to do both with farm labor and with low-production family farmers. Secretary Benson said: "The purpose of the review is to aid in improving programs already in operation, developing programs within present legislative authority, and in evaluating and formulating legislation which Congress may consider."

2. We agree that the conference is to be an "agenda" meeting rather than a "program". In other words, all subject matter presented will be directly related to the issues on which the members seek consensus. Each topic will receive the following treatment:

Clear statement of the issue.
Factual material on what has happened and the status of the problem.
Proposals for programs of action directed toward solution.

3. We agree that the agenda should include selected issues in three areas:

<u>Education of low-production family farmers and farm wage workers</u> (e. g. adult and vocational)

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ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

Status and welfare of low-production family farmers (e. g., Emphasis on tenure situation in the South, i. e., problems of no written leases. Also credit and social services.)

Farm labor planning (e. g., Orderly employment, tripartite wage boards, foreign labor.)

4. Committee members who were able to meet on November 16 believe that we should try immediately to get a special grant for this conference; so that the following will be possible:

Preliminary investigation of what is happening in relation to each issue chosen for conference discussion. Preparation of factual material.
Expense for securing leadership of the conference.
Stenotypist, editorial work, printing and public relations expenses so that the widest possible publicity can be given to the ideas of the conference.

At your early convenience, will you let Miss Herring know what you think of all this, and also send your suggestions as to Foundations and organizations to whom this conference would appeal?

The suggestion has been made that three or four member organizations of NCALL with tax exempt status might constitute the official conference committee and receive and disburse the money for the conference expenses. Under what conditions this would be a legal idea is being looked into.

CC:

Mr. Paul Sifton
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Dr. Theodore Norman
Dr. Benson Y. Landis
Mr. Robert W. Hudgens
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
Miss Elizabeth B. Herring

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MINUTES OF THE FOURTH QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Washington, D.C.

December 14, 1954

A meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL was held on Tuesday, December 14, 1954 at the National Jewish Welfare Board, 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

Those present were: Dr. Dawson, Chairman, Mr. Greene, Vice-Chairman, Mr. Schiff, Treasurer, Mrs. Zimand, Secretary and Miss Bennett, Dr. Brown, Miss Lowry, Miss Magee, Miss Morton, Mrs. Magolin (representing the National Council of Jewish Women), Mr. Sifton, Mrs. Stough, Mrs. Warburton and Miss Herring, Executive Secretary. Guests during the latter part of the Board Meeting were: Paul Blackwood, U.S. Office of Education, Mrs. Clara Mortenson Beyer, U.S. Bureau of Labor Standards, William Von Seggern, Interdepartmental Committee on Migrant Labor, Eleanor Hadley of the American Association of Social Workers and Max Egloff.

The Minutes of the previous meeting, which had been sent to all members, were approved as circulated.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

The Executive Secretary reported on her activities and material sent out during the fall and on work now under way. She stated that the only item referred by the last Board Meeting on which she had not taken action was the organization of an Advisory Committee. She felt that in view of the suggestions that might be made by the Appraisal Committee which is now engaged in the study and evaluation of NCALL, it would be wiser to defer this until their report had been made next spring.

Miss Herring's report was received and approved.

TREASURER'S REPORT

The Treasurer's Report, presented by Mr. Schiff, was received and approved. IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Greene and Miss Herring be asked to constitute a Committee to discuss with the Council for Social Action the cancellation of the remaining indebtedness ($147) of NCALL to the Council for Social Action.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. Dawson presented the report and recommendations of the Executive Committee. IT WAS VOTED that NCALL make Social Security payments to Miss Sutton on the basis of a full year instead of only for the time she works in Virginia. This would be on the basis of $3,000 for the last two quarters of 1954 and on the basis of $4,200 for 1955. These payments will come from the funds for the Demonstration Project on Migrant Education.

Dr. Dawson explained a suggestion by Miss Herring that her token salary of $1,500 be reduced to $750 and that the other $750 be used as a retainer for a person who could be a liaison with Congress and government departments in securing for NCALL the information about proposed or pending legislation and other governmental proposals or action related to our field of interest.

Miss Herring explained that she did not feel that it was possible for one person to carry full responsibility for office administration, fund-raising, issuance of publications and also to keep in touch with all that was going on in our extensive field of interest.

After considerable discussion IT WAS VOTED that the Board authorize the Executive Committee to employ someone to act in a liaison capacity for NCALL with Congress and with government departments to secure up-to-date information about items relating to our program, and that if further funds became available for salary purposes during the year they be used to increase Miss Herring's salary up to the present $1,500 standard.

Dr. Dawson reported that the revised Internal Revenue Act permits a non-profit organization to establish separate funds for those of its activities which are used "exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes" and for those which are legislative in character.

IT WAS VOTED that the Chairman be authorized to set up two separate accounts for NCALL with one account used exclusively for its educational research and information services.

REPORT OF THE APPRAISAL COMMITTEE

Miss Bennett presented an interim report for the Appraisal Committee which has been considering the functions, the membership basis and the financial problems of NCALL. Her Committee had canvassed all Board Members with a questionnaire. Excerpts from the replies were read to indicate the wide range of thinking among Board Members. It was the consensus of opinion that these matters were so fundamental to the future of NCALL that there should be more time for their consideration than would be possible at a Board Meeting held in conjunction with the Annual Conference in February as originally planned.

It was, therefore, suggested that the Appraisal Committee continue its study, and that a special meeting of the Board be held some time after the Annual Conference, perhaps in March, to discuss and take action upon the report of the Appraisal Committee.

PLANS FOR THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Miss Herring reported on plans for the Annual Conference as developed by a Committee consisting of Paul Sifton, George Mitchell, Robert Hudgens, Theodore Norman, Benson Landis and Monsignor Shean, with Dr. Dawson and Miss Herring serving ex officio.

The Board approved the Conference plans with the suggestion that in place of workshops the main speaker at each session be allotted more time, and that a Panel of informed people on the subject under discussion be asked to participate preceding discussion from the floor.

****

The afternoon meeting opened with presentations by Mrs. Clara Beyer, Associate Director, U.S. Bureau of Labor Standards and Mr. William Von Seggern, Staff Member of the Interdepartmental Committee on Migrant Labor, on the plans that had been developed by the Bureau of Labor Standards under the appropriation of $50,000 that had been granted by Congress to the Bureau of Labor Standards this year for migrant work.

INVITATION FROM NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY TO BECOME ASSOCIATE GROUP

The invitation to NCALL to become an Associate Group of the National Social

Welfare Assembly was considered.

IT WAS VOTED that this invitation be accepted. The Executive Committee was authorized to name two delegates and an alternate to the National Social Welfare Assembly.

IT WAS VOTED TO ADJOURN.

Gertrude Folks Zimand

Gertrude Folks Zimand
Secretary

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December 17, 1954

Dr. Mitchell

TO: Members of the Conference Committee
FROM: Elizabeth Herring

It was necessary to change the dates of the Conference because of conflict with other conference dates.

Soon after Christmas, I will send you a draft of the Conference plans and will be grateful for your comments on content, method and leadership.

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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SHIRLEY E. GREENE, *1st Vice-chairman*
REV. WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S.J. *2nd Vice-chairman*
THOMAS B. KEEHN, *3rd Vice-chairman*
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VENIETTE C. WEIL

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American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches
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United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

December 17, 1954

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

To: Members of the Board of Directors
From: Howard A. Dawson, Chairman
Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

CHANGE OF DATE OF ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of NCALL will be held in Washington February 23, 24, and 25 (not the middle of February).

The Conference will do a specific piece of work. The entire Conference will be devoted to questions sent to NCALL last summer by the Secretary of Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture is making a study of government services to low-income farm groups. Secretary Benson asked a number of national organizations, including NCALL, for comments.

The Conference has been called early in the Congressional session, so that member organizations wishing to take action will be familiar with the issues and with the concrete things that can be done.

In his letter, Secretary Benson said that it was the object of the study to find ways of "improving programs already in operation, developing programs within present legislative authority, and in evaluating and formulating legislation which Congress may consider". Because the study is for this purpose, the theme of the NCALL Conference will be "LOW-INCOME FARMERS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT".

Preparatory materials will be sent to delegates. To increase the effectiveness of the discussions, preparatory materials will be sent to member organizations in January. While the Conference will pass no resolutions, nor take positions as a total group, there will be a report which will be helpful to member organizations in determining their own lines of action.

The members of the Conference Program Committee are: Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Mr. Robert W. Hudgens, Dr. Benson Y. Landis, Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Theodore Norman, Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O., and Mr. Paul Sifton.

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ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

JAN 5 1955

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United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

December 31, 1954

To: Members of the Board of Directors
From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

Here are three messages to greet the New Year.

ANNUAL DUES OF MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

A notice is enclosed for the 1955 dues. As you may surmise from my great promptness, the treasury is almost empty.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE AND BOARD MEETING--FEBRUARY 23, 24, and 25.

As you have noted in the December 14 board minutes, the Annual Conference will be a work session. How many sets of preparatory material can your organization use to advantage? The assumption back of this question is that each member organization will send more than one delegate.

There will be a very brief first quarterly board meeting at the time of the conference but all major business will be postponed till the second quarterly meeting to be held in New York the latter part of April (date to be announced later).

MR. CHARLES H. SLAYMAN JR. WILL ASSIST NCALL AS RESEARCH CONSULTANT

In line with Board action (see Dec.14 minutes) Mr. Slayman has been invited and has consented to give us some time during the first session of the Eighty-Fourth Congress helping us to keep up with Congressional and Administration developments. By virtue both of experience and sympathy with our cause, Mr. Slayman will be a great help in getting prompt and accurate information to member organizations.

(Detach and mail to NCALL)

Please send.....sets of preparatory material for use of the delegates from our organization to the NCALL Annual Conference.

Signed.....
Organization.....

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street N.W. Washington 6, D.C.

ANNUAL REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Dear Friends:

I attach a summary of NCALL's 1954 activities. With it I send thanks for the aid and comfort which so many of you have given during the last year.

There are obstacles to committee work by our Board of Directors. The members live far apart and are some of the busiest people in the United States. However many have helped substantially through letters, telephone calls and conversations. For advice, suggestions, information, and for faith in our common cause, I thank you.

Attached to this report is a draft of a statement about NCALL which will appear in the SERVICE DIRECTORY of the seventy national organizations affiliated or associated with THE NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY. At the fourth quarterly meeting of the NCALL Board of Directors on December 14, an invitation to become an associate member of the ASSEMBLY was accepted by the Board.

This draft statement contains the following paragraph:

> "The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor has a unifying concept of rural welfare. In practice, the Council thinks of rural welfare as a complex of interrelated conditions rather than as a list of separate specialized needs to be dealt with out of context. In choosing what to emphasize at a given time, the Council tries to understand these relationships so that specific projects may be chosen wisely and carried out effectively."

As NCALL looks ahead, diversity of approach within a common vision promises to be the source of growing strength.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

THE 1954 ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

The office of NCALL is in Washington. What happens in the government is however only part of the Council's concern. The daily mail shows that through NCALL connections are coming about between people all over the United States who are trying to do something about human welfare in agriculture. The existence of NCALL as a symbol of united effort has given encouragement to many people.

The story of 1954 in the NCALL office includes efforts to keep up with the Congress and with Administration policy and to relay the news to member organizations through bulletins, news letters, memoranda, letters and the telephone. The story also includes coping with a varied correspondence, trying to keep up with agency policies (our friends in about 25 organizations send us their publications), attending meetings where NCALL can learn something it needs to know (or tell somebody something).

The Migrant Education Research Project is with us also in its demonstration stage. Miss Elizabeth Sutton, supervisory specialist in charge of the demonstration in Florida and Virginia is hard at work. With skill and imagination she is seeking out possible ways to make progress.

Finally the mystic rites of keeping an organization going are part of the story in the NCALL office. It is too bad that even the most idealistic of organizations seems to take so much running. It reminds me of a sixty year old protest pamphlet; called "Isaiah Incorporated."

IN WASHINGTON, WHAT HAS ENGAGED OUR ATTENTION?

NCALL has tried to keep its members informed on a selection of issues. These issues involved appropriations, basic legislation and Administration policy.

The selection included:

Migratory Labor Programs: Appropriations for the Bureau of Labor Standards and the Office of Education.

Social Security: Inclusion of farm operators and farm labor.

Farm Housing: Renewal of Title V of the Housing Act of 1949.

Mexican Farm Labor Program: Restoration of the International Agreement and enforcement of immigration laws.

Excess Lands Provision of the Reclamation Act: Defence of family farm policy and opposition to land monopoly on lands irrigated by the federal government.

Farmers Home Administration: Defense of adequate appropriations and of the intent of Congress in the basic law (as distinguished from Administration policy).

Rural Electrification: Adequate loan funds and need for support of REA by the Administration.

OUTSIDE OF WASHINGTON, WHAT HAVE OUR CONTACTS BEEN?

They have had a two-way nature: i.e. correspondence, receipt of reports and publications from national and state organizations, attendance at national and regional meetings, and relaying through our publications of the information gathered through these channels.

What has our correspondence been about? Evidently our members and contributors must pass NCALL publications around because so much of our mail is from people unknown to us. My latest surprise was a request from that great agricultural center, Manhattan (i.e. the New York Public Library) for a copy of the report of our FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

People write to us for these reasons:

1. To tell us of the programs (often migratory labor) which they are developing at the state level or in more local areas.

2. To ask what we know about some agricultural trend.

3. To ask for suggestions about procedure or migratory labor problems (state or local).

4. To ask for Washington information which will help them with social action programs or with their publications.

5. To ask for study materials for organizations and theses (grade school to PhD.)

6. To help foreign students study farm labor problems.

7. To urge us to do something.

What is the news about NCALL publications? The biggest news is that the results of the field studies of the Migrant Education Research Project have been published. In short form, "Children of Misfortune" by Shirley E. Greene, was published by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational-Christian Churches. The full story in book form, "Education of Migrant Children" by Shirley E. Greene, has been published by the National Education Association. Both have sold well and have been widely distributed.

The angle on publications which interests me most at the moment is, "How are they used?" By indirection, I have learned something about what people find useful. Our biggest best seller was the special issue of the NCALL BULLETIN on state commissions and committees concerned with agricultural migrants. Orders were received for 600 extra copies from twelve states and some national agencies. The extra copies were ordered primarily to use as interpretation of the objectives of the state commissions and committees mentioned in the bulletin.

Several national organizations have ordered extra copies of our publications for use by their committees and by their state and regional representatives. One organization asked for enough copies of several pieces of material to put in the delegates' envelopes at the organization's national convention.

Of those board members who have had the strength to read as far as this, I make a request: "How can NCALL publications be more useful to your organization?" "Do you think NCALL publications should be limited in audience to a few leaders?" "Should NCALL prepare some material which can be used widely as a part of the citizenship program of organizations?"

HOW IS NCALL FARING AS AN ORGANIZATION?

As noted in the December 14 Board minutes, a new Internal Revenue ruling permits organizations to set up separate funds (with tax-exemption for donors) for carrying on educational, research and other non-legislative functions. The Board authorized our making application for permission to set up such a fund. If this is accepted our hope of securing adequate financing will be greater. This year some member organizations increased their contributions but our present income of $5000 means we must depend largely on volunteer leadership.

Another encouraging item is the Board's action to use part of the amount available for executive salary to secure some help from a research consultant on legislation and administrative policy. This might seem almost too much of an illustration of dividing up the loaves and fishes, but I hope that the decision will have the same multiplying effect. The dilemma of the NCALL office is the multiplicity of angles. With more help on the Washington front, it is to be hoped that NCALL members will not only receive quicker and more adequate information but that I will have more time to work on the financial problem.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR TO YOU ALL

DRAFT STATEMENT FOR THE SERVICE DIRECTORY OF THE NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
Executive Secretary: Elizabeth B. Herring

PURPOSE

Through the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, national and regional organizations cooperate to improve living and working conditions on the farms of America. While the Council does not take public positions nor speak for its member organizations, united effort is made possible through the Council. In the selection of its activities, the Council is guided by an official statement of objectives. In general the point of view expressed in this statement is that a family farm type of land tenure is essential to the social, economic and political health of the nation. By the same token the Council operates on the principle that an agriculture based on landless, neglected and exploited farm labor is a threat to democratic institutions and to the vitality of American life.

PROGRAM OF MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

Thirty four national and regional organizations are represented in the membership of the Council. The rural welfare interests and organizations of these member organizations vary in kind. The religious organizations work for adequate rural religious institutions, for rural community development and for application of religious principles to the social problems of agriculture. Organizations of farm people work for good rural communities, economic adequacy for farm families and just relationships between farmers and other sectors of society. The labor organizations emphasize the interdependence of those who work on the land and in the city. They promote measures for inclusion of farm labor and family farmers in appropriate social legislation. They support measures which will maintain the standard of living of farm people at a level comparable to that of other citizen groups. The social, educational and civic organizations seek to establish adequate rural educational programs and facilities. They work to extend the protection of the laws and suitable social services to farm children and farm families.

In the cooperative activities of the Council, member organizations find common ground. The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor has a unifying concept of rural welfare. In practice, the Council thinks of rural welfare as a complex of interrelated conditions rather than as a list of separate specialized needs to be dealt with out of context. In choosing what to emphasize at a given time, the Council tries to understand these relationships so that specific projects may be chosen wisely and carried out effectively.

NATIONAL SERVICES

The Council maintains an office in Washington. Information is sent through publications and correspondence to member organizations and interested persons. Publications include the NCALL BULLETIN, newsletters and memoranda giving background material on current issues.

The Council also calls meetings of its members on timely subjects and conducts research projects. Its current research project is a study of the education of the children of migratory agricultural workers.

Inquiries about the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor should be addressed to the Executive Secretary.

January 19, 1955

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Herring:

Here's the item on land tenure. It is a precis of a talk delivered for the Southeastern Jurisdictional Town and Country Commission. I have corrected some misprints along toward the end. Make any reasonable use you wish of it.

Unlikely that I can get to the Conference, and if at all, only for the first day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

January 17, 1955

JAN 19 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I would like to have the speech which you made to the *Methodists duplicated and sent out with our preliminary conference material. I hope that is all right with you. Do you wish to have me mention the occasion when you gave the speech?

In a day or two I am writing the Conference Committee fully about conference plans and you will receive a copy of the letter. I am counting so much on your being here that I hope it will be possible for you to come.

I have written to Mrs. Rust about the money but have not heard as yet. I hope that this means she is at least considering it. We will go ahead anyway whether we have the money or not.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

*on written leaves

EBH:rf

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street N.W. Washington 6, D.C.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

CHANGE OF DATE OF ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of NCALL will be held in Washington February 23, 24, and 25 (not the middle of February).

The Conference will do a specific piece of work. The entire Conference will be devoted to questions sent to NCALL last summer by the Secretary of Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture is making a study of government services to low-income farm groups. Secretary Benson asked a number of national organizations, including NCALL, for comments.

The Conference has been called early in the Congressional session, so that member organizations wishing to take action will be familiar with the issues and with the concrete things that can be done.

In his letter, Secretary Benson said that it was the object of the study to find ways of "improving programs already in operation, developing programs within present legislative authority, and in evaluating and formulating legislation which Congress may consider". Because the study is for this purpose, the theme of the NCALL Conference will be "LOW-INCOME FARM FAMILIES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT".

Preparatory materials will be sent to delegates. To increase the effectiveness of the discussions, preparatory materials will be sent to member organizations in January. While the Conference will pass no resolutions, nor take positions as a total group, there will be a report which will be helpful to member organizations in determining their own lines of action.

The members of the Conference Program Committee are: Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Mr. Robert W. Hudgens, Dr. Benson Y. Landis, Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dr. Theodore Norman, Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O., and Mr. Paul Sifton.

MEMBERS AND FRIENDS ARE INVITED TO ATTEND. PLEASE WRITE TO THE WASHINGTON OFFICE OF NCALL FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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SHIRLEY E. GREENE, *1st Vice-chairman*
REV. WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S.J. *2nd Vice-chairman*
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ADA BARNETT STOUGH
AMBER ARTHUN WARBURTON
VENIETTE C. WEIL

Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations Council for Social Action,
Congregational Christian Churches Department of Rural Education,
National Education Association Division of Home Missions,
National Council of Churches Division of Social Education and Action,
Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches
Girl Scouts of the USA
International Association of Machinists —AFL
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
National Agricultural Workers Union—AFL
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

January 25, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAN 27 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending me the talk. I am having it reproduced and sent out as part of the preparatory material for the conference.

I know so well how much you have to do these days but if life brings you this way we will be very happy indeed.

I am marking up a preliminary schedule which will indicate what is planned.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:rf

Enclosure

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

N C A L L

SCHEDULE OF ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Pierce Hall All-Souls Unitarian Church
Sixteenth & Harvard Streets
Washington, D. C.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23 (most important day to have your help)

10:00 - 12:30	Morning Session	Low Income Farmers & Farm Labor (Tenure Etc.)
2:00 - 4:30	Afternoon Session	
6:30	Dinner Meeting (At YWCA - 17th & K Streets)	

Elizabeth Sutton reports Migrant Education Demonstration in Fla. & Virginia

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24

9:30 - 12:00	Morning Session —	Education (Voc. Adult) Etc
1:30 - 2:00	Executive Session Board of Directors	
2:00 - 4:00	Afternoon Session	
5:30	Dinner Meeting of Project Board	

.....(Ciro's Restaurant
1707 DeSales Street, N. W.)

(North side of Mayflower Hotel)

NATIONAL COUNCIL on AGRICULTURAL LIFE and LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. NOrth 7-3979

Memorandum No. 5 January 1955

Subject: THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION: WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK FOR ITS FUTURE?

The FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION is the principal federal service designed to assist farm families having limited credit resources to become established as adequate farm operators. The central idea of the FHA is to make available at one and the same time, credit facilities and managerial and technical advice. Experience has proved that this combination is necessary.

The Administration recommended severe FHA cuts to the 83rd Congress, cuts that not only reduced the size of the FHA program (*) but changed its character, cutting out much of the technical and managerial advice, making loans more expensive and moving the program away from the concept of a service with a social goal. The 83rd Congress restored some of the FHA's funds but did not have much effect upon the internal changes in the character of the agency. It approved the interest rate increase.

This January, the Administration has recommended some cuts and some additions in the FHA budget. The following information is presented as an aid to NCALL members in their thought about the future of the agency.

WHAT ARE THE SERVICES OF THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION?

The Farmers Home Administration is an agency of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. It provides eligible farm operator applicants with credit and technical help on farming problems. The credit is for four purposes:

> Operating loans; farm ownership and housing loans; water facilities loans; emergency loans and special live stock loans. In addition, the county staff of the Farmers Home Administration provides assistance in preparing farm and home operating plans, keeping farm records and solving farm problems. Loans and services are available to farmers only when they cannot get the credit they need on reasonable terms from other lenders.

The Eighty-Third Congress made the following changes in FHA services:

1. Extended the Water Facilities Program to all the states and territories, and combined with this extension, authority to make or insure loans for soil conservation purposes.

2. Amended Title I of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to set the interest rate for farm ownership loans at any rate not to exceed five percent. The interest rate has been raised one half percent. The farmer now pays $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ instead of 4%.

* Footnote: The FHA administered drought relief programs in 1954 involving large sums of money, but this emergency activity was not part of the basic program of the agency.

WHAT CHANGES DID THE ADMINISTRATION PROPOSE IN THE SERVICES OF THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION?

The budget request to the Eighty-Third Congress reduced FHA county offices from about 1,600 to 1,500. State and national staffs were reduced by 40%. The result was to eliminate technical engineering experience almost entirely. The farm appraisal assistance (so necessary to protection of small farmers) was transferred to less qualified personnel and its future quality and dependability imperilled. The last of the home supervisors were eliminated.

WHAT ARE THE BUDGET RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO THE EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS?

This year the Administration recognized to some extent the danger to quality of service and asked for a 4% increase (approximately) in the item for salaries and expenses.

However, again this year, the Administration proposed cuts in the Farm Ownership direct loan funds. The request is for $13 million, a reduction of $6 million. This is another step in the direction of cutting out direct government loans and giving the business to private banks and insurance companies.

WHAT IS THE REASON FOR COMBINING CREDIT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE FARMER BORROWER AND HIS WIFE?

Technical assistance is necessary to insure that credit is useful to the farmer borrower. FHA is set up to furnish credit to those who cannot get it elsewhere. Some applicants have not been able to get credit elsewhere because their past farming practices have not been adequate. Technical assistance in planning, improving and adjusting, helps to insure the success of the farm plans. Follow up supervision to correct deficiencies in operations is a boon to the farmer and his wife and increases the likelihood that the loan will be repaid as planned and that the farmer will "graduate" to conventional credit.

Beside reducing technical assistance in quantity and quality the Administration budget reduced it in kind. All home supervisors were cut out of the budget although the farm woman's work and management is a major factor in the economic success of a farm. One person has been retained on the staff of the national office to work with State extension staffs in drawing upon home demonstration services.

WHERE DOES FARM HOUSING COME IN?

A farm housing program is an essential part of the Farmers Home Administration program. The agency has had limited loan funds at its disposal for this purpose under the Housing Act of 1949. Housing has been one of the most appreciated services. Farm housing, both dwellings and other buildings, are important to the success and stability of the farm family and family farm. A decent, safe and sanitary home is essential. The homemaker's efficiency is increased and she can rear a family of better citizens in pleasant, comfortable and efficient surroundings. Improved farm buildings or new ones, if properly planned, designed, and constructed, add to the farmer's efficiency, and cut costs. The gross net income is usually increased.

The authorization for a farm housing program in the Housing Act of 1949 expired on June 30, 1954. The Secretary of Agriculture originally planned to ask the 83rd Congress for farm housing funds. The Bureau of the Budget said "No" offering as a

reason that the authorization to make farm housing loans had expired. The Administration budget therefore omitted any request to the Eighty-Third Congress for farm housing loan funds. Bills were introduced by Senator Sparkman and Representative Jones of Alabama to extend the expired authority. The Department of Agriculture recommended that these bills should not be passed and fought them persistently. The argument of the Department of Agriculture was that if the interest rate were raised private lenders would furnish ample funds for an extended farm real estate loan program.

In spite of the opposition of the Department of Agriculture, the Housing Act of 1954 included Farm Housing. After it was passed the Department did not ask for loan funds to implement the provisions. The new administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Department were asked for recommendations as to loans after the Housing Act had been passed. They replied "no loans are necessary. We will assist more farmers with an expanded farm ownership loan program". Because the Department asked for no loan funds, the Congress failed to appropriate any to carry on the farm housing program.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED BECAUSE THERE IS NO FARM HOUSING PROGRAM?

The Department of Agriculture and the Farmers Home Administration have received hundreds of inquiries and requests concerning loans to farmers for housing. The official reply is that although no funds were appropriated for farm housing loans as such, the Congress and the Farmers Home Administration have done the following two things to bridge the gap:

First: Congress authorized an increase in the interest rate. Farmers Home Administration Administrator McLeaish immediately raised the interest rate a full one percent, even though many state directors, including newly appointed Republican state directors, declared a ½% increase would be ample to induce private lenders to make the funds available for insured mortgage farm ownership loans. Administrator McLeaish reduced it later to ½%.

WHAT INTEREST DO THESE ACTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE HAVE FOR FARMERS?

The increase in the interest rate is a contribution (that the farmer must pay) to the bankers and the insurance companies. Since announcing the increase the Farmers Home Administration has been flooded with offers of money for the making of insured loans. Lending agencies find this plan to their advantage. Small farmers pay the bill.

It is true that more funds will be available for loans than Congress would authorize. Many believe however that the interest rate was increased more than was necessary to attract lenders.

Furthermore, the building improvement loans, in order to meet the requirements of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act must be made only on efficient family type farms. Therefore approximately 2,000,000 farms in America will not qualify. Many of these are just the farms that need building improvement. Also the part-time farmer, or city worker living in the country on a few acres, will not qualify, and this group of American citizens will not have available to them any form of governmental assistance in solving their housing problems.

IS IT SENSIBLE TO TRY TO HELP FARMERS WITH NO CAPITAL TO GET STARTED IN THESE DAYS OF HIGH CAPITAL REQUIREMENTS?

In these days of high capital requirements, inflation and rising interest rates, an empty-handed farmer or GI could not meet principal and interest payments on the debt he would incur if he borrowed all it takes to get established in farming. However, it does make sense for our government to lend a helping hand to those who can save some cash or acquire some livestock and equipment but who cannot yet obtain adequate conventional credit.

WHY SET UP MORE FARMERS IN BUSINESS WHEN WE ALREADY HAVE SURPLUSES OF FOOD AND FIBRE?

The issue is not of setting up more farmers. Farmers Home Administration credit is designed to strengthen and preserve the family farm as an American institution by furnishing family farmers with adequate credit, at rates and terms they can meet, so as to become fully successful and not have to sell out to a large operator or corporation farm enterprise. The productive acres of America should be fully utilized by sound farming systems, which permit the use of soil conserving practices, rather than by farmers who are forced to "mine the soil" in order to live and meet debt payments. America's productive acres, farmed in a manner which will conserve the soil, will maintain our heritage and preserve that indispensable resource. They will also produce amply for our needs but not over abundantly, if our growing population is fully employed and in a position to purchase a healthful, adequate diet.

WHY HAS CONGRESS BEEN SO THRIFTY WITH THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION?

That is a question only the Congressmen can answer, but a few guesses might be offered.

Congress always has many members who fail to agree that the government should appropriate funds for a "sociological" purpose to benefit a group of Americans.

Some Congressmen, particularly those devoted to balancing the budget, have looked with disfavor on appropriating loan funds, even though they are loans and will be repaid. They have looked at the total Department of Agriculture appropriation and seen the Farmers Home Administration loan funds as a good place to make a budget cutting gesture. Many members of the Congress also believe that private credit and insured loans are the answer rather than the direct appropriation of loan funds.

It is possible that some Congressmen are influenced by large farm operators who would like to get control of more farms through the failure of smaller less well capitalized farms. It is to be noted in this connection that the low income farmers of the United States are, of all groups, least able to speak for themselves and exert influence upon the government.

QUESTION: IS THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION NOW A PROGRAM FOR SMALL AND LOW-INCOME FARMERS?

This is the loan picture:

Direct farm ownership loans are for veterans only.
Insured bank farm ownership loans require the farmer to have a 10% equity or make a 10% down payment. The operators of two million American farms cannot qualify.
The interest rate has been raised to $4\frac{1}{2}$%.

February 2, 1955

To: Members of the Board of Directors

FEB 8 1955

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

Notice of First Quarterly Board Meeting in 1955

By action of the Board on September 27, 1954, the Annual Conference on February 23 and 24, 1955, will be considered an open meeting of the Board of Directors.

There will be a twenty-minute executive session of the Board at 4:00 P.M., February 24th, at Pierce Hall, All Souls Unitarian Church, Sixteenth and Harvard Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The 1954 Financial Statement is enclosed.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - GENERAL FUNDS January 1, 1954 - December 31, 1954

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in bank, January 1, 1954			$ 172.63
From Memberships and Contributions		$ 4,668.00	
From Library Subscriptions		17.00	
Sale of Publications		109.53	
Conference Registrations and Luncheons		504.25	
F.I.C.A.		47.07	
Refunds: Luncheon, Shirley Greene		1.25	
Research-Office Expense		88.43	
Board Luncheon		35.00	
Travel Advance		35.34	
Headquarters Expense		4.68	
			5,510.55
TOTAL RECEIPTS.			$ 5,683.18

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$ 2,615.75	2,615.75
Executive	$1,500.00		
Office	1,065.75		
Honorarium	50.00		
Office Supplies		144.41	
Travel, Living & Conference Attendance		184.30	
Board Luncheon		43.75	
Office Rent		360.00	
Telephone and Telegraph		151.28	
Postage and Stamped Envelopes		195.84	
Printing, Mimeographing, Stationery & Bulletin		1,189.24	
Subscriptions to Publications		79.60	
Taxes - F.I.C.A.		92.15	
Messenger Service		2.00	
Annual Conference Expenses		317.18	
Bank Service Charge		2.20	
Payment on debt-Council for Social Action		25.00	
Reimbursable payments for Research		76.00	
Taxes - F.I.C.A.	40.00		
Office Expense-Wages	36.00		
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.			5,478.70
BALANCE IN BANK, December 31, 1954			$ 204.48

BILLS OUTSTANDING

Balance due on 1952 Indebtedness to Council for Social Action.	$ 95.00
Due on Office Furniture	52.00
	$147.00

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - EDUCATION RESEARCH PROJECT January 1 - December 31, 1954

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in bank, January 1, 1954		$ 10,000.00
Congregational Christian Relief and Reconstruction Fund	$ 1,667.00	
Balance in Field Research Fund: Designated for Purchase of "Education of Migrant Children"	674.88	
Orders for "Children of Misfortune"	4.00	
Refund: F.I.C.A.	20.00	2,365.88
TOTAL RECEIPTS.		12,365.88

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Savings Account		$ 6,500.00	
Salary - Elizabeth Sutton		3,000.00	
Travel and Living		1,365.30	
E. Sutton			
Auto. & Living	$523.24		
Travel	319.28		
Advance	150.00		
S. Greene			
Auto. & Living	73.35		
Travel	271.64		
Field Supplies	27.79		
Headquarters Expense		847.74	
Supplies			
Copies of "Education of Migrant Children"	674.88		
Filing Cabinet	49.50		
Deficit on Executive Committee			
Luncheon Guarantee	3.75		
Refund for "Children of Misfortune"	4.00		
Contingent	22.50		
Taxes - F.I.C.A.	40.00		
Office Expense-Wages	36.00		
Letterheads-typing-postage	17.11		
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.			11,713.04
BALANCE ON HAND in checking account, Security Bank			652.84
BALANCE ON HAND in savings account, Prudential Bldg. Assoc.. .			$ 6,500.00
TOTAL RESEARCH FUNDS			$ 7,152.84

February 14, 1955

FEB 16 1955

To: Members of the Board of Directors

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

May I call your attention to the enclosed legislative analysis of reclamation bills prepared for us by our research consultant, Charles H. Slayman, Jr.?

Because irrigation is the coming thing in humid as well as arid regions, the breakdown of reclamation law would set us well along on the way to land monopoly in the United States.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N STREET N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

LEGISLATIVE NEWS LETTER

FOREWORD: This is the time and place for friends of the family farm policy of the Reclamation Act to stop bad bills that have been introduced in the Senate and House. The bills can be stopped in committee. The idea of these bills is "local participation" rather than the normal way of developing reclamation projects under the Reclamation Act. No need has been shown for this change.

****

ANALYSIS OF RECLAMATION PROJECTS CURRENTLY BEFORE THE IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION SUBCOMMITTEES of the United States Senate and House Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs

Prepared by
CHARLES H. SLAYMAN JR.
Research Consultant to NCALL

Family Farm proponents and supporters of existing national policy against unrestricted federal aid to large landholders, should be concerned, and register their views with their Senators and Representatives, about several "local participation" bills currently before the Irrigation and Reclamation subcommittees of both the United States Senate and House Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs.

These bills propose federal financial (and other) assistance in non-federal projects and local participation in federal projects in the seventeen western states. A similar proposal was stopped in the Senate in the last Congress after passing the House without any debate. Witnesses for these bills, in the last Congress and this one, are not identified as supporters of federal reclamation.

There has been no clear showing of the need for this program which would be authorized to the extent of one hundred million dollars.

At present, it is difficult to say whether the proposal in final form would make available federal funds on an interest-free basis.

With one exception, these new bills: i.e. HR.384; S.164; S.405, ignore established public power preference clauses (so vital to municipalities and non-profit cooperative organizations) and excess lands provisions (so vital to prevent federal aid to owners of lands in excess of 160 acres). Thus, without any mention of these cornerstones of national land and water policy, these bills would seriously undermine basic reclamation law.

The exception referred to is H.R. 104, introduced by Representative Engle of California, powerful chairman of the full House committee. His bill would require any contract of the federal government with local irrigation districts to "... conform to the provisions of the Federal reclamation laws with respect to repayment contracts entered into with irrigation districts and the delivery of water thereunder..." but very cautious observers in Washington feel even this provision is subject to misinterpretation by officials not dedicated to protection of the excess lands law.

A further troubling feature of these bills is that the $5 million to be advanced by the Federal government may be for a "unit" or "feature" of a project, thus opening the door to federal financing for several units or features. If this situation occurred, the ceiling of $5 million per project in the bills would be rendered a nullity.

In addition to one's own Representative and two U.S. Senators, the following should hear the views of individuals and organizations:

Senator James E. Murray Chairman, Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee
Senator Clinton P. Anderson Chairman, Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee
Senator Henry M. Jackson Member " " " "
Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney " " " " "
Senator Richard L. Neuberger Member of the full committee

Representatives: Wayne N. Aspinall Chairman, House Irrigation Subcommittee and the following sub-committee members: Mrs. Grace Pfost, Lee Metcalf, Mrs. Edith Green and Don Magnuson

N A T I O N A L C O U N C I L on A G R I C U L T U R A L L I F E and L A B O R
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. NOrth 7-3979

ANNUAL CONFERENCE BULLETIN

February 23 - 24, 1955

Pierce Hall, All Souls Unitarian Church, Sixteenth and Harvard Streets, Washington, DC

FOREWORD: The conference will be a workshop. At each session there will be one address to introduce the subject. Specialists in the various fields of concern have been invited to be present and to participate.

The workshop sessions will be based on questions about government services to low income farmers and farm labor sent to NCALL last summer by the Secretary of Agriculture. It is expected that President Eisenhower will make recommendations to the 84th Congress based on the Department of Agriculture study.

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

Theme: LOW INCOME FARM FAMILIES and THEIR GOVERNMENT.

Wednesday, February 23

Registration: 1:30 p.m.

Afternoon Session: 2:00 - 4:30 p.m.

ADDRESS: Rural Poverty in the United States: Its Challenge to Contemporary Statesmanship. - PAUL V. MARIS

Mr. Maris as a representative of the Ford Foundation has been working with several foreign governments on problems of low-income farmers. He was formerly director of the Farm Ownership Division, Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and before that director of the Agricultural Extension Service in Oregon.

DISCUSSION SUBJECT: What Programs Are Needed In Low Income Farm Areas to Improve the Standard of Life of the People?

This session will lay the basis for farm operator and farm labor discussions in the workshop as a whole.

DISCUSSION RESOURCES: Specialists have been invited in the fields of technical assistance to low income farmers; migration trends to seek farm employment; welfare considerations such as health and housing.

Evening Session: Dinner Meeting - Fourth Floor Dining Room
Y. W. C. A., 17th & K Streets, N. W.

SUBJECT: The Education of the Children of Migratory Agricultural Workers.

ADDRESS: Observations in Florida and Virginia as to Needs and Possibilities. - ELIZABETH W. SUTTON

Miss Sutton is Supervisor of Migrant Education, Public Schools of Palm Beach County, Florida and Northampton County, Virginia.

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION.

* * * * * * *

Thursday, February 24

Morning Session: 9:30 - 12:00 Noon

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT: Education of Low Income Farm Families: The Main Issues. - HOWARD A. DAWSON

Dr. Dawson is the Director of Rural Service, National Education Association, and Chairman of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

DISCUSSION SUBJECT: How Can Schools Be More Effective in the Development and Reconstruction of a Low-Income Farm Community?

What part should state and federal agricultural and welfare programs play: e.g. Extension Service, Vocational Education, Public Health and Others.

DISCUSSION RESOURCES: Specialists have been invited from rural school systems and from government agencies.

Afternoon Session: 2:00 - 4:00 P.M.

INTRODUCTORY SPEAKER: (to be announced)

DISCUSSION SUBJECT: What Types of Farm Labor Planning Are Needed to Insure Orderly Employment and Good Living and Work Standards?

At this session also the workshop will discuss Secretary Benson's question "How would you evaluate our present policies with respect to use of foreign nationals?"

DISCUSSION RESOURCES: Specialists have been invited in the fields of farm placement, foreign labor relationships, farm labor housing, health and child welfare.

ADJOURNMENT:

* * * * * * *

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION BLANK

The following persons will attend the NCALL conference on February 23 and 24, 1955

NAME	ADDRESS

A check is enclosed for--------(Registration fee $5.00 Dinner on February 23, $2.25)
(Single session $1.00)

Signed _____

Address _____

Organization _____

March 2, 1955

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Herring:

I am engaged in a process, stretching over some weeks, of getting a workable manuscript toward a pamphlet on this business of written leases. Lewis Jones at Tuskegee wrote me one which is pretty good, but not quite it.

Would the NCALL like to take over from me the whole job of producing such a pamphlet and getting it out?

I haven't got any money to go with the job; I just have the notion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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SHIRLEY E. GREENE, *1st Vice-chairman*
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ADA BARNETT STOUGH
AMBER ARTHUN WARBURTON
VENIETTE C. WEIL

Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
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National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

February 28, 1955

MAR 2 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We had a fine conference and took up many cosmic matters. Father Shean was here when we discussed the written lease issue and was most helpful. When the stenotypist record comes back, I will send you some excerpts from the discussion. My immediate objective is to get out some recommendations about legislation to our members.

As you probably noted, Senator Sparkman has introduced a bill in behalf of small farmers and is one up on the President. The story is that the President's message will be due any day. It remains to be seen.

Next we will try to do some brief policy papers on some of the issues raised at the conference. As you can imagine, in a short conference like that, all we could do was to give the topic sentences for a lot of issues. One which needed expansion was the increase in the interest rate for Farmers Home Administration clients. There are many others that need to be expanded if our folks are going to know what to make out of them. I want to do a piece on action in relation to the written lease issue. I sent the paper you wrote to our entire mailing list. I want to follow that up now with some more detailed proposals.

I know you are burdened with too much to do so that is only a request to put in the back of your mind. If any ideas occur to you for getting action in this field, in addition to those mentioned in the material you sent to me, I shall be grateful for them.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring,
Executive Secretary

EBH:rf

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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March 15, 1955

To: Members of the Board of Directors

MAR 18 1955

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

The Annual Meeting of NCALL will be held in New York on April 19, 1955, at the headquarters of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, from 10:00 A. M. to 4:00 P. M.

Among the items of business will be:

Election of officers
An agenda of questions about future NCALL functions and policy (prepared by the Appraisal Committee)
Adoption of resolutions establishing a special fund for educational purposes (Required by Commissioner of Internal Revenue)

Will you please let me know on the blank below whether it will be possible for you to attend?

- -

(Detach here)

I expect to attend the NCALL annual meeting on April 19th

Yes _____

No _____

Please reserve luncheon for me Yes _____

No _____

Signed _____

Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
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ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

FILE COPY MAY 12 1955

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

New York City

April 20, 1955

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL was held on Tuesday, April 19, 1955 at the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Those present were: Dr. Dawson, Chairman, Mr. Greene, Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Zimand, Secretary, Miss Bennett, Mr. de Francis, Dr. Landis, Miss Lowry, Mrs. Warburton, Mrs. Munn of the National Social Welfare Assembly (guest) and Miss Herring, Executive Secretary.

The following, who had asked to be excused, sent proxies: Miss Morton, Mr. Norman and Mr. Fleischman.

The Minutes of the meeting of December 14, 1954 were approved as sent out.

The Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of April 17, 1955, were read and approved.

TREASURER'S REPORT

In the absence of Mr. Schiff, the Treasurer's Report was presented by Miss Herring. A copy is attached. The report was accepted with an expression of appreciation to Miss Herring for having continued her work without salary payments.

Appreciation was also expressed to the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches for having cancelled NCALL's indebtedness to them.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Miss Elizabeth Herring presented her report as Executive Secretary. She developed for consideration in planning the program of NCALL a four-point formula which she

characterized as related aspects of the basic agricultural problem with which NCALL is concerned:

1. To civilize agricultural labor conditions as they now exist.

2. To work out a real strategy on foreign labor.

3. To develop a concrete program for small farms (low income). (The Sparkman bill was mentioned in this connection.)

4. To develop a framework for family farms. (The Humphrey bill was mentioned in this connection.)

Bearing in mind this four-point approach, she made three recommendations:

1. That there be annual program planning to select the points for emphasis each year, and that publications and programs be geared to this selection.

2. That one day meetings to discuss developments and strategy, with regard to the points selected for emphasis, be substituted for the two-day spring conference.

3. That there be a review of proposed or desirable studies of basic agricultural problems with a view to securing the interest of foundations in supporting such research.

Considerable discussion of strategy followed, especially in relation to the Sparkman and Humphrey bills.

The Board was impressed with the thoughtfulness and significance of Miss Herring's report and asked her to put it in writing so that it could be sent with the Minutes to all members of the Board.

IT WAS VOTED that general approval be given to Miss Herring's analysis and proposals and that the Executive Committee be authorized to work with her on plans to develop ways and means of putting the program into effect.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE EDUCATIONAL DIVISION

IT WAS VOTED to confirm the action of the Executive Committee in setting up an Educational Division of NCALL which would be concerned entirely with research and education.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

In the absence of Miss Morton, the Nominating Committee Report was presented by Dr. Landis. He stated that a meeting of the full Committee (Miss Morton, Chairman, Dr. Landis, Mr. Fleischman and Mr. Ray Gibbons) had been held. The following slate was proposed:

Officers

Chairman - Dr. Howard A. Dawson
1st Vice-President - Rev. Shirley E. Greene
2nd Vice-President - Father William J. Gibbons, S.J.
3rd Vice-President - Miss Fay Bennett
Secretary - Mrs. Amber Arthun Warburton
Treasurer - Mr. Philip Schiff

Executive Committee Members (in addition to Officers)

Mrs. Ruth Muskrat Bronson
Mrs. Katherine B. Ellickson
Dr. Benson Y. Landis
Miss Edith Lowry
Mr. Paul Sifton

Member-at-Large

Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand, who is resigning as Executive of the National Child Labor Committee on November 1.

Membership Committee - Resident Group in New York

Chairman - Miss Edith Lowry
Miss Marie Gaudette
Mr. Sol Markoff (who will be the new representative of the National Child Labor Committee)

Corresponding Members - Washington

Philip Schiff
Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
Paul Sifton
Mrs. Ada Barnett Stough

Finance Committee

No recommendations were presented.

Nominating Committee

No recommendations were presented.

IT WAS VOTED that the recommendations of the Nominating Committee be approved, and the slate of Officers and committee members were duly elected.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORT

Miss Herring reported that a stenotype recording had been made of the Annual Conference. Several suggestions were made as to how this material might be usefully presented.

REPORT OF THE APPRAISAL COMMITTEE

The Report of the Appraisal Committee was presented by Miss Bennett and is attached to the Minutes. IT WAS VOTED that the report be accepted and approved with two changes in wording:

(1) Item 3, para. 1 - Substitute "A group to be called Associates" for "Associate Membership."

(2) Item 3, para. 2 - the words "union sub-committee" to be substituted for the word "department."

The Executive Committee was authorized (1) to prepare amendments to the By-Laws that will be necessary to provide for "associates" and (2) to appoint such special committees as will be necessary to implement the recommendations.

RESEARCH PROJECT

Dr. Dawson, Chairman of the Research Project, reported on the progress of Miss Sutton's work in Florida and Virginia.

DATE FOR THE NEXT MEETING

IT WAS VOTED to hold the next meeting of the Board on September 29 in New York - subject to confirmation of September 28 as a date for a meeting of the

Project Board to which Miss Sophie Van S. Theis, Executive of the Doris Duke Foundation, is to be invited.

The meeting was adjourned.

Gertrude Folks Zimand
Gertrude Folks Zimand
Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N.W. Washington 6, D.C.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT- GENERAL FUNDS JANUARY 1,1955-MARCH 31,1955

A. RECEIPTS			
Balance in bank, January 1, 1955			204.48
From Memberships and Contributions		$1262.00	
Sale of Publications		8.75	
Conference Registrations and Dinner		352.75	
F.I.C.A.		3.02	
Refunds: Congressional Record		4.40	1630.92
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$1835.40
B. DISBURSEMENTS			
Salaries and Wages		615.50	615.50
Executive			
Office	240.50		
Honorarium	375.00		
Office Supplies		28.09	
Travel, Living and Conference Attendance		53.38	
Office Rent		90.00	
Telephone and Telegraph		29.43	
Postage and Stamped Envelopes		42.67	
Printing, Mimeographing, Stationery, Bulletin		318.92	
Subscriptions to Publications		12.18	
Taxes-F.I.C.A.		17.56	
Annual Conference Expenses		440.89	
Personal Property Tax- District of Columbia		12.10	1045.22
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$1660.72
BALANCE IN BANK, March 31, 1954.....			$ 174.68

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

FINANCIAL STATEMENT- RESEARCH PROJECT January 1-March 31, 1955

A. RECEIPTS			
Balance in bank, January 1, 1955			$ 652.84
Transfer from Prudential Building Association			3500.00
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$4152.84
B. DISBURSEMENTS			
Salary		$1500.00	
Travel and Living		414.53	
Field Supplies		26.04	
Headquarters Wages, Supplies, Postage		45.00	
Taxes F.I.C.A.		80.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$2065.57
BALANCE ON HAND in checking account, Security Bank			$2087.27
BALANCE ON HAND in savings account, Prudential Building Association ..			$3113.75
TOTAL RESEARCH FUNDS			$5201.02

SUMMARY OF REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Because this is the Annual Meeting of NCALL I shall stress some considerations which I think may help us as we plan the program of NCALL in the future.

The member organizations of NCALL have joined the Council with a variety of interests in mind. These differences of approach arise out of the different purposes of the organizations. Some are primarily concerned with labor problems, others with general agrarian policy, others with religious, educational and cultural considerations. In view of this diversity, by what principle shall we decide what to do?

My suggestion is that we need a fundamental idea which is valid for all of us and which helps us not only to select wisely but provides an adequate theoretical framework within which we can operate with a clear idea of what we are doing. This seems to me quite possible. Agriculture does, of course, present a multitude of apparently separate issues. But the longer I live in Washington the more convinced I am of the underlying unity of apparently diverse farm problems.

For example, as a matter of convenience, we sometimes refer to "the family farm" and "farm labor" as two separate issues. That land tenure and farm labor systems are part and parcel of one another is well illustrated in Lloyd Fisher's book, "The Harvest Labor Market in California." He says: "The evidence is convincing that the present character of California agriculture is a direct response to the volume and character of the supply of agricultural labor. Originally a grain and cattle country small experiments in intensive farming were a great success. As early as 1849, during the Constitutional Convention, the delegates were sharply divided into pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions. The case for slavery consisted, in the main, of the need for a cheap and docile labor supply in order to realize the potentialities of California agriculture. Subsequent developments were to provide a free labor force on terms which competed favorably with slavery."

In NCALL we sense the relationships between types of farm problems and we are feeling toward an articulate philosophy as to the kind of agricultural establishment we want in America. We are getting warm in our search for a fundamental idea to guide us. This growing view of American agriculture seems to call for four interdependent programs.

I. To civilize farm labor conditions as much as possible.
   This is essential because people live but once and because efforts to meet the needs of farm labor awaken the public conscience.

2. To work out a philosophy and a strategy on foreign farm labor.
   Opposition to bad proposals should be complemented by good proposals which safeguard risks to land tenure and farm labor in this country while taking just account of the situation of the foreign countries.

3. To develop a concrete program for low-production, low income farms.

   This is essential because of the inherent rights of human beings and also because of the existence of pools of rural poverty undermines the status of farm labor and creates many general social ills. The Sparkman-Patman bills present a good formula.

4. To develop a framework for family farms.

   The Humphrey bill "To state explicitly the long-standing national policy to preserve and strengthen the family-farm pattern of American agriculture" is a statement of the kind of agricultural establishment the sponsors of the bill wish in America and proposed devices for strengthening that establishment. Some such framework as that provided in this bill is essential to long range solution of the farm labor, foreign farm labor and low income farm problems mentioned in programs 1, 2 and 3.

If then we accept some such statement of the four principal ingredients in our goal for American agriculture, how shall be proceed in any particular year?

I suggest that keeping these four ingredients in mind we do three things each year:

1. That we institute an annual program planning process to select the points for emphasis, and that publications and programs be geared primarily to this selection.

2. That we substitute for our annual two-day conference, one day meetings to discuss developments and strategy with respect to the points chosen for emphasis for the year. Beside the members of NCALL,persons with something to contribute to discussion of the problem would be invited to attend.

3. That there be a review from time to time of proposed or desirable studies of basic agricultural problems with a view to securing the interest of foundations in supporting such research. These studies might or might not be conducted under the auspices of NCALL.

In concluding these comments on how we might go about it to decide what to do, I would like to suggest that the Sparkman-Patman and Humphrey bills just mentioned provide us with a springboard for working on our major interests. I would also like to suggest that if the organizations represented in NCALL do not get back of these bills, I do not know who will. I propose that we give major attention to these bills in the first and second sessions of the 84th Congress.

PROPOSALS FROM THE APPRAISAL COMMITTEE FOR BOARD DISCUSSION

I. PROGRAM

NCALL should state in simple terms its concern for the welfare of farm workers, migrant and resident and for small family farmers. Specific issues as they arise should receive attention. An elaborate, all-inclusive program is not needed.

2. PARTICIPATION OF MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

Member organizations should keep NCALL informed of issues on which support of others is desirable so that joint action can be planned.

Newly affiliated member organizations should be brought into closer participation in NCALL (might discuss this at Annual Conference)

Organizations whose NCALL board representatives are based in Washington should be asked to designate alternates in New York to insure fuller participation of member organizations in both Washington and New York meetings.

3. MEMBERSHIP, PROMOTION AND FUND-RAISING

Associate membership should be established. Promotion should take place through normal channels of correspondence and publications. Large scale promotion should not be undertaken.

A Big Gifts Committee should be set up. Board members would be asked to give names for special approach. A special labor department of the Big Gifts Committee should be formed.

Funds should be sought for a new special project after the Migrant Education project is completed; such as, health of migrant workers.

ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE MADE BY INDIVIDUALS

I. That a Washington unit of the Associates (and possibly a New York unit) should be formed to assist with fund raising or other projects as needed, such as a dinner.

2. That the persons approved by the Board to be invited to serve as members of an Advisory Committee be considered Associates instead and that they be invited from time to time to act as sponsors for fund raising or other projects.

3. That the Board choose a limited number of projects each year for special emphasis (assuming that the general keeping-track of Washington work would go on always).

4. That instead of the Annual two-day conference, one day meetings be called in the future when they are needed to carry out the special projects chosen by the Board.

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AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

May 25, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

MAY 27 1955

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

The enclosed material about the low income farm hearings speaks for itself.

If you have inspirations as to who would be good people for us to ask to testify, would you let me know?

I have written Father Shean asking him the same question.

The emphasis will be so heavily on the South that we want to be sure that we have thoroughly competent people with up to date knowledge. Your advice will be most gratefully received.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:ckn

encl.

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ELIZABETH B. HERRING
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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

May 18, 1955

To: Members of the Board of Directors of NCALL
From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

LOW INCOME FARM LEGISLATION

The NCALL Executive Committee, at its meeting yesterday, agreed that the following information should be sent to all member organizations requesting information as to which organizations would like to help with forthcoming hearings on low income farm bills and in what ways they will be able to do so.

THE STATUS OF LOW INCOME FARM LEGISLATION NOW BEFORE THE CONGRESS

President Eisenhower sent a message to Congress on April 27 calling for a program with low income farm families. It is expected that bills embodying the recommendations of the President will be introduced this week.

Senator Sparkman and Representative Patman, on February 23, 1955, introduced bills to set up "The Family Farm Development Act" (S.1199 and HR 4300). These bills are designed to aid low income farmers.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SPARKMAN PROPOSALS OFFER THE BEST OPPORTUNITY IN YEARS FOR FRIENDS OF LOW INCOME FARMERS TO HELP GET SOMETHING ACCOMPLISHED.

Since the member organizations of NCALL are those most likely to have a concern for low income farmers, a special responsibility rests upon us. In what ways can we help?

THE SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE IS EXPECTED TO APPOINT A SUB-COMMITTEE WHICH WILL CONDUCT HEARINGS ON THE LOW-INCOME FARM BILLS
The expected procedure is:

1. Preliminary hearings during this session of Congress (soon).
2. Field hearings in the fall.
3. Fullscale hearings in the second session of Congress (early 1956).

WOULD YOUR ORGANIZATIONS LIKE TO APPEAR AT THE PRELIMINARY HEARINGS?

It is not necessary to endorse either the Administration or Sparkman bills at these preliminary hearings. It is very important that religious, educational and civic organizations should testify, however, as to their interest in the subject, some of the principles and goals which they think legislation should embody.

WILL YOU PLEASE REPLY AS TO WHETHER YOU CAN HELP WITH THE PRELIMINARY HEARINGS (IF THEY ARE CALLED) TO

Mr. Charles H. Slayman, Jr.
Research Consultant for NCALL
2715 Cortland Place N.W.
Washington 8, D.C.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

MATERIALS ARE AVAILABLE TO HELP IN PREPARATION OF TESTIMONY
ON
LOW INCOME FARM LEGISLATION

Member organizations wishing to appear or file statements when the preliminary hearings are held will receive a kit of explanatory material. Mr. Charles H. Slayman, Research Consultant for NCALL, 2715 Cortland Place, N.W., Washington 8, D.C., will send the material on request. (Please write directly to Mr. Slayman rather than to the NCALL office.)

Some essential documents can be secured by writing to House and Senate Document rooms in the Capitol for them.

House Document No. 149 DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE'S HUMAN RESOURCES is the Report on Problems of Low-Income Farmers prepared for the Secretary of Agriculture by the United States Department of Agriculture. The Administration's recommendations are based on this study. (The study can also be secured in pamphlet form from the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 25¢)

At this writing the Administration bills have not yet been introduced so the numbers cannot be given.

"The Family Farm Development Act", the low-income farm bill introduced by Senator Sparkman and Representative Patman can be secured by writing the Document Rooms. The identical bills are S. 1199 and HR 4300.

Member Organizations are urged to write directly for these documents because NCALL is not able to secure enough copies for all its members.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D. C.

May 18, 1955

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR Bulletin

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

NUMBER 23 MAY 1955

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NCALL BOARD OF DIRECTORS HELD IN NEW YORK, APRIL 19, 1955

The annual meeting provided an occasion for appraising the activities of NCALL up to this point and taking a look at the future.

It was recognized that for all the bewildering variety of agricultural issues, there is an underlying interdependence between these issues. NCALL has been interested in measures to strengthen the position of family farmers and to improve farm labor standards. An illustration of how these issues are tied together was given from Lloyd H. Fisher's book, "The Harvest Labor Market in California" (Harvard University Press, $3.50). Mr. Fisher says:

> "The evidence is convincing that the present character of California agriculture is a direct response to the volume and character of the supply of agricultural labor. Originally a grain and cattle country, small experiments in intensive farming were a great success. As early as 1849, during the Constitutional Convention, the delegates were sharply divided into pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions. The case for slavery consisted, in the main, of the need for a cheap and docile labor supply in order to realize the potentialities of California agriculture. Subsequent developments were to provide a free labor force on terms which competed favorably with slavery."

The availability of this cheap labor supply has stimulated the growth of industrialized agriculture. A 1950 Department of Agriculture study of farm sizes and agricultural efficiency shows that on the large scale corporation farms in California less capital is combined with a unit of labor than on the adequate sized family farms. The labor used is thus less efficient on these large scale farms than on well rounded family farms. Other studies show that where labor is cheaper than machinery, the corporation farmer does not nechanize as much as the family farmer but continues to make his profits from low paid manual labor.

In other words, land tenure (family farming or corporation farming, etc.) and farm labor systems are part and parcel of one another. With this in mind the NCALL Board of Directors considered a four-point formula of related aspects of the basic agricultural problem with which NCALL is concerned: i.e. the need

1. To civilize agricultural labor conditions as they exist.

2. To work out a real strategy on foreign labor.

3. To develop a concrete program for low income farms (See Sparkman-Patman bills mentioned later).

4. To develop a framework for family farms (See Humphrey bill mentioned later).

Bearing in mind this four-point approach, the Board agreed to undertake three types of action in the period ahead:

1. Annual Program Planning to select the points of emphasis and to gear publications and programs to this selection.

2. Conduct one-day meetings (as a substitute for the two-day annual conference) to discuss developments with respect to the points selected for emphasis.

3. Review proposed or desirable studies of basic agricultural problems with a view to securing the interest of foundations in supporting such research.

"INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS" TO HAVE A NEW NAME: I.E., "ASSOCIATES"

At the Annual Meeting it was voted to amend the by-laws of NCALL to substitute the term "associates" for the term "individual members". Individual members (as distinguished from the 34 national and regional "organizational members") are sprinkled throughout the 48 states and have been a source of encouragement, information and good ideas as well as financial support. In changing the name to "Associates", the Board felt it was adopting a term which described the cooperating relationship more accurately. The Board reaffirmed its faith in the great value of having "Associates" from all parts of the country who are in close contact with the problems and situations which are the concern of NCALL.

NCALL WILL CONDUCT A CAMPAIGN FOR AN ENLARGED BUDGET IN THE FALL

Most of NCALL's too limited budget is provided by contributions from its thirty-four national and regional member organizations. In these days when most good deeds are done in cooperation with somebody else the pressure is great upon national organizational budgets for funds to support cooperative endeavour. Therefore the Board of Directors has authorized plans for raising special gifts from individuals who have a vision about what it means to maintain a sound, democratic and humane agriculture in America.

Dear Associates, who do you know like that? Will you please send any names that occur to you, to Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary of NCALL, 1751 N Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.?

LEGISLATIVE OUTLOOK

SENATE HEARINGS EXPECTED SOON ON PROPOSED LOW INCOME FARM LEGISLATION

The expected message from President Eisenhower proposing a program with low income farmers was received by the Congress on April 27. The President's recommendations were based on a study conducted by the Department of Agriculture during the last year. NCALL was one of the national groups which participated in making suggestions in connection with this study. It is expected that bills embodying the recommendations of the President will be introduced soon.

The Sparkman-Patman bills for a "Farm Development Act" which would aid low-income farmers in fundamental ways were mentioned in the April issue of the NCALL bulletin.

When the Administration bills have been introduced they will be analyzed by NCALL in relation to the proposals of the Sparkman-Patman bills.

In the meantime, some information can be secured by writing to the House of Representatives for "House Document No. 149 DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE'S HUMAN RESOURCES". This is the study of the problems of low income farmers prepared for the Secretary of Agriculture by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The Administration's recommendations are based on this study. (The study can also be secured in pamphlet form from the Superintendent of Documents, The Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. -- 25¢.)

The bills for "The Family Farm Development Act", the low-income farm bill introduced by Senator Sparkman and Rep. Patman can be secured from the Senate and House Document Rooms. The identical bills are S. 1199 and HR. 4300.

THE SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE IS EXPECTED TO APPOINT A SUB-COMMITTEE WHICH WILL CONDUCT THE HEARINGS ON THE LOW INCOME FARM BILLS

The expected procedure is:
1. Preliminary hearings soon, during this session of Congress.
2. Field hearings in the fall.
3. Full scale hearings in the second session of Congress. (early 1956)

WOULD YOUR ORGANIZATION LIKE TO APPEAR AT THE LOW INCOME FARM HEARINGS?

The members and associates of NCALL are among the organizations and persons who over the years have maintained a sustained and informed interest in the problems of low income farm families. This places a special responsibility upon us to register our views in the Hearings. As we all know, low income farmers are not in a good position to speak for themselves.

If you would like to testify (or file a statement) at the preliminary hearings to be held soon will you please write to Mr. Charles H. Slayman, Jr., Research Consultant for NCALL, 2715 Cortland Place, N. W., Washington 8, D. C. Mr. Slayman will send you a kit of material to help in the preparation of testimony.

At the preliminary hearings, it will not be necessary to take a position for or against particular bills. It is very important, however, that religious, educational, labor and civic organizations should testify as to their interest in the subject, and the principles and goals which they think legislation should embody.

THE SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE WHICH CONDUCTS HEARINGS ON LOW INCOME FARM LEGISLATION IS EXPECTED TO CONSIDER THE FAMILY FARM RESOLUTION S. J. Res. 20 INTRODUCED BY SENATOR HUMPHREY.

This bill (described in the April NCALL Bulletin) "to state explicitly the long-standing national policy to preserve and strengthen the family-farm pattern of American agriculture" would strengthen the position of all family farmers, adequate or low-income, and provide an essential framework for successful programs with low-income farmers.

The Administration has taken a negative position on this bill. As is customary, the Chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Senator Ellender, asked for the opinion of the U. S. Department of Agriculture about S. J. Res. 20. The reply to Senator Ellender signed by Acting Secretary True D. Morse says that the Department recommends against passage of the bill "for the reasons set forth below". Among the reasons are two which are especially revealing as to the economic philosophy back of the negative position of the Department. Since Mr. Morse as Under-Secretary has been designated by Secretary Benson to head up the Department's work with low-income farmers, his criteria will affect the success of the program.

In connection with a section on low-income farms, Mr. Morse says: "The meaning of the term "economically adequate" family farms is not clear. The Department feels that some differences in income and living standards will occur from time to time and are needed to encourage resource adjustments". Does Mr. Morse mean that we should not try to bring low-income farmers up to an adequate level (or only some low-income farmers) so that some would be forced out of the farming business?

Another comment raises an interesting religious question: i. e., the status of every human being as a child of God. Mr. Morse refers to one section described in the bill as the "family farmers bill of rights". "This section classifies improved standards of rural living as a right," says Morse. "We feel that a more constructive approach would be in terms of the right for equal or full opportunity for achieving improved standards of living".

A LARGE SUPPLY OF LOW-PAID MEXICAN FARM LABOR IS INCREASING THE PRESSURE OF CORPORATION FARMERS UPON THE IRRIGATION POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. (The Excess Lands Policy of the National Reclamation Act). On page one of this Bulletin an illustration is given of how large supplies of "cheap labor" for the last hundred years have stimulated the growth of corporation farming in California. The present easy flow of almost unlimited supplies of contract Mexican labor under the auspices and partly at the expense of the U. S. Government, is increasing the Gold Rush psychology of corporation farmers. Owners of large acreages of desert land are showing unparalleled ingenuity in trying to break down the federal law which says that limited irrigation water (produced at public expense) shall be divided up fairly among American citizens (enough to irrigate 320 acres, i. e., 160 each for the farmer and his wife.)

Members and Associates of NCALL who are interested in farm labor standards and in fair treatment of family farmers may wish to write to their Congressmen disapproving HR 5581 introduced by Representative Clair Engle of California. This bill is one of the most ingenious efforts to date to supplant Federal Reclamation law without seeming to. Unfortunately the bill was not stopped in committee. It represents a consolidation of a whole series of bills introduced in this session to circumvent Reclamation law.

Congressman Engle, who is chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, explained the idea frankly and without embarrassment in committee hearings. He said: "I grant you, you start kicking the 160 acre limitation and it is like inspecting the rear end of a mule: You want to do it from a safe distance because you might get kicked through the side of the barn. But it can be done with circumspection, and I hope we can exercise circumspection."

"So I simply provided an alternative procedure.....it is easier to do it this way than it is to try to change that acreage limitation....."

Lloyd Halvorson of the National Grange replied (in part) to Congressman Engle that his alternative plan "might still mean that the Federal Government is practically promoting a corporate type of agriculture where you keep a number of people employed as hired men rather than as owner-operators and tenants in a community."

WHAT ARE THE PROPOSALS OF CONGRESSMAN ENGLE'S BILL?

STATED PURPOSE

The stated purpose of HR 5881 is "To supplement the Federal Reclamation Laws by providing for Federal cooperation in non-Federal projects and for participation by non-Federal agencies in Federal projects."

CONTENT OF THE BILL

The bill provides for Federal assistance through loans and technical services to non-Federal agencies, while relieving the latter of some of the key requirements of the Reclamation Act.

1. It by-passes the requirement of Reclamation law with respect to limiting the amount of water supplied to any one farmer.

While by-passing the limitation it also extends to large scale owners of "Excess Lands" the use of government credit for irrigating those excess lands. The bill provides that the government loans offered to non-federal agencies for reclamation projects shall be at the interest rate "paid on the long-term interest-bearing marketable securities of the United States." This rate is about 2.3%.

2. The bill also provides that when "commercial power" is produced as an aspect of a project that this "commercial power" will also have the benefit of the low government long-term interest rate. Federal law with respect to the way public power is distributed would be jeopardized by this provision. Federal law requires that where power is produced at the taxpayers' expense that "preference" shall be given to municipal power systems and rural electric cooperatives before it is sold to commercial companies operating the distribution of electric power for profit.

3. The bill appears to limit the type of project to be financed through loans to non-federal agencies to "small projects" costing from $5 million to $10 million. However, a clause is included which says that this lending limit may be interpreted to apply to a "distinct unit" of an irrigation project. In other words, with a little ingenuity a $100 million project could be divided up into "distinct units" so that loans would be forthcoming for the total job.

With this interpretation, it may be seen that this so-called "small projects" bill is actually a substitute for the Reclamation Act providing all the comforts of federal loans and technical services while being relieved of the obligations of federal law with respect to dividing the water fairly (Excess lands provision and other items).

4. The bill by-passes Congressional approval of reclamation projects in several ways leaving the real decision in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior. The committee Report 481 which accompanied HR 5581 makes it plain that the Secretary of the Interior did not ask for this increase in power, but that the Congressmen supporting this bill thought it would be easier to get the projects through if Congressional approval were unnecessary.

5. The bill provides no formula for distributing the costs of a multipurpose project (irrigation, flood control, power, etc.) between the various elements in it. For example, there is no formula for showing how much of the cost should be repaid by the farmers who use irrigation water and how much of the cost should be carried permanently by the federal government for the flood control aspects of the project.

6. By providing for negotiation with only one state, the bill by-passes river basin planning -- water is no respecter of state lines and both hydraulics and justice require inter-state agreements.

IN SUMMARY

Supporters of the anti-monopoly, anti-speculation and family farm policies of the Reclamation Act oppose H.R. 5881 for five reasons:

The Excess Lands provision which aids family farmers is by-passed and the Federal Government is actually supposed to give large growers extremely low credit to develop the excess lands.

The prior claims of non-profit farmer and municipal electric systems are by-passed and low government credit is offered to "Commercial Power", when power as well as irrigation is produced by a project.

The Reclamation Act as a whole is undermined by this "small projects" bill because there are loopholes by which very large projects can get the federal help provided.

Congressional approval of projects is by-passed, leaving the power of decision with the Secretary of the Interior. In this way public opinion cannot be registered effectively.

The costs of the project and distribution of those costs would be subject to no clear formula. Land monopolists would thus be aided in getting re-payment arrangements which would amont to additional subsidy from the Federal Government (which means the taxpayers).

BY ADMINISTRATIVE DECISION THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE DISCONTINUED MOST HOME ECONOMIC RESEARCH. This order transferred home economics and vocational agriculture funds to food and nutrition research primarily useful to business firms for marketing and processing.

The services cut out were research relating to household equipment and appliances and to selection, construction or reconditioning of clothing and textile articles, also the preparation and publication of bulletins on these subjects. These are the services that have been essential to farm homemakers, and have helped urban homemakers and consumers in general. The Department of Agriculture said that the information on equipment and appliances was unnecessary because consumers could ask the manufacturers about them.

This cut created a tremendous reaction in the Congress. Amendments were introduced in the Senate and House and passed. The effect of the amendments was to instruct the Secretary of Agriculture to restore a reasonable proportion of the research funds for their original purposes. The conferees, at this writing, have agreed.

One good result of the episode has been the agreement of the Department of Agriculture to appoint a representative advisory committee to study the Home Economics Research program and make recommendations as to what should be emphasized. If this committee is representative and is animated by the public interest, the Home Economics Research program may benefit greatly.

"THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR" IS THE NEW NAME FOR THE "INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR".

The Committee this year as last consists of the Secretaries of Labor, Agriculture, Interior, Health, Education and Welfare, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The Committee was established last year by the President to provide a coordinated Federal approach to activities that will improve the social and economic welfare of migratory farm workers and their families.

The Secretary of Labor is chairman of the President's Committee and Mr. Henry K. Arneson is the secretary. Mr. Arneson replaces Mr. William von Seggern who resigned recently to become an agricultural attache in overseas service. Mr. Arneson, whose home is in Wisconsin, has previouslv held positions at both the national and regional level in the Employment Service and during the war was the Director of the Arizona State Employment Service.

While the official members of the Committee are cabinet officers many others are involved in its active work. Deputies for each cabinet officer have been appointed and the working group includes twenty persons from the various Departments who are carrying on sub-committee projects in the fields of Migrant Housing Supply, Migrant Housing Standards, Field Communications, Transportation, and Formation of State Committees.

A new occasional publication "MIGRATORY LABOR NOTES" will be sent out from time to time by the President's Committee. A copy of the first issue can be secured by writing to Mr. Henry K. Arneson, Executive Secretary, the President's Committee on Migratory Labor, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C. Another available publication of the Committee is STATE MIGRATORY LABOR COMMITTEES Their Purpose and Organization.

FARM LABOR RECEIVES CONSIDERATION BY TWENTY-FIRST CONFERENCE ON STATE LABOR LEGISLATION MAY 11 TO 13, 1955, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The report of the Resolutions Committee, approved by the conference, calls for the inclusion of agricultural labor in minimum wage legislation, and for more emphasis on improvement of conditions in industrialized farming. The Conference called for limiting the program for importing Mexican farm workers to a two-year extension and for safeguarding United States workers in the following ways:

1. Mexican workers should be recruited only when domestic labor is not available at wage rates not less than those prevailing for comparable skills withint the labor market area.

2. In determining both the need for importation of Mexican workers and the wage to be paid, the Secretary of Labor should be required to conduct public hearings in each major crop area or region at which all interested parties are invited to state their views regarding the need for workers and the prevailing wage in each crop area where it is proposed to recruit Mexican workers.

3. Employers should not be permitted to hire Mexican workers until they have first offered United States workers the same conditions as they are willing to make available to Mexican Nationals.

RUSSIAN AGRICULTURISTS ARE COMING TO SEE AMERICAN FAMILY FARMS

According to the papers the Russian farm specialists are coming to see high protein food production in Iowa. A recent article in the New York Times by Loren Soth suggests that they may see something else fully as important.

Mr. Soth, editorial page editor of the Des Moines Register, is the originator of the idea that Russian farmers visit Iowa. He says, "Iowa farm people have welcomed the idea" and he goes on to say who Iowa farm people are:

> **Family-type agriculture predominates in the state—that is, practically all the work on Iowa farms is done by members of the operators' families. A good many farmers have hired men, to be sure, and in some cases the hired man is married and lives in a separate house on the farm. But Iowa has hardly any "corporation-style" farms, with large numbers of hired laborers. Mechanization has not created farm "factories," as many had feared.**

The Russians may visit other states than Iowa and they may see some corporation farming too, but perhaps that will interest them less because of the resemblance to Russian collective farming about which they are a little disillusioned.

PUBLICATIONS

PUBLIC SCHOOL PROJECT FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN, an article by Helen Cowan Wood in the January 1955 issue of THE AMERICAN CHILD published by the National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Mrs. Wood is director of the Fresno County Project which has as its objective a better school program for the many thousands of migrant children involved in Fresno County agriculture. This article gives an interesting summary of the approach and scope of the Project. Copies of progress bulletins can be secured by writing to the Fresno County Superintendent of Schools, Fresno, California.

MATERIALS ON FARM INCOME AND FOOD PRICES. Two committee prints of the House Agriculture Committee may be secured by writing to that committee. Price-Support Programs on Basic Commodities contains the testimony of CIO President Walter P. Reuther, February 25, 1955, which gives his philosophy on the importance of adequate farm income from the point of view of the welfare of urban consumer, and vice versa. Farm to Retail Price Spreads, a staff study for the use of the Committee on Agriculture, is a review of recent farm price declines in relation to prices paid by consumers. March 26, 1955.

THE TVA by Gordon R. Clapp, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, $3.50. This book by a former administrator of the TVA gives a twenty year report of its development. The book contains material essential to statesmanship on the subject of low income farmers.

THE ROLE OF THE RURAL ELECTRICS IN THE ATOMIC AGE by Clyde T. Ellis, Executive Manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. This is Mr. Ellis' annual report to the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. While it is addressed to the farmers who operate the rural electric cooperatives of the United States, it is a good introduction to thinking about the whole question of the relationship between public and private power developments. Write to the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR, 1751 N St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Chairman, Howard A. Dawson; Vice Chairmen, Shirley E. Greene, Rev. William J. Gibbons, S. J., Thomas B. Keehn; Secretary, Gertrude Folks Zimand; Treasurer, Philip Schiff; Executive Secretary, Elizabeth B. Herring.

The NCALL is supported by voluntary contributions and membership fees. Your contribution or membership fee ($5.00) will help. Please make checks payable to the NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR, and send to 1751 N Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

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AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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To: The Board of Directors

SEP 15 1955

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

SEPTEMBER BOARD MEETING — The third quarterly meeting of the Board will be held in Washington on Thursday, September 29, 1955 from 11:00-3:00 (luncheon included).

The place: 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

AGENDA

Among the items of business will be:

1. Report on what happened to low income and family farm legislation in the recent session of Congress. Decisions will be made on NCALL procedure and next steps in relation to those issues.

2. Development and proposals in relation to Mexican border issues.

3. Progress report on the new NCALL educational corporation and finance plans for both general and research projects of NCALL.

PLEASE FILL OUT FOLLOWING BLANK AND RETURN TO NCALL, 1751 N STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

(detach) -

I expect) to attend the Board Meeting in
do not expect) Washington on September 29.

Please reserve luncheon for me ($1.25) _____

Signed _____

Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches
Girl Scouts of the USA
International Association of Machinists—AFL
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
National Agricultural Workers Union—AFL
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND, INC.

BY LAWS
Adopted by the Board of Directors, September 21, 1955

ARTICLE I
Name and Purpose

Section 1 The name of this organization shall be the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor Research Fund, Incorporated.

Section 2 The purpose of this Fund shall be to stimulate and conduct research for the study of any economic, social, cultural or educational problem of importance to low income farm people.

ARTICLE II
Management

Section 1 The management of this Fund shall be vested in a Board of Directors of twelve members. The Directors shall elect their own officers.

Section 2 The officers of the Board shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

Section 3 At the time or immediately following the Annual Meeting of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, Directors of the Fund shall be chosen by the members of the Board to serve for a period of three years and until their successors are elected. Such successors shall be elected at the regular annual meeting of the Board from a list of nominees to be selected according to such procedures as may be adopted by the Board of Directors.

Section 4 A majority of the Board of Directors alone shall have and exercise the powers necessary to accept, accumulate, manage and dispose of money and property entrusted to the Fund, not inconsistent with the laws under which it has been incorporated.

Section 5 The Board of Directors shall have the power to appoint an Administrative Committee of five members of the Board of Directors to transact routine business in the interim of the meetings of the Board of Directors. Three members of the Administrative Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The Board shall have the power to appoint such other committees of the Board as may be needed.

Section 6 The Board of Directors is empowered to fill vacancies in its number by reason of death, resignation or other inability to serve.

ARTICLE III
Meetings

Section 1 At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors a report shall be presented by the President, Secretary, Treasurer and standing committees.

Section 2 Meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held twice a year or as called by the President at such other times as the business of the Board requires. Notice of each meeting shall be mailed at least ten days prior to date of the meeting. Notice of the meeting may be waived by a written waiver signed by each member of the Board who did not receive the ten day notice.

Section 3 Four members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for transacting business at meetings of the Board except for amendment of the by-laws and election of directors for which the vote of seven members of the Board will be required.

ARTICLE IV
Amendments

These by-laws may be altered or amended by a vote of the majority of the Board of Directors. They may be amended or altered at any meeting of the Board of Directors provided the proposed change has been mailed in writing to all members of the Board at least fifteen days in advance of the date of the meeting.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Amended By-Laws

(As approved at Board Meeting, September 29, 1955)

Article I - Name

Section 1 The corporate name of this organization shall be the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

Article II - Purposes

Section 1 The purposes of this organization shall be to improve the living and working conditions of the low-income farm and rural populations of the United States of America by all possible means, including the collection and dissemination to organizations and individuals, of information of scientific, economic, social, literary, and educational character. The objects of this corporation are exclusively scientific, educational, and literary. No part of the earnings of this corporation shall inure to the benefit of any private individual and no substantial part of its activities shall be the carrying on of propaganda or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation.

Section 2 The NCALL as an organization will limit its action on pending national, state or local legislation to providing information on such legislation to its membership.

Article III - Membership and Associates

Section 1 Organizations as hereinafter defined shall be eligible to become members of NCALL.

Section 2 Organizational members.

(a) Organizational membership shall be open to national and regional organizations interested in the social, economic or cultural problems of agricultural life.

(b) Such organizations may become members by majority vote of the Board of Directors, following application by the organization or nomination by a majority of the Membership Committee, and upon payment of the first annual $25.00 membership fee. (See Article V, Sec. 1)

(c) Each organizational member shall name its own representative to NCALL who shall serve as a member of the Board of Directors. Substitute representation is permitted when it is so authorized by the member organization.

(d) Organizational members shall pay a membership fee of $25 per year.

(e) The Membership Committee shall review annually the list of Organizational Members and shall bring to the attention of the Board of Directors any organization which has failed to pay its membership dues or whose purpose or methods of work, in the judgment of the Membership Committee, have changed and are no longer in accord with the policy of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. The Board of Directors may authorize the dropping of such members.

Section 3 Individuals and/or representatives of state and local organizations may become NCALL Associates upon payment of a fee of $5.00.

Article IV - Board of Directors

Section 1 The control and management of the affairs and funds of NCALL shall be vested in a Board of Directors.

Section 2 The Board of Directors shall consist of:
(a) One designated representative from each organizational member as provided in Article III, Section 2 (c); and
(b) Not more than 20 directors-at-large, elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting.

Article V - Meetings

Section 1 The Board of Directors shall hold two regular meetings annually at such time and place as may be designated by the Board with ten days written notice thereof.

Notice of intention to propose an organization for approval by the Board of Directors must be given to all Directors at least ten days in advance of the meeting at which approval is proposed.

Section 2 Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Executive Committee or by the Chairman at the request of five members of the Board. Actions at special meetings may be taken only on matters specifically on the agenda as announced in the call for the meeting. 10 days advance notice shall be required for a special meeting.

Section 3 A quorum of the Board of Directors shall consist of 10 members of the Board.

Section 4 One of the two regular meetings of the Board of Directors in each calendar year shall be designated as the Annual Meeting of NCALL. At this Annual Meeting, the officers shall render a summary report of the activities and finances of NCALL.

Section 5 The fiscal year of NCALL shall be the calendar year.

Article VI - Committees

Section 1 The Standing Committees of NCALL shall be Executive Committee, Finance Committee, Membership Committee and Nominating Committee.

Section 2 (a) The Executive Committee shall consist of the elected officers of NCALL - Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and Treasurer - and five members designated by the Board from its membership, at least two of whom shall be representatives of organizational members.
(b) The Executive Committee shall have the power to act for the Board of Directors in the interim between meetings of the Board. All actions of the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Board at the next meeting of the Board following such action.
(c) A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of five members.
(d) Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

Section 3 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Finance Committee responsible for securing the necessary support for NCALL.

Section 4 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Membership Committee through which shall be recommended all new organizational members of NCALL.

Section 5 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Nominating Committee whose responsibility shall be to present at each annual meeting a proposed slate of officers and standing committee personnel for the ensuing year. The Nominating Committee may bring in recommendations for members-at-large at any meeting of the Board provided that the proposed names are submitted to Board Members in writing in advance of the meeting at which they are to be elected. In the case of vacancies occurring between annual meetings the Board may request nominations from the Nominating Committee.

Section 6 The Board of Directors shall appoint such other committees as may be necessary to conduct the work of NCALL.

Article VII - Advisory Committee

Section 1 The Board of Directors may appoint an Advisory Committee of not more than 50 persons.

Article VIII - Voting

Section 1 Voting privileges in NCALL shall be limited to the Board of Directors.

Section 2 Membership on the Advisory Committee is non-voting.

Article IX - Officers

Section 1 The officers of NCALL shall be a Chairman, First Vice Chairman, Second Vice Chairman, Third Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Section 2 The officers shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting from nominations of the Nominating Committee, or from nominations made from the floor. The terms of office shall be for one year or until the successor of the officer has been elected and qualified.

Section 3 The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Council, and shall serve as Chairman of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee of the Board. In the absence of the Chairman, his office shall be exercised by a Vice Chairman in order.

Section 4 The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the Council of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee.

Section 5 The Treasurer shall deposit all money and securities of the NCALL in depositories approved by the Board of Directors. He shall have the power to withdraw funds and make disbursements in the name of the NCALL. He shall cause the accounts of the organization to be audited periodically by a certified public accountant, which audit shall be submitted to the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall be a signatory to all contracts executed in behalf of NCALL. The Treasurer shall provide such bond as may be required by the Board of Directors.

Article X - Employees

Section 1 The Board of Directors may authorize the employment of an Executive Secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to conduct the work of the NCALL.

Section 2 Employees of NCALL shall perform such duties as shall be assigned to them by the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee.

Section 3 The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for initiating and implementing such programs and activities as may be authorized by the Board of Directors or its Executive Committee.

Article XI - Amendments

Section 1 Except as otherwise required by the laws of the District of Columbia, the Certificate of Incorporation and these By-Laws may be amended by a majority of those present at a regular meeting of the Board of Directors, provided that the proposed amendment or amendments have been submitted in writing to the Directors at least one month in advance of the meeting at which the action is taken.

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Washington, D. C.

September 29, 1955

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL was held on Thursday, September 29, 1955 in Washington, D. C., from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.

Those present were: Dr. Howard A. Dawson, Chairman; Mr. Shirley E. Greene and Miss Fay Bennett, Vice-Chairmen; Mrs. Amber Arthun Warburton, Secretary; Mr. Philip Schiff, Treasurer; Miss Elizabeth Herring, Executive Secretary; Miss Elizabeth Sutton, Migrant Education Supervisor; Mr. Lyle Cooper, Mr. Paul Sifton, Mr. H. L. Mitchell, Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O., Mrs. Ada Barnett Stough; (Alternates) Miss Lazelle Alway, Mrs. David Coyle, Miss Eleanor Hadley, Mrs. Olya Margolin, Mr. Christian Norgord, Mrs. R. Grey Smith, Rev. James Vizzard, S. J.

Specially invited guests for the luncheon session were: Mr. Leon H. Keyserling, National Conference on Economic Progress; Mr. Benton J. Stong, Public Affairs Institute; Mr. John Baker and Miss Mabel Snyder, National Farmers Union.

The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of April 20, 1955 were approved as distributed.

The Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of May 17, 1955 were read and approved.

TREASURERS REPORT

Mr. Schiff presented the Treasurer's report. A copy is attached. The report was accepted as presented after serious discussion of the paucity of the financial remuneration to the Executive Secretary as related to the demands which NCALL's program makes upon her.

Miss Herring reported that steps were being taken for setting up the necessary organization for the Big Gifts Campaign authorized by the Annual Meeting. She proposed that it would be forehanded to appoint a Personnel Committee to consider what the staff setup should be when and if the money is available.

There was discussion of how work can be divided among Board Members during the summer months when Miss Herring is away. Dr. Dawson cited as an example of delegation of such responsibilities that he would undertake to follow legislation pertaining to education and the Experimental Project in 50 communities of the Department of Agriculture which would fit into his regular line of duty at the NEA. The suggestion was approved.

REPORT OF THE NCALL RESEARCH FUND

Dr. Dawson requested Mrs. Warburton to read the minutes of the first meeting of the Directors of the newly organized NCALL Research Fund, Inc. held September 21, 1955 in Washington. It was pointed out in connection with the minutes that the creation of the NCALL Research Fund had been accomplished in accordance with action taken at the Annual Meeting of the NCALL on April 20, 1955 and the subsequent Meeting of the Executive Committee on May 17, 1955. Dr. Dawson, Mr. Schiff and Mrs. Ellickson had been delegated to sign the Certificate of Incorporation for the NCALL Research Fund. It is now incorporated and the incorporators elected the members of the Executive Committee of NCALL to serve as Directors for the Fund. NCALL's attorney, Mr. Frank Ketcham, is currently applying for tax exemption for the Fund.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Miss Herring recommended that the Chairman appoint an Ad Hoc Joint Committee on Financing the NCALL and the NCALL Research Fund. (Voted.) It was suggested that in some

cases the list of persons to be solicited for contributions be cleared with helping member organizations to insure against the same persons or groups being requested more than once to contribute to the same project.

NEW RESEARCH PROJECT

At the Annual Meeting of NCALL in April 1955 a new Research Project was proposed by Mrs. Katherine P. Ellickson and discussed. The discussion was continued at the first meeting of the Directors of the Research Fund. The minutes include the following statement: "The project would examine problems arising from differences in living levels of such countries as the United States, Mexico and Jamaica and special attention given to more constructive methods of arranging for the employment of people from those countries in the United States and ways in which those countries can provide better employment opportunity for their own people. The study would collect information on current programs for employment of these people and on comparable programs in other countries such as those in Italy and Belgium."

It was voted at the Research Fund meeting that "Mrs. Ellickson and Mr. Sifton jointly prepare a statement of the problem, objectives of the study, methods to be used and budget required. This statement would be presented at the next meeting of the Research Fund and if approved, submitted to a foundation in seeking financial assistance for carrying through the project."

Approval was voiced by the NCALL Board regarding the need for such a project.

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

Re: Membership

The NCALL Annual Meeting held in New York, April 20, 1955 voted to accept the recommendation of the Appraisal Committee that a group called "Associates" should be substituted for individual memberships. It was voted that an Amendment to the By-Laws should be drafted to incorporate the change. Miss Fay Bennett presented these changes and they were adopted. (Revised By-Laws enclosed.)

Re: Number of Board Meetings and Annual Conference

Mr. Greene reported the proposals made at the Annual Meeting that the number of required Board Meetings be reduced from four to two and the requirement of an Annual Conference be omitted. Mr. Greene explained that the purpose of the change was to release NCALL time and finances for more one day workshops on timely issues. The Executive Committee would be expected to meet more frequently.

The changes were read and adopted. (Revised By-Laws enclosed.)

LUNCHEON SESSION

Mr. Leon H. Keyserling of the Conference on Economic Progress talked to the Luncheon Session of the NCALL Board Meeting. Mr. Keyserling has completed a study of the agricultural situation which will soon be available in pamphlet form. He emphasized the importance of starting solutions with the needs of the people and how they can be met rather than isolating problems of surpluses, price support, crop control, etc.

The meeting adjourned at 3 p.m.

Submitted by:

Amber Arthun Warburton, Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

OCT 18 1955

POST BOARD MEETING REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

October 10, 1955

The meeting of the Board of Directors, held in Washington on September 29, 1955, laid a foundation for some promising new ways of work. Comments from Board members who were unable to be present will be appreciated.

I. There will be fewer required regular meetings and more one day sessions called for specific reasons.

In line with the action of the Annual Meeting, held in New York on April 20, 1955, an amendment to the By-laws was adopted which reduces the number of regular board meetings from four to two. The requirement of an annual NCALL conference was also removed from the By-laws.

The Board voted to reduce the number of regular required meetings so that more NCALL energy could go into bringing representatives of member organizations together as needed for focussed work on particular urgent current problems involving farm labor and low income farm people. Under the new plan it will be possible to hold one day workshops in different cities, under the auspices of committees drawn from NCALL member organizations.

The workshop meetings will analyze the farm problem under consideration and will discuss principles of procedures for doing something about that problem through programs of education and social action.

The new amendments do not prevent calling additional board meetings nor holding an annual conference but make more flexible planning possible. The Executive Committee will carry more responsibility under the new set-up. One of the proposals referred to the Executive Committee for decision is that the spring meeting of the Board be the Annual Meeting and be held in New York. The fall meeting would be held in Washington with a major emphasis on the legislative picture.

II. Membership in NCALL will be limited to national and regional organizations. Individuals will become "Associates".

Also, in line with the decision of the Annual Meeting last April, an amendment was adopted substituting the term "Associate" for "individual member". Since only organizational members have voting privileges it seemed that the term "Associate" described the relationship of individuals to NCALL more accurately.

The Associates (formerly "individual members") are a valuable part of the NCALL enterprise. They are scattered all over the country. Some represent, informally, state and local organizations and non-affiliated national organizations. Their dues as Associates are paid by the organizations they represent.

Other Associates wish to have a connection with NCALL because of a strong personal interest. Others value the connection because farm labor and family farm problems are a part of their individual responsiblities in churches, government agencies, universities, labor, farm and civic agencies.

Associates receive all NCALL releases and publications. They are invited to NCALL meetings and are a source of ideas and leadership for NCALL activities.

III. The NCALL Research Fund Inc. is now an accomplished fact. (See By-Laws enclosed)

The NCALL Board of Directors heard a progress report from the Board of the newly incorporated NCALL Research Fund. This Fund not only assumes responsibility for completion of the Migrant Education Pilot Project now underway in Florida and Virginia, but will consider proposals for other pieces of research (see by-laws) which may be recommended to it by the NCALL Board.

Suggestions from Board members for future research which has a bearing on the welfare of low income farm families will be welcomed.

IV. An Ad Hoc Joint Committee On Financing will be appointed.

Since NCALL will be conducting a campaign in the near future for general funds and the NCALL Research Fund will be approaching Foundations and other groups for Research funds, the Board voted to set up a temporary Joint Committee on Financing which would lay out lines of procedure designed to avoid duplication and get results.

NEWS NOTES

IMMIGRATION HEARINGS WILL BE OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO NCALL MEMBERS

Beginning with November 21st, the Sub-committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Senate Judiciary Committee will conduct hearings on immigration policy.

Organizations interested in the issues surrounding the importation of contract farm labor from Mexico and the Caribbean will be rendering a useful service if they will ask to appear or to file a statement. Where possible testimony should be supported by documentary evidence. The request to appear (or file a statement) should be sent to Senator Harley M. Kilgore, chairman.

The approach to be followed in these hearings is broad and constructive. The focus is; "What should a sound immigration policy be?" This framework will permit introduction of new points of view and will not narrow the discussion at the start to criticism of existing immigration legislation.

The hearings will begin with November 21 and 22, recess for Thanksgiving, run through the week of November 28 and possibly the week following. They will offer an unusual opportunity for organizations to express their views as to how immigration policy can reflect a sound relationship with other peoples as well as our immediate national interests.

COMING

The October NCALL Bulletin will summarize what happened about farm labor and low income farm legislation during the first session of Congress and will attempt some forecast of what might be the opportunities for accomplishing something for low income farm families during the second session.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Gen. Comm.

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Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches
Girl Scouts of the USA
International Association of Machinists—AFL
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
National Agricultural Workers Union—AFL
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

November 18, 1955

NOV 21 1955

TO: The Board of Directors of NCALL

FROM: Howard A. Dawson
Chairman

NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETING OF THE BOARD IN NEW YORK
Thursday, December 15, 1955
10:30 AM to 12:30 PM

PLACE: The Conference Room of the Division of Home Missions, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York.

The special meeting of the Board on December 15, is called to consider the following agenda:

Proposal to call a one day meeting early in 1956, in New York City of representatives of national organizations on the "place of farm policy issues in national programs of social education and action."

Recommendations as to the form of the proposed research project on the importation of foreign contract farm labor. Other research proposals.

Recommendations of the Ad Hoc Joint NCALL and NCALL Research Fund Finance Committee.

Representatives of the National Social Welfare Assembly have been invited to be present for the discussion of the proposed New York meeting. Decisions must be made as to the objectives of the meeting, the type of program to be planned and who should be invited.

Please detach and mail to NCALL, 1751 N Street N.W., Washington 6, DC

I do) expect to attend the special board meeting on
do not)
December 15, in New York

signed _____

IF POSSIBLE PLEASE ENCLOSE ATTACHED QUESTIONNAIRE ALSO SO THAT WE MAY HAVE YOUR IDEAS IN TIME FOR THE MEETING.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D. C.

November 18, 1955

Dear NCALL Board Member

Your answers to the enclosed questions will be received most gratefully.

The NCALL Board of Directors, at its April meeting, voted to make a major effort this fall to put the NCALL budget on a sounder basis. The answers to the attached questions will help the officers of NCALL to carry out that mandate.

NCALL's financial dilemma lies in its nature as an organization of organizations. The theory is that NCALL's basic support should come from its member organizations. It is not easy however for our member organizations to contribute what is necessary.

The total amount contributed annually has not exceeded $5000. This total included some individual gifts. If NCALL is to be stable and live up to its task $15,000 is needed. In addition to answering the enclosed questions will you please add your ideas as to what NCALL's financial policy should be?

The general NCALL budget is not as yet donor tax-exempt. The NCALL Research Fund has applied for tax exemption.

We count on your ideas and good advice.

Sincerely yours,

Howard A. Dawson
Chairman

YOUR ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING FINANCE QUESTIONS WILL HELP.
PLEASE RETURN TO: NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N STREET N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

1. LIST ORGANIZATIONS (not members of NCALL) interested in NCALL objectives. (Mention names of persons who might be willing to help in securing a gift.)

2. LIST NAMES OF PERSONS WHO MIGHT MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS (mention names of persons who might be willing to ask for the gifts)

3. LIST NAMES OF WELL KNOWN PERSONS (with interest in NCALL objectives) WHO MIGHT BE WILLING TO SIGN LETTERS ASKING FOR GIFTS? (e.g. artist, actor, editor, clergyman, professor, labor, farm or business leader)

4. HOW DO YOU THINK NCALL SHOULD RAISE ITS BUDGET?

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National Jewish Welfare Board
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

RECEIVED FEB 15 1956

February 8, 1956

TO: Members of the Board of Directors of NCALL

FROM: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

ANNOUNCEMENT OF DATE OF NCALL ANNUAL MEETING

May 2, 1956
Washington, D. C.

The Annual Meeting of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor will be held on May 2, 1956 from 9:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M. in Washington, D. C.

The Migrant Education Project Board will meet the day before (May 1). The Program and Personnel Committee also will meet on May 1.

Additional information about the place of meeting and the agenda will be mailed to Board members in March. In the meantime if any member organization has new member organizations to suggest, early information about the proposals will be appreciated.

One of the interesting features planned for the May meetings is full opportunity for discussion of developments in the Florida-Virginia Pilot Project on the education of migrant children. Miss Elizabeth Sutton, supervisor of the project, will be present.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL on AGRICULTURAL LIFE and LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
February 8, 1956

LEGISLATIVE NEWS

The Senate Agriculture Committee is about to report its farm bill. In the meantime we mention here three measures related to the objectives of NCALL.

* * * * * * * * * *

INCLUSION OF FARM LABOR IN SOCIAL SECURITY (OASI)

The American Farm Bureau Federation, the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Growers and other farm employer groups are seeking to weaken the provisions affecting farm labor.

The Social Security Bill (H.R. 7225), passed by the House during the first session of this Congress is now being considered by the Senate Finance Committee. Hearings are in process.

The bill as it stands calls for no change in the farm labor provisions of the Social Security Act as amended in 1954. (The farm labor amendment adopted at that time provides for inclusion of a farm worker if he receives $100 or more a year from a single employer.)

In its testimony before the Senate Finance Committee on January 27, the American Farm Federation favored amendments which would have the effect of eliminating migratory and day haul agricultural workers. The AFBF expressed sympathy for bills already before the Congress which would exempt the first sixty days of employment of farm workers by one employer and would raise the $100 limitation to $200 or $250.

Action appropriate at this time Persons and organizations wishing to keep the law as it now stands (includes persons who earn $100 from a single employer) should write saying just that to the individual members of the Senate Finance Committee.

The American Farm Bureau Federation is also proposing that inclusion of farm operators be made optional rather than compulsory. It is unlikely that this will become a genuine issue. However it is always safer to assume even on self evident issues that our legislators need to know our opinions.

Since farm workers are so inarticulate it is of the greatest importance that public opinion in their behalf should be registered.

Members of the Senate Finance Committee

Senators

Harry Flood Byrd (Virginia) Chairman
Walter F. George (Georgia)
Robert S. Kerr (Oklahoma)
J. Allen Frear (Delaware)
Russell B. Long (Louisiana)
George A. Smathers (Florida)
Lyndon B. Johnson (Texas)

Alben B. Barkley (Kentucky)
Eugene D. Millikin (Colorado)
Edward Martin (Pennsylvania)
John J. Williams (Delaware)
Ralph E. Flanders (Vermont)
George W. Malone (Nevada)
Frank Carlson (Kansas)

Wallace F. Bennett (Utah)

SURPLUS FOOD BILL WILL HELP LOW INCOME FARMERS

Senator Kerr has introduced a bill S. 627 for himself and twenty two other Senators. The bill is proposed as an amendment to the Social Security Bill passed last year by the House. It calls for an Act "To provide supplementary benefits for recipients of public assistance and benefits for others who are in need through the issuance of certificates to be used in the acquisition of surplus agricultural food products." This bill if enacted would not only aid low income farmers through benefits to the farm economy but would also raise the standard of living of many low income farm families now receiving some form of public assistance.

Persons and organizations wishing to support this bill can help by writing to Senator Harry Flood Byrd, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee or to Senator Robert Kerr who introduced the bill. Letters to one's own Senators would be useful also.

For your information a copy of a letter received from the National Farmers Union is enclosed. It mentions the various purposes of the bill.

THE BILL TO PROVIDE LIBRARY SERVICES TO RURAL AREAS IS VERY MUCH ALIVE

The Library Services Bill H.R. 2840 (Senate version is S. 205) is designed to promote the development and extension of public library service to rural areas. The bill was favorably reported by the House Education and Labor Committee by a vote of 20 to 9 one week before the end of the first session. Friends of the bill are now waiting hopefully for the green light from the Rules Committee so that it can go to the floor for a House vote.

In the Senate, hearings will be held on the Senate version S. 205 which is before the Education Sub-committee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

It will be helpful now for members of Congress of both houses to know that there is public sentiment in favor of the bill. Letters addressed to one's own Congressmen are indicated.

This bill is of great significance for the 1,000 counties where most low income farm families live. One of their problems is the lack of educational facilities in their communities. Books for all ages are necessary to help these areas become part of the stream of American life.

****

Dear Dr. Mitchell —,
Can't you come? M'd love to see you —
EBH.

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

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April 4, 1956

TO: The Board of Directors of NCALL

FROM: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

PARTIAL AGENDA OF NCALL ANNUAL MEETING
May 2, 1956
10:00 AM- 2:30 P.M. (luncheon at 12:15 P.M.)
1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Among the items on the agenda will be:

Election of Board Members and Officers 1956-1957
New Proposals for strengthening the Executive Committee
The Organizational Membership of NCALL- Policy Problems
Report of the NCALL Research Fund . Miss Elizabeth Sutton will be present.

At the luncheon meeting Mr. Paul Sifton will give a report on the NCALL Round Table on "Farm Policy and Social Welfare" held in New York on March 9th. This will be followed by discussion of various action proposals growing out of the New York meeting.

Representatives of government agencies have been invited to be present to assist the Board with needed information related to the proposals to be discussed.

****

Please detach and return to National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, 1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Please reserve luncheon for me at the NCALL Annual Meeting on May 2nd ($1.25)

(Name)_____

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

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AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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April 4, 1956

TO: The Board of Directors of NCALL

FROM: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT PUBLIC ASSISTANCE HEARINGS
HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE
APRIL 12, 1956

I have just learned that hearings will be held on the Administration's Public Assistance bill, HR 9091 by the House Ways and Means Committee on April 12. Two of the proposed amendments are of great importance to low income farm families.

It will mean a great deal if member organizations of NCALL will ask to appear or will file a statement. Rep. Jere Cooper (Tenn.) is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

The two amendments of special interest to low income farm people are those that deal with medical care and the training of public welfare workers. A memorandum is enclosed which gives additional information about those amendments and the status of social security legislation as a whole.

You may wish to include in your testimony a statement to the effect that public assistance should not be denied to migratory farm workers. The point which can be made to Congress is that federal funds appropriated for a national purpose should not be denied to any group of citizens through state residence requirements for receiving public assistance.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

STATUS OF SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

NOTE: At the NCALL Round Table in New York on March 9, 1956, delegates expressed much interest in proposed new public assistance amendments which would benefit low income farm families. The two amendments which received emphasis were those dealing with medical care and with the training of public welfare workers. Since Public Welfare is the low income farm family's principle experience of the benefits of social work, the appropriate training of public welfare workers is of great importance.

Last year, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 7225, the Social Security Amendment of 1956. The major features of that bill are: (I) the provision for paying disability benefits at age 50 to persons who have been in covered employment and who become permanently and totally disabled; and (2) provision that makes it possible for women to receive retirement benefits at age 62, instead of at age 65. Both of these provisions relate to old-age and survivors insurance; there are no provisions as passed by the House that relate to public assistance.

This bill is now pending before the Senate Finance Committee. There are many amendments pending in the Senate, a number of which relate to public assistance. Considerable progress could be made toward helping people to meet the impact of disability if disability insurance benefits were paid under the old-age and survivors insurance program. There are indications that the Senate Finance Committee will recommend against this provision.

Also pending before the Senate is the Administration's public assistance bill, S-3139. A parallel bill, HR-9091, introduced by Mr. Daniel Reed (NY), is also pending before the House Ways and Means Committee. HR- 9120, Introduced by Mr. Cooper (Tenn) contains the same provisions. Thus far the public assistance bill has not been offered as an amendment to HR-7225. If it is to be enacted this year, it would seem that tieing it to HR-7225 would be the only practicable means. Support given in this respect would be helpful.

In the field of medical care, the provisions in the Administration's bill are most important for low income farm families. The bill provides that the Federal Government would share with the states on a dollar-for-dollar basis the cost of medical care paid for by the states for persons eligible for Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled. If this provision is enacted, a measure of medical care will become available to people who are now without such care. The Administration's bill places a maximum on the amount of State expenditures for medical care in which the Federal Government will participate. This amount is determined by multiplying $6 a month times the number of adults in the case load, and $3 a month times the number of children in the case load. Considering the facts of medical cost there is real doubt as to whether these are adequate figures. An increase to $10 and $5 would be more realistic.

The Administration's bill also includes provision for Federal aid to the States for training of public welfare personnel for work in Public Assistance agencies. Lack of staff with sufficient qualifications has been a serious handicap in the program. This provision differs from the provision in other legislation for Federal participation in the cost of training social workers in other fields of endeavor. In other programs the Federal Government pays all the cost. Under this bill the Federal Government pays 80%.

Other provisions important to low income farm people call for clarification of the purposes of the Security Act; i.e. to provide social services to bring about self-support and self-care and to strengthen family life in addition to the provision of maintenance care through the Aid to Dependent Children program. Authorization is asked for an appropriation to enable the Federal Government to work with the States, universities, and other organizations in the development of studies into the causes of poverty and the development of demonstration projects in the best methods of dealing with the problems.

National Council on
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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

September 17, 1956

To: Members of the Board of Directors of NCALL
and of the NCALL Research Fund Inc.

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOARD MEETINGS

TIME AND PLACE

The next meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL will be held on October 30, 1956, from 10:00 A.M. to 2:30 P.M. (luncheon included). The meeting will be held in Washington, D.C. at 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

At 2:30 P.M. a brief meeting of the NCALL Research Fund will be held in the same place.

AGENDA

Among the items on the agenda will be:

1. A review of the numerous legislative events since the last board meeting which affect low income farm groups. In the light of these events there will be discussion of what NCALL should emphasize in the months ahead.

2. Report from the By-Laws Committee appointed at the Spring Board Meeting. Among the issues being studied is the future function of the Executive Committee and where it should meet, and what the policy should be as to when and where the two full Board meetings shall be held.

Please detach and Mail to NCALL, 1751 N St.,N.W., Washington 6,D.C.

I expect to attend the NCALL Board Meeting in Washington, on October 30th. Yes-- No-- Please reserve luncheon for me $1.25 Yes--- No---)

Signed_____

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

NCALL

906 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
October 2, 1956

The Honorable Ben W. Fortson, Jr.
Secretary of State of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Fortson:

Every two or three years I am stirred to some hope that Georgia can be interested in pushing protective rules for workmen (or convicts) lugged about the state in open vehicles. Some while back you were kind enough to tell me that you had referred a suggestion of this sort to appropriate persons. Here is an interesting set of rules drawn up for hauling migratory agricultural workers.

I am sure that it is no function of your office to be concerned with this matter, but I would be grateful if you could pass it on to someone who might officially consider it.

Again I repeat the statement, (for common observation on the roads of Georgia), that sooner or later the state is in for some dreadful calamity in the form of a wreck of convicts hauled in open trucks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM/eab
Encl.

bc: Mrs. Elizabeth B. Herring

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United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

September 17, 1956

TO: Member Organizations of NCALL

FROM: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

Re: TRANSPORTATION AND HOUSING OF MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Two projects of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor need the support of state and local units of national organizations.

The President's Committee has achieved agreement on the part of the Department of Labor, Agriculture, Interior and Health, Education and Welfare, and of the Housing and Home Finance Agency with respect to recommendations to be submitted to the states on transportation and labor camps.

I enclose copies of the recommendations as sent to the Governors: i.e.

"Transportation of Agricultural Workers by Motor Vehicle: Suggested regulations".

"Suggested language for Regulations of Agricultural Labor Camps".

It is now up to concerned citizens to support and encourage state governments to use existing statutes more effectively. Where new legislation is needed it is possible and urgent for citizens to help in initiating it.

Member organizations are urged to send NCALL ideas as to how this state action can be stimulated. Ideas sent in will be publicized in NCALL publications later in the fall.

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION IS NOW AUTHORIZED TO REGULATE INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF MIGRATORY LABOR. The bill (S.3391) which passed the Senate in the spring, passed the House (H.R.9836) in July and was approved by the President August 3, 1956. It is now Public Law 939 - 84th Congress, Chapter 905 - 2nd Session. S.3391 "An Act: To provide for the regulation of the interstate transportation of migrant farm workers." In its final form the bill included a recommendation of the Farm Bureau that the law shall apply only if the distance travelled is more than seventy-five miles.

Report No. 2810 accompanying the House bill (Report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce) contains interesting supplementary material.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

October 5, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending to me the carbon copy of your letter to Mr. Fortson.

You have brought a very important point both to his and our attention. In years passed when I spent much time wandering around Mississippi I saw the grim sight very often of gangs of convicts in striped clothing working in the Delta cotton fields.

I will mention this angle of the transportation question to the group in Government responsible for the new proposed regulations.

When are you coming to see us? It would be good to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

National Council on
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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

October 18, 1956

To: The Board of Directors of NCALL

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

AGENDA OF BOARD MEETING
October 30, 1956
1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
10:00 AM to 2:30 P.M.

SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED

A preparatory committee will present recommendations for action with respect to:

1. The new program for importation of Japanese and Filipino contract farm labor.

2. The Housing and Transportation regulations recommended to the states by the Presidents Committee on Migratory Labor.

3. The new Social Security Amendments (O.A.S.I.) which identify the crew leader as employer and reduce the number of farm workers eligible for Social Security.

OTHER BUSINESS

Recommendation by the NCALL Membership Committee that the Migrant Children's Fund be accepted as an organizational member of NCALL. (This letter constitutes the ten days notice required by the NCALL By-Laws.)

Recommendations from the By-Laws Committee of new proposals for strengthening the organizational structure of NCALL.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

December 3, 1956

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

Thank you for your nice letter. I have carefully written your name and NCALL's address into my loose-leaf book; and quite likely you will find a note on crofting turning up on your desk. And come to see us, yonder.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
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Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

November 20, 1956

RECEIVED NOV 21 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter is here. I can't tellyou how much we will miss you. You aren't going to dig in b ehind a highland and never speak to us again are you? Maybe you can't be an active Board member, but you could write us a letter occasionally, couldn't you? It would be wonderful to have a piece in the Bulletin from you, telling about the Crofters. It could be that all the things you have been thinking about in your Southern work, will recreate themselves in Scottish terms. If so, I would love to hear about it.

I can't present your resignation to the Board for several months because we are now having only two board meetings a year and we have just had one. We will regretfully do so at the next meeting.

It is very good news that Mr. Harold Fleming with whom you have been working right along will succeed you, so there will be no break in continuity of objective. Will you please give him my greetings and tell him that we count on his keeping NCALL educated as to Southern things which we should be thinking about .

Our thanks to you for the inspiration which you have given on many occasions. My best wishes to you as you move on into a new and , I am sure, fascinating experience.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

November 12, 1956

Miss Elizabeth Herring
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
1751 "N" Street
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

This has to be a future resignation from the Board of NCALL.

I have planned for a long time to quit what I might be doing at fifty-five and take myself to the Highlands of Scotland. Shall be interested, by the way, in the problems of those small farmers called Crofters. The time has come and I am telling my own Board this week that I shall resign from my job at SRC January 15th. Alice and I shall sail for Scotland March 8th.

The Council is in the fortunate position of having Harold Fleming able and willing to take over, and he can run it better than I.

As I shall be way yonder on the other side of the world, I can't do as a Board member. I am all for you and NCALL, thick and thin, but with a prospective residence yonder I think I ought in decency resign. So, effective March 8th I do, but regretfully.

All of you have been kindness itself to me, and I am honored and pleased to have been in this way part of the continuing effort of people to make a democracy on the land in the United States.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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United Auto Workers—CIO
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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

RECEIVED NOV 27 1956

November 20, 1956

To: Members of the Board of Directors of NCALL

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

SUBJECT: CONTRACT FARM LABOR FROM JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES

At the October Board meeting, it was agreed that the new Japanese-Filipino contract labor program presented grave problems.

It was also agreed that NCALL should facilitate the action of member organizations wishing to raise questions with the Department of Labor and the Immigration and Naturalization Service; the agencies which have authorized the program. Steps are being taken in this direction and you will be informed about them.

Material on Foreign Contract Labor

I enclose, for your information, copies of materials on foreign contract labor. Mrs. Katherine P. Ellickson, one of NCALL's board members, has been doing some research in this field. At my request she has put some of the main points together in a form which can be passed on to other members of the Board.

Other Materials from the U.S. Section of the Joint U.S.-Mexico Trade Union Committee

A copy of "Strangers in our Fields", referred to by Mrs. Ellickson, is enclosed.

I draw to your attention the October 30 release announcing that the U.S. Section of the Joint U.S.-Mexico Trade Union Committee has sent a letter to Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, urging him to appoint a tri-partite committee consisting of representatives of the public, employers and organized labor, to investigate programs for the importation of foreign agricultural labor.

The National Sharecroppers' Fund has also written to Secretary Mitchell asking for an investigation. A copy of the press release and of the letter may be secured by writing to the headquarters of the Fund at 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

November 8, 1956

Miss Elizabeth Herring, Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
1751 N St., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

RECEIVED NOV 27 1956

Dear Miss Herring:

As you requested, I am herewith presenting for the use of NCALL some recent material on the foreign contract labor programs. Much of it was obtained from Mr. Robert C. Goodwin, Director of the Bureau of Employment Security, in response to letters from Mr. Nelson Cruikshank, Director of the AFL-CIO Social Security Department, for his use as a member of the Federal Advisory Committee on Employment Security.

I have added comments to provide general background and to indicate labor's major criticisms of procedures and policies, but without undertaking a comprehensive analysis.

The U.S. Section, Joint U.S.-Mexican Trade Union Committee, has issued a pamphlet, "Strangers in Our Fields," which presents a vivid and extensive picture of the problems of the Mexican contract workers and should be valuable to your members.

Experience with the Mexican program is relevant to what will happen under the Japanese program.

The material is grouped under the following heads:

		Page
1.	Legal Basis of the Programs	1
2.	Extent of the Mexican Program	2
3.	Determination of Need for Foreign Workers	2
4.	Determining the Wages of Contract Workers and the Effects on U.S. workers	4
5.	Violations and Compliance Procedures	7
6.	The Japanese Program	7
7.	Cost of the Mexican Program	11

Sincerely yours,

Katherine P. Ellickson

Katherine P. Ellickson
Assistant Director
Dept. of Social Security

October 1956

1. Legal Basis of the Programs.

A. The Mexican program.

Mexican contract workers are admitted under the terms of Public Law 78, which relies primarily on a government-to-government agreement setting forth details on use of Mexicans. A standard individual work contract is also agreed upon. (These documents are available from the U.S. Department of Labor.)

Public Law 78 was extended last year to December 1959. The U. S. has asked Mexico to agree to extension of the present agreement to June 30, 1959. Actually either country can terminate it by a month's notice, and Public Law 78 now permits contracting of Mexicans without an international agreement, so as to bring pressure on Mexico to reach an accord.

Section 503 of Public Law 78, as amended, sets forth the circumstances under which Mexican contract workers are to be used in an area. The text is weaker than labor advocates but outlines more effective protection of U.S. workers than the Secretary of Labor is providing. It reads:

> "SEC.503. No workers recruited under this title shall be available for employment in any area unless the Secretary of Labor has determined and certified that (1) sufficient domestic workers who are able, willing, and qualified are not available at the time and place needed to perform the work for which such workers are to be employed, (2) the employment of such workers will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of domestic agricultural workers similarly employed, and (3) reasonable efforts have been made to attract domestic workers for such employment at wages and standard hours of work comparable to those offered to foreign workers.
>
> "In carrying out the provisions of (1) and (2) of this section, provision shall be made for consultation with agricultural employers and workers for the purpose of obtaining facts relevant to the supply of domestic farm workers and the wages paid such workers engaged in similar employment. Information with respect to certifications under (1) and (2) shall be posted in the appropriate local public employment offices and such other public places as the Secretary may require."

B. Other programs.

Contract workers from other countries, (Japan, British West Indies, etc.) are admitted under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. It includes among nonimmigrant aliens who may be admitted to the U.S. an alien "who is coming temporarily to the United States to perform other temporary services or labor, if unemployed persons capable of performing such service or labor cannot be found." (Sec. 101 (a) (15)(H). "The question of importing any alien as a nonimmigrant under Section 101(a) (15)(H) in any specific case or specific cases shall be determined by the Attorney General, after consultation with appropriate agencies of the Government, upon petition of the importing employer. . ." (Sec. 214(c)).

The U.S. Department of Labor certifies that "unemployed persons capable of performing such service or labor cannot be found." The growers make agreements

direct with the foreign governments, though the U.S. government departments apparently play some role in outlining protective clauses. Enforcement of safeguards is in the hands of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the foreign governments, not the U.S. Department of Labor. Copies of the agreements and individual work contracts should be obtainable from the U.S. Dept. of Justice or the U. S. Department of Labor.

2. Extent of the Mexican Program.

Total number of workers contracted:

1952	197,100
1953	201,380
1954	309,033
1955	398,650

In 1956 contracts are more numerous and may well total 500,000.

Mexicans were employed in 1955 in over half the states, though principally in the Southwest (Arkansas, Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas). The Department of Labor can supply maps showing their distribution.

A growing number of crop-wage areas have come to rely entirely or primarily on foreign contract workers.

3. Determination of Need for Foreign Workers.

Organized labor and others have for years criticized severely the methods used by the Secretary of Labor in determining that foreign workers are needed and that their use will not adversely affect U.S. workers, as outlined in Sec. 503 of the Mexican agreement.

Major criticisms are:

(a) No real effort is made by growers to attract U.S. workers through offering wages, conditions of employment, and housing suited to their needs. They are not offered even as much as the Mexicans are given in terms of weekly guarantees, insurance, transportation, etc. Housing is often provided for single workers only, not their families. Many growers prefer contract labor because it is available when wanted, docile, and deportable.

(b) Often the growers' association decides in advance what wage rate will be offered, knowing they cannot obtain local labor and that they will use Mexicans, and then, in fact, they do obtain Mexicans at the agreed-upon rate.

(c) The U.S. Department of Labor relies primarily on the state agencies to determine need, and their local and state offices too often go along with what the growers want. The growers have great political influence in Washington too.

(d) Consultation with worker's representatives is inadequate. Public hearings have not been held.

(e) No effective program has been developed for recruiting U.S. workers with due consideration to wage and earnings guarantees, attractive conditions of employment and housing,transportation arrangements, etc. The use of contract workers increasingly drives U.S. workers out of many areas (1) by depressing wages, etc., and (2) by decreasing total employment opportunities, and (3) leaving for U.S. workers only the extra and less remunerative work since the foreign workers have weekly employment guarantees.

The Department's procedures for determining need for foreign workers are summarized as follows by Mr. Goodwin (letter of August 17, 1956):

"Ceiling assignments represent certification of need for the importation of foreign agricultural workers into an agricultural reporting area. Ceiling assignments are the result of demonstrated need based upon statistical and narrative information supplied by the State Employment Service (originating with the local office). Factors which are considered in the justification are:

a. Crop acreage estimates compared with previous years planted acreage. This information is obtained from county agricultural representatives and from growers.

b. Estimated labor requirements. This is arrived at through computing man hour requirements for each crop in the area. Such factors as increased use of machinery and increased output per worker are taken into consideration.

c. Estimated supply of labor. This estimate is based upon local office information which shows anticipated changes in availability of local, intra-state, and inter-state migratory labor. Exchange of information between states provides current migratory labor information to the local office. In addition, employers and workers (or their representatives) are consulted before an estimate of domestic labor supply is prepared.

d. Weather conditions. Ceiling requests are prepared on the basis of normal weather conditions for the season covered by the request. If previous crop season weather deviated from normal, its effect on labor requirements is noted and related to the demands for the current season.

"The ES-229 is used to evaluate State and local office plans for full utilization of domestic workers. The State agency issues authorizations to contract within the limits of the established ceiling.

"As the season progresses, changes may occur which result in increase or decrease of labor requirements. If such change amounts to more than 10 percent, a supplemental request is required.

"The ES-229 requests are reviewed, at headquarters, for statistical accuracy and adequacy of justification. Particular attention is given to domestic labor recruitment attempts, and if additional sources of domestic labor can be found, such information is made available to the area requesting the ceiling."

The Bureau has elaborate instructions and forms for use in this connection.

4. Determining the Wages of Contract Workers and the Effects on U. S. Workers.

While in theory foreign contract workers are paid prevailing wages in accordance with the basic agreements for each program, actually the prevailing wage procedures cannot possibly be expected to assure decent wages for foreigners or to protect U.S. workers from adverse effects.

In this connection, we quote first some Bureau descriptions of procedures and then give labor's criticisms, with a few specific examples.

A. The Bureau's Description of Procedures.

The following are Mr. Goodwin's summaries of wage procedures, supplementing detailed Bureau forms (letter of August 17, 1956):

1. "Beginning Wages. We have recognized the difficulty in determining beginning wage before the season actually starts. To prevent the employment of Mexican contract workers adversely affecting the wage rates of domestic workers at the start of a crop activity, the Department has established the following policy. Mexican workers may not be contracted for employment at the beginning of a crop season at wage rates which are less than those paid at the beginning of the preceding crop season unless it is demonstrated that a lower wage rate, in the specific case, will not adversely affect the wages of domestic workers.

   To carry out this policy, beginning wage information is obtained in the initial wage surveys in the respective crop wage areas. This is then used in the succeeding season as the beginning wage rate.

2. "Description of methods by which the Secretary of Labor makes determinations of prevailing wage rates, including information as to the degree the Department checks and reviews State agency wage findings.

   "The making of a wage determination under a normal situation is comparatively simple. A normal situation prevails in crop-wage areas in which the plan to make a wage survey has been carefully and objectively planned; where the farm, worker, and wage data is carefully prepared and stated; where the survey is conducted by making contacts in the field with employers and workers who are representative of the totals; where there exists a large proportion of domestic workers; and where there do not arise extreme variations in field and crop conditions nor in crop activities. Under such circumstances the Department verifies the State finding for conformity with the policy, procedures and criteria of a valid wage finding. The finding prepared by the State agency is incorporated in a determination issued in the name of the Secretary and forwarded to the State (ESPL No. 681).

   "As may be expected, a great many of the wage findings involve areas and activities in which conditions vary from the normal

as described above. Illustrative of such are the following:

a. Inadequate sample (numerical, size of employing units, contacts, etc.)
b. Improper survey period.
c. A wage survey including insignificant wage classes and payment methods.
d. Inclusion of female and child wage rates which could affect adult male wage rates.
e. Numerous container sizes of approximate weights or capacities.
f. Propriety of wage classes raised by indications of:
   (1) field conditions varying because of irrigation, dryland, hard soil, weeds, topography, etc.
   (2) yield
   (3) color, size and variety
   (4) skill and experience

"The Bureau examines every wage finding for accuracy, adequacy, sufficiency and for conformity with Departmental and Bureau policy and procedure. Problems arising from any of the above illustrative factors are immediately transmitted to the regional offices exercising jurisdiction over the several State programs. In cases needing expedited action, telegraphic or telephonic contact may be made with the State agency. The State agencies in all instances are requested to take corrective action. Depending on the degree of inadequacy, requests on the State agencies range from immediate correction to making minor improvements on succeeding findings. Frequently the State agencies are requested to make another wage survey as soon as practicable to rectify an indicated inadequacy.

"The Bureau has been carefully watching the development of the wage-finding program in the States. In 1956, a great many new areas are being surveyed because of the inclusion of areas heretofore exempted due to Mexican worker dominance or because there were less than 100 Mexican workers. Where the program is entirely new, there have been the expected errors of experience. Our regional personnel has worked closely with the State agencies and a marked improvement has been displayed within a short period of two or three months. In one of our large States there has been a tremendous improvement over the 1955 operations with regard to techniques and coverage. One of the greatest problems was contact with employers and workers in the field. This has shown a marked improvement in several States."

3. "General Rule for Making Prevailing Wage Findings. Under a normal situation, a prevailing wage is defined as one which encompasses at least two-thirds of the domestic workers covered in the wage survey. If a single rate cannot be found which represents the wage paid to

at least two-thirds of the domestic workers, the agency making the finding should move from this rate to the contiguous rate with the next greatest number of workers. If the workers covered by these two rates together make up the necessary two-thirds, a scale consisting of both these rates will be the prevailing wage. If a two-thirds majority is not obtained in this manner, the two rates will be considered as a single wage group for the purpose of moving to that contiguous rate having the next greatest number of workers. If these three rates do not represent at least two-thirds of the workers, the process will be repeated until at least two-thirds coverage is reached. In any case where a scale of wages is found to be prevailing, the finding must include information about the significant differences in conditions accounting for the steps in the scale." (from Employment Service Program Letter No. 679, Apr. 4,1956)

B. Organized Labor's Criticisms of Wage Procedures.

1). Wages of U. S. workers are depressed by the knowledge that a large supply of contract workers will be available, and by the actual presence of such workers. In many areas where Mexican nationals have been used, large numbers of U. S. workers are available but are paid substandard rates year after year.

This is true in Arkansas, for example in Phillips County. In June 1956, U. S. workers were paid 35¢ to 40¢ an hour only, a little more than in preceeding years. One thousand U. S. workers were employed in June and 1,055 Mexicans. The Mexicans theoretically were receiving 50¢ an hour, the minimum to which the Mexican government will agree. In July and August the rate for U. S. workers had fallen to 35¢ an hour.

2). It is wrong for the Department of Labor to assume that the beginning wage rate should merely remain the same from year to year since other U. S. wages have been rising steadily with rising productivity and prices. This policy inevitably increases the spread between farm wages and other wages.

3). The growers' associations or processors so dominate many crop-wage areas that they set a uniform wage rate by agreement in advance of the season which continues whether or not wage determinations are made.

It was this situation that led the United States Section of the Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee to approve a report "that the present method of fixing wage rates in the southwest for domestic farm workers and Mexican contract workers is a fraud and conspiracy on the part of the employers.

"The common pattern is for the employers to hold a meeting and agree to what wage rate will be paid in the area. This agreed wage then becomes the 'prevailing wage'; however, the wage rate is so low in the Southwestern states that only a small number of domestic workers apply for the jobs. Thus, when the State Employment Department fails to supply the needed farm workers at the wage

offered, the State Department agency then certifies the grower's need for foreign workers."

In Imperial Valley, California, wage findings in 1956 show that the 4 employing units studied were paying 745 employees 8¢ for pulling and tying a dozen bunches of carrots. Official state statistics show the following most common wage rates for pulling and tying carrots since 1948:

Activity-Carrots- Pull and Tie

Year	Most Common Wage Rates (for 12 bunches)
1948	7¢
1950	7¢
1952	8-1/3¢
1953	9-1/3¢
1954	8¢
1955	8¢
1956	8¢

From 1952-1956, while these wage rates declined, average hourly earnings in California manufacturing increased by 18.7 percent.

The tomato harvest in Sutter County, Calif. also illustrates this situation. The growers agreed in advance of the season to pay 11¢ a box, as in 1955; they obtained Mexican workers at this rate, and so few U. S. workers were available that no prevailing wage determinations were made in either 1955 or 1956. A newspaper clipping stated that the representative of the State Employment Service had advised the growers to use Mexicans in 1956 because so few U. S. workers would be available at that rate.

4). U.S. workers are actually offered substantially poorer conditions than foreign contract workers in many areas as they receive no wage guarantees, insurance, and other fringe benefits.

5). The Department's formula for making prevailing wage determinations often results in merely indicating that the minimum wage rate being paid U. S. workers must be paid to foreign contract workers.

When the Department permits prevailing wages to be described by a range of rates, without any indication of reasons for the differences, it is departing from principles followed in any other prevailing wage determinations for which the Department is responsible. Any rates shown above the minimum in the range are meaningless except as they may inform Mexicans what U. S. workers are receiving.

The meaninglessness of any rate above the minimum in a prevailing wage determination is illustrated by the situation surrounding the cotton harvest in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. In

August 1956, wage findings submitted by the state agency indicated that U. S. workers were receiving $1.50 to $2.50 per cwt., for pulling cotton. Under the Bureau's formula, a wage determination would have shown $1.50 to $2 as the range of rates that encompassed 2/3rds of the U. S. workers, but Mexico has insisted that none of its nationals receive less than $1.55 per cwt., or more than the minimum that would have been included in the wage determination. According to Bureau policy no wage determination was therefore made.

6). The wage findings obtained and supplied Washington by the state agencies cannot get around these basic defects and in addition are adversely affected by the absence of job descriptions, lack of trained investigators, etc. The Department of Labor has so small a staff that it must act hastily on the basis of the material supplied. Mr. Goodwin stated on September 28th that 530 wage determinations had been made in 1956 and that there are "four professional employees on the staff of the Bureau in Washington assigned primarily to reviewing wage findings and assisting in making wage determinations."

5. Violations and Compliance Procedures

If a grower or association violates the contract, no penalties are levied. At worst the grower will be denied use of contract workers. Violations by employers are widespread, as shown by the Bureau's own figures. In January through August 1956, 1,868 routine inspections were made and 506 deficiencies were found. In California 310 routine inspections were made and 100 deficiencies were found. These figures and other details are shown in the attached table 1, on the next page.

Organized labor has repeatedly pointed out that the Department of Labor lacks adequate enforcement staff. Its 1957 budget provides a total of 87 professional employees for compliance activities, 37 of whom are attached to the Dallas Regional Office and 28 to the San Francisco Regional Office. These employees have many compliance activities in addition to actual inspections.

It is interesting to compare the number of routine inspections made in each state, shown on page 8, with the number of individuals and user members who employed Mexican nationals in 1955, as shown in table 2 on page 9.

6. The Japanese Program.

The Japanese contract workers are brought in under the Immigration and Naturalization Act, as explained in Section 1. Primary responsibility rests on the Attorney General but he has asked the Department of Labor to certify that workers are needed, which the latter has done. Enforcement is by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, not the Department of Labor.

TABLE I

JANUARY THROUGH AUGUST 1956

Regions	Routine Inspections	Deficiencies Found	Complaint Investigations
SAN FRANCISCO			
California	310	100	402
Arizona	52	18	53
DALLAS			
Texas	415	83	1,762
Arkansas	196	234	179
DENVER			
Colorado	57	0	14
Montana	25	10	0
New Mexico	548	7	82
KANSAS CITY			
Missouri	1	0	4
Nebraska	18	0	20
CHICAGO			
Illinois	1	0	3
Indiana	1	1	3
Minnesota	0	0	1
Wisconsin	5	0	1
GEORGIA			
Georgia	76	19	6
Tennessee	33	27	0
SEATTLE			
Idaho	18	1	5
Oregon	20	0	6
Washington	60	4	62
CLEVELAND			
Michigan	30	1	60
Ohio	2	1	0
TOTALS	1,868	506	2,663

Source: U.S. Bureau of Employment Security, September 28, 1956. "Deficiencies Found" applies to the routine inspections only. (Letter of November 2, 1956).

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AND USER-MEMBERS
WHO EMPLOYED MEXICAN NATIONALS IN 1955

Regions	
SAN FRANCISCO	
California	7,961
Arizona	766
Nevada	5
DALLAS	
Texas	37,124
Arkansas	1,886
DENVER	
Colorado	62
Montana	3
New Mexico	1,881
Utah	110
Wyoming	3
KANSAS CITY	
Kansas	1
Missouri	52
Nebraska	2
South Dakota	1
CHICAGO	
Illinois	1
Indiana	49
Minnesota	14
Wisconsin	10
GEORGIA	
Georgia	36
Tennessee	79
SEATTLE	
Idaho	326
Oregon	1,313
Washington	206
CLEVELAND	
Michigan	1,026
Kentucky	5
TOTAL	42,773

The Departments have furnished us with copies of three forms utilized for the Japanese program:

(1) A General Agreement between the Council for Supplementary Agricultural Workers (Japanese) and _____ in the State of_____(name of growers' association to be inserted);

(2) A Japanese Agricultural Worker Agreement to be entered into by the individual worker and the growers' association; and

(3) An addendum to this agreement, amending and supplementing it.

Both the general agreement and worker agreement state that they wish workers to be "beneficially employed. . . to alleviate the continuing shortage of agricultural labor and at the same time to give Japanese agricultural workers (or worker) an opportunity to participate in the American way of life and to learn the latest technical methods in American agricultural development."

The actual terms of the agreements, when considered in the light of conditions on large-scale farms, contradict the objective of "participating in the American way of life." The Japanese are not free to move about and work as they wish. The contract specifies that the worker "shall proceed from the port of debarkation to the place of assignment in accordance with the order of the (growers') association," "work and reside at the place of assignment. . . or at any such place as the association may require," and work as directed "up to 12 hours per day for a consecutive 3 weeks at any single time" during peak seasons.

At other times the worker "shall not be obliged to work for more than 8 hours in any period of 24 consecutive hours nor more than 6 days in any given week." But what is to prevent a succession of growers from requiring steady work at 12 hours a day in successive peaks for different crops?

No general minimum wage is provided, although a letter of August 21 from Under Secretary of Labor Larson mentioned a minimum of 85¢ per hour. This may apply in some contracts where the prevailing wage for a given crop equals this amount. But according to officials of the U. S. Farm Placement Service, Japanese workers are being employed in San Diego County for as little as 70¢ an hour.

According to these officials, Japanese workers have now been certified by the U. S. Department of Labor for use in any type of field work in the following California counties: Butte, Colusa, Placer, Solano, El Dorado, Tehama, Sutter, Yolo, Yuba, Ventura, San Diego, Monterey, and San Joaquin.

The failure of so-called prevailing wage rates to protect U. S. workers or foreign workers has been explained in Section 4. The list of counties in which Japanese workers are being used includes ones where the program for Mexican contract workers has for years adversely affected U. S. workers.

The record of violations by California growers set forth in Section 5 suggests greater dangers under the Japanese program, since the Immigration and Naturalization Service has even fewer facilities for assuring compliance by growers than has the U. S. Department of Labor.

The plan for bringing in Japanese workers was developed by a California growers' association. The Labor Department has certified the need for 1,000 and that number have now been admitted. Similar plans have been made for bringing in 1,000 Filipinos. While these numbers are small, the way is being paved for larger future importations. The growers hope thus to lessen Mexico's power to bargain for protection of its own nationals.

The Japanese government will have even poorer facilities than the Mexican Consuls for attempting to protect its nationals, and will have less authority to do so.

The Japanese workers will arrive indebted to the growers' association for "costs of transportation and incidental expenses, if any, advanced for travel from Japan to the port of debarkation." Deductions from the workers' wages will be made to pay any such costs, insurance premiums, cost of meals, etc. The individual worker contract provides for a period of employment of 6 months subject to renewal every 6 months up to a total of 3 years. If the workers are sent back after a brief period, transportation costs alone will presumably take a large chunk of earnings.

Quite apart from problems of inadequate earnings that may arise, it is a farce to say that these workers are "participating in the American way of life." They are in jobs totally unrepresentative of U.S. democracy without the protection of a free labor market, labor legislation or unions. They are sent to labor camps where there is no opportunity to become acquainted with U.S. family life or family farming.

The fine phrases in the basic documents are utterly misleading. They increase the threat which the entire program offers to international good-will.

7. Cost of the Mexican Program.

The current appropriation to the Bureau of Employment Security for implementation of the Mexican program is $2,125,000, but this sum does not cover salaries of high Department of Labor and Bureau officials who must spend substantial time on the program. Appropriations have risen each year from $1,800,000 in 1953.

In addition to the funds appropriated by Congress, fees are assessed employers for the purpose of transporting the workers and for furnishing them with food, shelter and medical examinations. These fees are deposited in a revolving fund which is never allowed to increase beyond an amount sufficient to meet current expenses. The size of the revolving fund is controlled by raising or lowering the fees. The $1,000,000 initially advanced by Congress to the fund has been repaid. Instead of the initial $15 fee for contracting and recontracting, growers currently pay a charge per worker of $7 for contracting and $4 for recontracting.

The attached table gives further details on income and expenses of the revolving fund.

Farm Labor Supply Revolving Fund

Income and Expenses by Fiscal Years 1953-57

	Actual 1953	Actual 1954	Actual 1955	Actual 1956	Estimate 1957
Income:					
Contracting for workers	$2,869,776	$1,996,868	$1,003,964	$1,589,668	$2,947,700
Expenses:					
Transportation of workers	1,148,212	837,643	483,087	1,287,808	1,400,000
Food and shelter for "	775,425	532,127	734,229	745,105	825,000
Medical examinations and services to workers	-	80,220	298,548	397,019	622,949
Miscellaneous	95,012	-	64,559	408,294	98,301
Total expenses	2,018,649	1,449,990	1,580,423	2,838,226	2,946,250
Net income or loss (-) for the year	851,127	546,878	(-)576,459	(-) 1,248,558	1,450

Note: Balance available June 30, 1956 $608,668.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Employment Security, August 17, 1956.

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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

March 19, 1957 New York City

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor convened on Tuesday, March 19, 1957 at 9:30 A.M. at the Conference Room of the National Social Welfare Assembly, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Howard A. Dawson presided. Others present included: Miss Fay Bennett, Miss Ethlyn Christensen, Mrs. Katherine P. Ellickson, Mr. Curtis Gatlin, Mrs. Luther Gulick, Miss Elizabeth Herring, Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Mr. Sol Markoff, Miss Ethel Watkins, Dr. Theodore Norman, Mrs. Monica Owen, Rev. James L. Vizzard S.J., Mrs. Amber A. Warburton, Dr. Paul L. Warnshuis, Miss Judith Wicoff, and Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand.

MINUTES: The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of May 2, 1956 and the fall meeting of October 30, 1956 were approved as distributed.

REPORT OF TREASURER: In the absence of Mr. Philip Schiff, Treasurer, Miss Herring presented the annual financial report for 1956. It was accepted. (enclosed)

REPORT OF TAX EXEMPTION FOR THE NCALL RESEARCH FUND: Dr. Dawson reported progress. Miss Herring explained the extraordinary amount of thought and effort which Dr. Dawson had put into the drafting and presenting of a new appeal for tax exemption. The Board voted its appreciation.

REPORT OF MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE: Dr. Norman, chairman of the Membership Committee, reported that the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO and the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers were in arrears as to their dues and had not indicated interest in the work of the work of NCALL. The committee recommended that these two organizations be dropped from membership. The recommendation was approved.

The proposal was made that the organization of Southern mountain schools might be interested in becoming a member organization. This suggestion was referred to the membership committee.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE: The Nominating Committee presented a slate of officers and committees. The recommendation of the Nominating Committee was accepted and the following were elected. Mr. Henry K. Arneson was nominated from the floor and elected.

Officers Dr. Howard A. Dawson, Chairman: Shirley E. Greene, 1st vice-chairman, Rev. James L. Vizzard S. J., 2nd vice-chairman, Fay Bennett, 3rd vice-chairman, Amber A. Warburton, Secretary, Philip Schiff, Treasurer.

Executive Committee - Members-at-large Dr. Theodore Norman, Mrs. Katherine P. Ellickson, Dr. Benson Y. Landis, Edith Lowry, Paul Sifton.

Membership Committee Dr. Theodore Norman, Chairman, Ethlyn Christensen, Philip Schiff, Dr. B. Y. Landis, Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand.

Nominating Committee Mrs. Katherine P. Ellickson, Chairman, Rev. James L. Vizzard S.J.

The resignation of Henry Arneson as Executive Director of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor was reported. A motion was made and seconded to elect Mr. Arneson to the Board of Directors of NCALL. Passed.

A motion was made and seconded that the Executive Committee appoint a Legislative and Finance Committee. Passed.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Miss Herring presented a very interesting report of NCALL activities during the past year. The report was accepted with appreciation and the motion was made and seconded that a written report accompany the minutes. Passed.

BUSINESS

Social Security Coverage of Farm Labor: Mrs. Ellickson reported on developments in this field and presented recommendations of the NCALL Committee for further work.

Social Issues in Agriculture: The preparation of a document to be used as a work tool on this subject was discussed. It was moved and seconded that the problem be studied further and the committee report to the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

Invitation to Membership in the National Conference of Social Welfare: Becoming an Associate Group of the NCSW was discussed. While it was considered important for rural problems to be presented at meetings of NCSW, it was moved and seconded that action on becoming an Associate Group be postponed. Passed.

Contract Labor: It was moved and seconded that NCALL should keep in close touch with developments in this field, and that the Department of Labor should be asked to make an analysis as to who uses contract labor and the need. Passed.

Minimum Wage: Through Dorothea de Schweinita, Executive Director of the National Consumers League, "Citizens Committee on the Fair Labor Standards Act," NCALL is keeping informed of current legislative hearings. It was suggested that NCALL continue this cooperative effort.

160 Acre Limitation: There were some signs of a different attitude on the part of the new Secretary of Interior. The Executive Secretary was instructed to keep in touch with developments and suggest action as needed.

Area Redevelopment Act: Mrs. Warburton reported on hearings currently being held before the Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency on S. 964, "Area Redevelopment Act," introduced by Paul Douglas. This bill provides financial and technical aid to depressed communities having considerable unemployment and underemployment. Of interest to NCALL, particularly is the section providing aid for rural communities. The enactment of this bill could have vital influence in cutting down the need for family migration from farm areas suffering from underemployment, because industries would be attracted to provide employment so that farm families would have sources of supplemental income. In hearings, the problem was stressed of rural communities losing their young people because there was no chance for work at home. It was suggested that ways be explored for NCALL to help promote passage of the bill.

The meeting adjourned at 2 p.m.

Amber Arthun Warburton, Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

. . . . . .

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - GENERAL ACCOUNT - JANUARY 1, 1956 - DECEMBER 31, 1956

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in Bank, January 1, 1956		$ 547.55
From Memberships & Contributions	$4,431.40	
N.Y. Round Table Luncheons	112.25	
Sale of Publications	9.70	
Refund from Research Fund (Progress Report)	60.38	
Refund F.I.C.A.	80.00	$4,693.73
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$5,241.28

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$2,079.51	
Executive	$1,500.00		
Office	579.51		
Office Supplies		137.03	
Travel, Living & Conference Attendance		495.78	
Office Rent		360.00	
Telephone & Telegraph		207.13	
Postage and Stamped Envelopes		119.94	
Printing, Mimeo, Stationery		389.62	
Subscriptions to Publications		40.45	
Taxes: F.I.C.A.		106.00	
Bank Service Charges		7.10	
Conference Expenses		35.50	
Rent of Room for Round Table (N.Y.)		42.00	
New York Round Table Luncheons		108.00	
Deficit on Board Luncheons		7.55	
Refund to Research Fund*		400.00	
Property Tax, District of Columbia		5.80	
To rectify previous error		100.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$4,542.41
BALANCE IN NCALL Regular Account December 31, 1956.			$ 698.87

*This amount was deposited by the Security Bank in the General rather than Research Account by mistake.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND, INC.
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D.C.

. . . . . .

ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT RESEARCH FUND JANUARY 1, 1956-DECEMBER 31,1956

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in bank January 1, 1956		$ 44.79
Transfer from Prudential Building Association	$669.93	
Migrant Children's Fund	400.00	
Refund F.I.C.A.	78.00	
Refund from General Account*	400.00	
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth	2,000.00	$3,547.93
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$3,592.72

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salary of Migrant Education Supervisor	$1,975.00	
Automobile, Travel and Living	811.17	
Field Supplies	20.00	
Headquarters Expense		
Mimeo: Progress Reports, Minutes, etc.	130.74	
Bank Service Charges	.50	
Refund to Department of Rural Education, N.E.A.	400.00	
Taxes: F.I.C.A.	108.00	
Supplies	33.63	
Postage	20.00	
Bookkeeper and clerical	67.51	$3,566.55
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		$ 26.17
BALANCE IN PRUDENTIAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION		10.00
		$ 36.17

* Amount deposited by Security Bank in General Account by mistake.

ANNUAL MEETING
March 19, 1957

CONFIDENTIAL

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Elizabeth B. Herring

At the October Board meeting we discussed foregoing a large NCALL conference this year and concentrating on issues. It was not that we have not been working on issues right along but that we had not left ourselves enough time to do the follow-through which is the price of getting something done.

In the months since, a good deal has happened with respect to the issues we selected then and also on others which time and tide thrust upon us. It would be helpful if, as I summarize recent events, you would give some thought to the ways of work which are developing. Is NCALL doing the things and in the fashion that you think it should?

EXTENSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY TO FARM LABOR

I begin by reporting with pleasure that we have made a start on doing something about Social Security coverage for farm labor. As you will remember the Congress adopted two Social Security amendments in 1956 which narrowed the coverage for farm labor and injected the anomalous provision that crew leaders rather than farmers are the employers.

In a few moments Mrs. Ellickson will give you information about the nature of our problem and make some proposals for action. I would like, as a prelude to her comments, to tell you what a help she has been throughout the fall on this issue, not only through warm interest but by contributing her expert knowledge. She is the Assistant Director of the Social Security Department of the AFL-CIO.

You have all received a copy of an excellent memorandum on the subject which Mrs. Ellickson prepared for the AFI-CIO. This memorandum has been so popular that I have had to ask for more on two occasions. In addition to distributing it to our members I sent it to a large number of other organizations. One of the responses which gave me most pleasure was the request that I airmail-special ten copies to ten key Indian tribal leaders. Between 40 and 50,000 Indians are counted in the Farm Labor force.

Preceding the distribution of this memorandum, a significant meeting was held which included about twenty-five people from the Social Security Administration, the Department of Labor and member organizations of NCALL. This was the outcome of a series of communications to the Social Security Administration. About the turn of the New Year, the Bureau proposed that we have a meeting. As usual in Washington, it had to be arranged in no time flat. I am especially grateful to the Division of Home Missions and the American Friends Service Committee for rallying to the occasion and getting representatives there from a distance, who had first hand acquaintance with crew leaders and migrant families. Washington representatives from the National Congress of American Indians, the National Farmers Union and Mrs. Ellickson, representing the AFL-CIO, were there. The criterion in recruiting a group was to bring people who had concrete, first hand knowledge of what was involved in administering the farm labor Social Security amendments. I content myself with reporting that it was a wonderful meeting.

Since it was the kind of meeting for which minutes were inappropriate, we had none, but you will not go far wrong if you will use Mrs. Ellickson's memorandum.

THE FOREIGN CONTRACT FARM LABOR PROGRAM

The October Board meeting agreed also that we should try to find something constructive to do about the growing foreign contract labor program and the trend illustrated by the new Japanese pilot program. Several steps have been taken in the fact finding realm. Action proposals are in the incubation stage. One step was to send out inquiries as to the role of the Japanese-American Citizens League. I have data with respect to the active interest of this Nisei group in the program and their identification of the issue with the effort to overcome discrimination against Far East immigration.

Since the AFL-CIO is represented on The Federal Advisory Committee of the Bureau of Employment Security and has a good deal of information as to the facts of the foreign farm labor contract program, I requested such material as could be publicized and Mrs. Ellickson very kindly sent it to me. You have all received copies of that material.

What action is possible? Having sat through several hearings on the Mexican Farm Labor program by the House Agriculture Committee, I can assure you that there is nothing more futile than verbal assaults on the foreign labor program. What must be found is the spot where action is possible.

There are several spots where serious abuses have developed. Three main areas are the way labor users' organizations of growers operate, the way the U. S. Government certifies and re-certifies the need for foreign workers and, third, the perfunctory and often unjust domestic recruitment procedures of some units of the State Farm Placement Services.

Those of you who attended the Round Table which was held here in this building last spring will remember Mr. Hudgens' remark: "That the surest way not to serve low income farmers was to put the controls of an agency near to him." The decentralization of the Employment Service is a case in point. The Federal Government pays the bills but the State Employment Services get their directives nearer home.

MINIMUM WAGE

Well, what else have we been doing? We have been working on some issues, which were not mentioned in the October Board meeting; i.e. extension of minimum wage to farm labor and defense of the family farm policy of the Reclamation Act, which is under heavy corporation attack.

I will say just a little about minimum wage, because others will speak of it in a moment. NCALL has cooperated in the united effort initiated by the Consumers League in support of the bill for extension of minimum wage coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. The bill provides coverage which would include industrialized farms. Our efforts have been limited to sending information to our Board members and corresponding with individual board members who were working on the issue.

Many letters from a lot of people to their Congressmen will be indicated. It seems that Congress has been flooded with letters against the bill stimulated by retail interests.

THE FAMILY FARM POLICY OF THE RECLAMATION ACT

Most of my time the last month has been absorbed by an emergency which rose with respect to some irrigation bills. As you know most large scale corporation farming is on irrigated land, usually land irrigated at federal expense. The federal rules are that when a dam is built at public expense the water will be divided equitably. No one man can have more water than enough to irrigate 160 acres. (His wife can have as much also.)

Hearings were called on March 5 on very short notice on eight irrigation bills. What was at stake was the breakdown of reclamation law, a great boost for corporation farming, and multiplication of farm labor problems.

I want to say here, how grateful I am to Father Vizzard who stood by through thick and thin. People rallied to the cause. We got some influential witnesses ready for the fray and a number of people writing in from around the country. Then when we were all dressed up and ready to go, Senator Lyndon Johnson suspended all hearings until the Senate had acted on the Middle East Resolution. We were told the hearings would be on the 13th. But then we began getting contradictory answers as to whether we would be allowed to testify. Finally the day before the hearing we got the definitive answer that only proponents of the bills would be allowed to testify. The rest of us could file statements.

We decided in most cases to do that, and to say at the beginning of our statements that we protested the lack of opportunity to appear. By doing this we hoped to lay the ground work for an appeal to Senator Murray for a hearing by the full Interior Committee in the event that the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation brought in a bad report. Some telegrams of protest were sent.

We will need to watch closely from now on. The ground work done so far means that there are more allies, to defend the 160 acre limitation than for some time in the past.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N STREET, WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

March 22, 1957

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

I am sorry to be so long in answering your letter of March 7th, but we have been spearing about for the kind of information you want -- unfortunately with no success.

Beyond the sources that you would already be in touch with, such as Tuskegee and the better state agricultural schools, I know of no one to suggest.

Sorry to fail you, but I hope this won't discourage you from querying us anytime we may be able to help. Needless to say, I greatly appreciate your good wishes as I tackle new responsibilities.

With all best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
/signed in absence

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Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches
Girl Scouts of the USA
International Association of Machinists—AFL
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
National Agricultural Workers Union—AFL
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

March 7, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Do you have suggestions of how I could get some concrete information about displacements which are going on in the South as a result of the new Soil Conservation program?

I would much appreciate your own views and also the names of persons in a few spots in the south who might give me definite information.

My best wishes to you as you undertake your executive responsibilities. We are all most fortunate that you will be the leader of the indispensable Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:lsk

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

(Return to Eab)

FBI?

April 23, 1957

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

A thousand pardons for this delay in responding to the kind invitation to serve on the Board of the NCALL. The truth is that I have been having inner conflict. I had promised myself that I would take on no added responsibilities, even nominal ones, at this time when the demands of the Council are so heavy. On the other hand, I was greatly tempted by your warm invitation.

After mulling it over this long, I am writing to say that I accept the position of member-at-large with appreciation. I won't be nearly as useful to you as George Mitchell, since agriculture is not a field in which I am deeply versed. However, I hold the work of the NCALL in high regard, and will be glad to give such support as my presence on the Board will constitute.

I thought you might find some material of interest in this article from the Atlanta Journal-Constitution on the effects of the soil bank program. Miss Irving, our Research Assistant, will send you further such articles as they appear.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

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AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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VENIETTE C. WEIL
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Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches
Girl Scouts of the USA
International Association of Machinists—AFL
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
National Agricultural Workers Union—AFL
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

March 26, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Thank you so much for your letter. The kind of information we are both seeking is hard to pin down. I think we have a fresh influx of these migrating folks here in Washington. There has been much awareness of late of starving children, and emergency programs have been set up. Of course, we do not know, how recently these people have come. The newspaper accounts speak of residence laws as a block to welfare assistance.

Last week NCALL had its Annual Meeting in New York. The Board of Directors voted to send a warm invitation to you to become a member-at-large of our Board of Directors. We hope very much that you will accept. The Board has two meetings a year, one in Washington and the other in New York. Whether you can get to meetings or not we would be honored and pleased to count you as a member-at-large and we would hope for your suggestions from time to time.

If the time should come that you feel the policy of the Southern Regional Council would permit organizational membership we would of course be much pleased. In the meantime, it would give us great pleasure to have you serve in your individual capacity.

With best wishes and the hope that you will serve,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH/s

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Amended By-Laws

(As approved at Board Meeting, September 29, 1955)

Article I - Name

Section 1 The corporate name of this organization shall be the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

Article II - Purposes

Section 1 The purposes of this organization shall be to improve the living and working conditions of the low-income farm and rural populations of the United States of America by all possible means, including the collection and dissemination to organizations and individuals, of information of scientific, economic, social, literary, and educational character. The objects of this corporation are exclusively scientific, educational, and literary. No part of the earnings of this corporation shall inure to the benefit of any private individual and no substantial part of its activities shall be the carrying on of propaganda or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation.

Section 2 The NCALL as an organization will limit its action on pending national, state or local legislation to providing information on such legislation to its membership.

Article III - Membership and Associates

Section 1 Organizations as hereinafter defined shall be eligible to become members of NCALL.

Section 2 Organizational members.

(a) Organizational membership shall be open to national and regional organizations interested in the social, economic or cultural problems of agricultural life.

(b) Such organizations may become members by majority vote of the Board of Directors, following application by the organization or nomination by a majority of the Membership Committee, and upon payment of the first annual $25.00 membership fee. (See Article V, Sec. 1)

(c) Each organizational member shall name its own representative to NCALL who shall serve as a member of the Board of Directors. Substitute representation is permitted when it is so authorized by the member organization.

(d) Organizational members shall pay a membership fee of $25 per year.

(e) The Membership Committee shall review annually the list of Organizational Members and shall bring to the attention of the Board of Directors any organization which has failed to pay its membership dues or whose purpose or methods of work, in the judgment of the Membership Committee, have changed and are no longer in accord with the policy of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. The Board of Directors may authorize the dropping of such members.

Section 3 Individuals and/or representatives of state and local organizations may become NCALL Associates upon payment of a fee of $5.00.

Article IV - Board of Directors

Section 1 The control and management of the affairs and funds of NCALL shall be vested in a Board of Directors.

Section 2 The Board of Directors shall consist of:
(a) One designated representative from each organizational member as provided in Article III, Section 2 (c); and
(b) Not more than 20 directors-at-large, elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting.

Article V - Meetings

Section 1 The Board of Directors shall hold two regular meetings annually at such time and place as may be designated by the Board with ten days written notice thereof.

Notice of intention to propose an organization for approval by the Board of Directors must be given to all Directors at least ten days in advance of the meeting at which approval is proposed.

Section 2 Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Executive Committee or by the Chairman at the request of five members of the Board. Actions at special meetings may be taken only on matters specifically on the agenda as announced in the call for the meeting. 10 days advance notice shall be required for a special meeting.

Section 3 A quorum of the Board of Directors shall consist of 10 members of the Board.

Section 4 One of the two regular meetings of the Board of Directors in each calendar year shall be designated as the Annual Meeting of NCALL. At this Annual Meeting, the officers shall render a summary report of the activities and finances of NCALL.

Section 5 The fiscal year of NCALL shall be the calendar year.

Article VI - Committees

Section 1 The Standing Committees of NCALL shall be Executive Committee, Finance Committee, Membership Committee and Nominating Committee.

Section 2 (a) The Executive Committee shall consist of the elected officers of NCALL - Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and Treasurer - and five members designated by the Board from its membership, at least two of whom shall be representatives of organizational members.
(b) The Executive Committee shall have the power to act for the Board of Directors in the interim between meetings of the Board. All actions of the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Board at the next meeting of the Board following such action.
(c) A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of five members.
(d) Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

Section 3 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Finance Committee responsible for securing the necessary support for NCALL.

Section 4 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Membership Committee through which shall be recommended all new organizational members of NCALL.

Section 5 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Nominating Committee whose responsibility shall be to present at each annual meeting a proposed slate of officers and standing committee personnel for the ensuing year. The Nominating Committee may bring in recommendations for members-at-large at any meeting of the Board provided that the proposed names are submitted to Board Members in writing in advance of the meeting at which they are to be elected. In the case of vacancies occurring between annual meetings the Board may request nominations from the Nominating Committee.

Section 6 The Board of Directors shall appoint such other committees as may be necessary to conduct the work of NCALL.

Article VII - Advisory Committee

Section 1 The Board of Directors may appoint an Advisory Committee of not more than 50 persons.

Article VIII - Voting

Section 1 Voting privileges in NCALL shall be limited to the Board of Directors.

Section 2 Membership on the Advisory Committee is non-voting.

Article IX - Officers

Section 1 The officers of NCALL shall be a Chairman, First Vice Chairman, Second Vice Chairman, Third Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Section 2 The officers shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting from nominations of the Nominating Committee, or from nominations made from the floor. The terms of office shall be for one year or until the successor of the officer has been elected and qualified.

Section 3 The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Council, and shall serve as Chairman of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee of the Board. In the absence of the Chairman, his office shall be exercised by a Vice Chairman in order.

Section 4 The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the Council of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee.

Section 5 The Treasurer shall deposit all money and securities of the NCALL in depositories approved by the Board of Directors. He shall have the power to withdraw funds and make disbursements in the name of the NCALL. He shall cause the accounts of the organization to be audited periodically by a certified public accountant, which audit shall be submitted to the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall be a signatory to all contracts executed in behalf of NCALL. The Treasurer shall provide such bond as may be required by the Board of Directors.

Article X - Employees

Section 1 The Board of Directors may authorize the employment of an Executive Secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to conduct the work of the NCALL.

Section 2 Employees of NCALL shall perform such duties as shall be assigned to them by the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee.

Section 3 The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for initiating and implementing such programs and activities as may be authorized by the Board of Directors or its Executive Committee.

Article XI - Amendments

Section 1 Except as otherwise required by the laws of the District of Columbia, the Certificate of Incorporation and these By-Laws may be amended by a majority of those present at a regular meeting of the Board of Directors, provided that the proposed amendment or amendments have been submitted in writing to the Directors at least one month in advance of the meeting at which the action is taken.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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SHIRLEY E. GREENE, *1st Vice-chairman*
REV. WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S. J. *2nd Vice-chairman*
FAY BENNETT, *3rd Vice-chairman*
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PHILIP SCHIFF, *Treasurer*

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PAUL SIFTON
ESTHER STAMATS
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American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Jewish Committee
American Parents Committee
Building and Construction Trades Department—AFL
Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
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National Sharecroppers Fund
United Auto Workers—CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

May 13, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

It is wonderfully good news that you will be a member of our Board of Directors. I look forward with great pleasure to working with you.

I am glad to have this opportunity to tell you how impressed I was with your address at the Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference. I was very glad, indeed that I did not miss that.

I am delighted to have the material from the Atlanta Journal-Constitution on the effects of the soil bank program. Will you please thank Miss Irving also for the extra instalments? The material is really tremendous and I am planning to get a few informed people together to see how to assess it.

If you are feeling the need of a vacation from the problems of the state of Georgia and environs, I hope that you will put our next Board meeting on your list. It will be held here in Washington next December and the subject will be family farm strategy. Information about the dates will be sent out soon.

My best wishes to you. Whenever suggestions occur to you of ways we can be helpful, I hope you will send them on to me.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

EBH:rm

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

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ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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United Automobile Workers—AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—AFL-CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

October 14, 1957

TO: The Board of Directors of NCALL

FROM: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOARD MEETING
December 12, 1957
10:00 A.M. - 4:30 P.M.
1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The next regular meeting of the Board of Directors will be held in Washington on December 12th. It will be an all day meeting, including luncheon. A later notice will give details.

In addition to regular business, the Board will hear and discuss a report from a special committee appointed by the Board to prepare education and action recommendations on "Family Farm Strategy." Because of rapid changes and confusion in farm policy, it is difficult for organizations interested in strengthening family farmers to know where to take hold.

Among the members of the committee are:

Dr. Theodore Norman, Chairman
General Manager of the Jewish Agricultural Society
Rev. James L. Vizzard S.J.
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
Dr. Benson Y. Landis
National Council of Churches
Dr. Howard Tolley
National Farmers' Union

Others have been invited to serve whose special interest is in the labor aspect of the subject; i.e. the family farmers' own labor and his stake in hired farm labor issues. The report will have something to say about the relationship between the problems of low income farmers, commercial farmers and hired farm labor.

SPECIAL NOTE Dr. Dawson and I are happy to report that Mr. Clyde T. Ellis has accepted the invitation of the Board to become a member-at-large. Mr. Ellis is General Manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

RECEIVED DEC - 9 1957

National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Dear Dr. Fleming: There's something you think we should do with the Keen? Please let us know? (Enclosure) EBH

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United Automobile Workers—AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—AFL-CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

December 6, 1957

To: The Board of Directors

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

AGENDA OF BOARD MEETING
Friday, December 13, 1957
10:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.
1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

The preparatory committee for the December 13 board meeting met in New York on November 14 to consider how the Board might focus its discussion of "Family Farm Strategy". Present were: Dr. Theodore Norman, Chairman; Henry Arneson; Dr. Benson Y. Landis; Rev. James L. Vizzard, S. J.; and staff members, Elizabeth Herring and Martha Lewis.

The committee asked the staff to prepare background material for use at the board meeting. This enclosed draft has been prepared. It has not been reviewed by members of the committee and has the status of a discussion tool and not of an NCALL pronouncement.

Since the purpose of the board meeting is to make plans, the agenda will be set up in terms of the action decisions needed.

Several agricultural economists will meet with us. Their fields of specialization are farm efficiency and scale of farms, land tenure, low income farm research, marketing and distribution and farm labor research.

Special Note: In line with the committee's suggestion, the staff is at work on a summary of the low-income farm and farm labor policies and programs of five federal-state agencies and programs; i.e.:

Farmers' Home Administration
Agricultural Extension Service
Rural Development Program
Federal and State Employment Services
Vocational Education

RECEIVED DEC - 9 1957

NOTE: These suggestions were prepared by the NCALL staff and represent their uncorrected sentiments.

DRAFT OF SUGGESTIONS FOR A PROGRAM OF FAMILY FARM INFORMATION AND ACTION

Discussion Material for Use by the Board of Directors
December 13, 1957 -- Washington, D. C.

The statement of "OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSE" adopted by the NCALL Board of Directors on June 6, 1951 recognizes the key importance of land tenure in a national agricultural policy which improves the conditions of low income farm operators and farm labor. This policy statement places NCALL on record as supporting a national agricultural policy which is favorable to "establishment of the efficiently managed, adequately capitalized family type farm as the predominant form of agricultural production."

The subject for discussion at this board meeting is "Family Farm Strategy". The aim will be to get a clearer focus on what needs to be done in the broad sense, and also what specific measures should be emphasized in the period immediately ahead.

The following "SUGGESTED PROGRAM" is a statement of goals rather than specific measures. Another statement will be available at the board meeting on December 13 which gives a forecast of specific legislation which will be dealt with during the second session of the 85th Congress. (Since NCALL takes no positions in its own name these program suggestions are for discussion only)

SUGGESTED PROGRAM

As a yard stick for testing legislative proposals and administrative performance these goals for action are suggested:

IN RELATION TO THE COMMERCIAL FAMILY FARM

Support the principle that government has responsibility for helping to maintain farm income at a fair level because of the inherent lack of bargaining power among those engaged in family farm production.

Support federal agricultural policy which has coherence with respect to price supports, production planning (control), marketing regulations and other measures aimed at gearing production to comsumption while maintaining farm income at a fair level.

Support programs designed to maintain a stable price structure which is fair to both farmers and consumers; e.g.

- A support policy which corrects violent swings in farm prices.
- A yard stick for a fair price based on accepted standards of fair return for labor, management and capital;
- Inclusion of a fair standard for wage as well as family labor in price support policy.
- Programs which take all major crops and livestock into account and do not place groups of farmers in destructive competition with each other.
- Experiments with new price support devices intended to encourage consumption while protecting the income of farm producers; such as a mixture of commodity loans and production payments.

Support research and action programs designed to improve marketing and distribution of farm products; with the goal of reducing costs to consumers and giving the farmer a fair share of the consumer's dollar.

Support continuous study within the Congress and in the Executive Branch of the effect of all Government programs upon commercial family farms, so that a coherent family farm policy may develop.

Support programs, voluntary and governmental, of public information on such agricultural issues as:

The meaning of the family-farm type of land tenure for the general welfare
The characteristics of farm enterprises (as distinguished from business enterprises)
The interdependence of crops and crop policies
What happens to crops while getting from the farmer to the consumer and what must be done at the municipal as well as state and federal level.
Reasons for Government intervention in maintaining farm income.

IN RELATION TO THE LOW INCOME FAMILY FARMER WHO SELLS VERY LITTLE

If a "subsistence" farmer is helped out of his low-income position and becomes a producer on a larger scale, he then acquires the problems of commercial farmers inferred above. In the meantime while he is reaching commercial status special programs are required which fit his situation; requiring citizens to

Recognize that the low income farm population in certain areas represents the largest bloc of poverty remaining in the United States and that a national policy is needed which is adequate in scope and in methods of work. This calls for support of united effort by tax-supported and voluntary agencies (plus appropriations) to improve the economy and educational resources of low income farm communities.

Support a program of technical assistance and supervised credit to low-income families wishing to stay in farming; and relaxation of the rules governing public welfare workers so they may work in effective cooperation with agricultural agents.

Support increased grants (not matching funds) to low income farm areas for general education (including vocational). Encourage state and local school officials to consider downward extension of vocational education in areas where skills must be taught before children leave elementary school.

Support appropriations and policies which will permit the State Employment Services to work in cooperation with the schools and other agencies so that members of low income farm families will have proper guidance in seeking off-farm employment.

Support provisions in farm legislation (price, production control, marketing, soil bank) to prevent disastrous effects on low-income farmers.

Support constructive "distressed area" programs which will improve the economy of low-income farm areas. Support research in low-income farm areas to define transition problems as industry develops and to indicate needed measures.

Support programs of public information on the facts of rural poverty and the practical problems of doing anything about it; including information about such factors as the low tax-base which makes improved locally financed education impossible, and translating into American terms the many sided technical, cultural, economic approach characteristics of the best Point Four experience.

Conduct programs of public information on the programs and policies of federal and state tax-supported agencies which by statute can undertake or expand work with low income farmers and farm labor, so that citizens may know what to expect of them and support them in efforts to aid low income farm people.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: IN RELATION TO ALL FARMERS AND THE GENERAL WELFARE

Systematic farm planning in relation to water resources in tributary watersheds.

Unified and maximum multiple-purpose development of river basins for flood control, irrigation, low cost power, fertilizer production, wild life protection; and related public policies for wide distribution of benefits and protection against monopoly.

Expand and strengthen rural electric cooperatives through a loan policy which is economically feasible in farm territory, low cost power projects to meet needs of the cooperatives, and inclusion of the cooperatives in Federal planning for building nuclear reactors.

Soil conservation policy and programs which encourage wise use of the soil and make major conservation engineering possible.

IN RELATION TO THE WAGE WORKER ON THE FAMILY FARM

Most efficient family farmers employ one or two wage workers on a regular basis. The tendency is for these regular wage workers to receive wages not too out of line with those in towns: they are covered by Old Age and Survivors Insurance, and by some state social legislation.

In addition family farmers raising certain crops employ some migratory seasonal labor. Frequently they are not unwilling to accept the "advantage" of the low wages which result when corporation farm interests flood the farm labor seasonal market with workers from the low income farm areas of the United States and the countries south of us.

Among the activities indicated are:

A program of interpretation to family farmers through churches and other media of how their own labor is devalued and competition from corporations growing the same crops is encouraged when family farmers acquiesce in sub-standard conditions for seasonal labor; also interpretation of the need for inclusion of farm workers in social legislation.

Support federal and state legislation which provides grants for schools in farming communities, where the tax base is low and the school unable to take care of large numbers of migrant children.

File

MINUTES OF THE AUTUMN MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Rec'd 3/10/58

December 13, 1957
Washington, D. C.

The autumn meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor convened on Friday, December 13, 1957 at 10:00 a.m. at 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Howard A. Dawson presided. Others present included: Mr. Henry Arneson, Miss Fay Bennett, Miss Mary Condon, Mrs. C. E. Cortner, Mrs. Katherine Ellickson, Miss Elizabeth Herring, Mr. Gardner Jackson, Miss Kay Leaf, Mrs. Martha Lewis, Dr. Theodore Norman, Miss Louise Stitt, Mrs. Ada Barnett Stough, Dr. Howard R. Tolley, Rev. James L. Vizzard, S. J., and Mrs. Amber Warburton.

Consultants and guests present to discuss topic of meeting "Family Farm Strategy" included: Mr. Lowell A. Burkett, Dr. Walter E. Chryst, Dr. W. E. Hendrix, Mr. Jackson D. McElveen, Dr. Kenneth Ogren, Dr. Orlin J. Scoville, Mr. Robert G. Lewis and Dr. Fred Buschmeyer.

MINUTES: The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL held on March 19, 1957 in New York City were approved as distributed with an addition to the motion regarding election of Mr. Arneson to NCALL Board of Directors. The correction reads: "and the Executive Secretary was instructed to send a letter to Secretary of Labor Mitchell expressing appreciation for the fine progress which had been made in behalf of migrant farm laborers under the splendid leadership of Mr. Henry Arneson during his term as Executive Secretary of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor." The Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting held on April 16, 1957 and those of the Meeting held on October 31, 1957 were approved as read.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER: In the absence of Mr. Philip Schiff, Treasurer, Miss Herring summarized the current status of NCALL finances and reported that the full report for the year 1957 would accompany the Minutes of this Meeting. (Enclosed)

REPORT ON TAX EXEMPTION FOR THE NCALL RESEARCH FUND: Dr. Dawson reported that he expected favorable action soon on tax exemption of gifts to the NCALL Research Fund, Inc.

Dr. Dawson also reported on follow-up of the NCALL Research Fund Project. Miss Sutton, the former director of the project, is this year an Assistant at the University of Florida where she is completing her Ph.D. degree and using the report of the Palm Beach County, Florida and the Northampton County, Virginia project for her thesis. Also, the Palm Beach County School Board has added another visiting teacher to its staff with special responsibility for the education of migrant children.

Mr. Gardner Jackson suggested that Mr. Joseph Kennedy who has a home in West Palm Beach, Florida be solicited for a contribution to the NCALL Research Fund. Mrs. Warburton added that a chief concern of the Kennedy family foundation is handicapped children and that the NCALL Research Fund work might well tie in with that interest.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE: Mrs. Ellickson reported that the Committee recommended Mr. Lauren K. Soth, Editor of the Des Moines Tribune and Register be invited to serve on the NCALL Board of Directors as a Member at Large. Father Vizzard moved that the Nominating Committee recommendation be approved. Seconded. Passed.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Miss Herring reported that NCALL had given the Interstate Commerce Commission substantial support by encouraging member organizations to testify at the ICC Hearing on Transportation of Farm Workers on regulations to improve methods for carrying migrant workers from place to place. (Balance of report to be made later)

DISCUSSION OF FAMILY FARM STRATEGY: The major part of the Board Meeting was devoted to this topic. (Notes on the discussion distributed under separate cover.)

The meeting adjourned at 4 p.m.

Amber Arthun Warburton
Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

. . . . . .

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - GENERAL ACCOUNT - JANUARY 1, 1957 - DECEMBER 31, 1957

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in Bank, January 1, 1957			$ 698.87
From Memberships, Contributions & Subscriptions		$3,930.00	
Board Luncheons		23.75	
Sale of Publications		2.00	
Refund F.I.C.A.		11.25	3,967.00
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$4,665.87

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$2,321.18	
Executive-Balance due 1956	$ 200.00		
for 1957	1,200.00		
Assistant	400.00		
Office	521.18		
Office Supplies		50.10	
Travel, Living & Conference Attendance		209.58	
Office Rent		360.00	
Telephone & Telegraph		280.96	
Postage and Stamped Envelopes		119.80	
Printing, Mimeo., Stationery		388.89	
Subscriptions to Publications		48.25	
Taxes: D.C., N.Y. & F.I.C.A.		49.50	
Bank Service Charges		2.30	
Conference Expenses		86.00	
Deficit on Board Luncheons		32.75	
Property Tax, District of Columbia		3.56	
Gift for Medical Expense to Executive Secretary		300.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$4,252.87
BALANCE IN NCALL Regular Account December 31, 1957			$ 413.00

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND, INC.
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D.C.

. . . . . .

ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT RESEARCH FUND JANUARY 1, 1957-DECEMBER 31, 1957

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in bank January 1, 1957		$ 26.17
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth		3,000.00
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$3,026.17

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Travel Expenses	$ 150.67	
Headquarters Expense		
Mimeo: Minutes, Reprints, etc.	135.20	
Bank Service Charges	1.00	
Bookkeeper and Clerical	27.56	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		$ 314.43
BALANCE IN SECURITY BANK, DECEMBER 31, 1957		$2,711.74
BALANCE IN PRUDENTIAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION		$ 10.00
Cash on Hand January 1st, 1958		$2,721.74

National Council on Agricultural
Life & Labor
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D. C.

THE NEEDS OF THE CHILDREN OF MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

GENERAL OBJECTIVES

State programs in behalf of migrant children should in some cases be directed to the children. Any activity which stabilizes and raises the standard of living of the migrant family is probably the most fundamental of child welfare services. Beside having all the normal problems of childhood, migrant children run an obstacle race in the following respects:

Lack of stable social relations in a home base where they feel they belong.
Cultural isolation because they belong for the most part to minority races and often are not accepted in the communities where the family works.
Lack of continuity in education and medical care.
Educational limitations of their parents who often cannot help them to adjust to the demands and culture of the larger world.

Balanced State and community services to migrant children include programs on several fronts: e.g.

Stabilization of the economic position of the migrant family. Promotion of farm labor and housing policies by the Federal Government and the States which make a genuine home base in a normal community possible.
Planning by school officials at all levels of government so as to include migrant children as normally as possible, providing supplementary education where necessary.
Planning by health officials at all levels of government so as to include migrants in all necessary health services.
Planning by education officials at all levels of government for adult education programs which equip parents to help their children.
Protective services which safeguard migrant children in the various ways considered necessary for all children.

ACTION PROGRAMS AND RESEARCH

The following activities have been tried or thought of by the States, in many cases with Federal cooperation.

1. Strengthen services of State Employment Services to low income farm families through such activities as:

   Pilot studies in areas requiring seasonal farm labor to determine whether adequate labor can be found within the area if certain recruiting and wage policies are put into effect. Aim: to give domestic farm people a chance to work within a reasonable radius from their homes (The story is told of a Florida school which had 17 Texas-Mexican children in it four years ago. Last year there were 450.)

   These pilot studies would explore how to teach and prepare these farm people for both farm and non-farm job opportunities.

   Studies of labor markets and of labor surplus areas so that the annual worker plan can be worked out with the least possible migrancy.

2. Federal housing loan program to provide assistance to the States in developing sound housing policy for migrants, this policy to include a prohibition that any housing can be built with Federal assistance that is

not suitable for domestic migrants travelling with their families. Standards for housing which give children necessary privacy.

3. Include farm labor in minimum wage legislation.

4. Studies of the shack towns which migrants are building in the attempt to establish a home base. These studies to include fact-finding about real estate promoters and the various factors which distinguish a slum from a community. The results of these studies to be used in municipal planning and in provision of youth as well as general community services.

Consideration of the applicability of urban housing titles of the National Housing Act for improvement of fringe areas.

5. State-wide planning for migrant childhood education, the following aspects being considered:

Where the children are, what facilities are available, what additional funds are needed and where they should come from.
Research as to the educational situation of migrant children;i.e.development or lack of it; cultural including language factors; physical, family and other obstacles.
Training programs for teachers and school officials at State, district and community levels, the content to give insight as to the way schools can meet the needs of migrant children. Leadership to be given by the State Board of Education in the education of School Boards and P.T.A.'s.

6. Cooperative Planning by appropriate State agencies: e.g. State Board of Education, Agricultural Extension Service, Department of Public Welfare, Health Department on adult education programs for migrants in home making, sanitation, literacy, community services, citizenship.

7. Planning by State and County Health agencies on how to include migrant camps and the people in them in regular public health services, with continuity. Work out some new ideas for providing migrants with medical care and hospitalization. (see No. 8)

8. Insurance. Florida, Virginia and New York might do a three state exploration of group insurance for crews. This insurance might cover medical and hospital care, life and accident risks. A model to study is the type of minimum insurance policy which boys and girls have when they go to camp.

9. Nutrition. License commissaries which feed migrant families with the aim in mind of preventing exploitation, insuring adequate and nutritious food, children's needs being specifically included.

10. Recreation. The State Board of Education to take the initiative in bringing together other interested agencies to consider what can be done to supply not only "wholesome" but creative recreation which will contribute to the development of migrant people.

11. Protective (with an educational factor) services for children. State wide systems of child care centers. Introduce legislation to abolish residence requirements for receiving all forms of public assistance. As a step toward getting that through plan some area surveys and pilot projects which will make the needs clear and vivid.

12. License crew leaders. Enact State transportation and housing legislation.

13. Pass State child labor laws which limit child wage labor on farms out of school hours. Ask the State Health Department to do some spot studies of the effects on physical well being of certain types of farm work by children.

Elizabeth Herring, February 13, 1958. (Prepared by request for the Council of State Governments).

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL
LIFE AND LABOR

RECEIVED JAN 2 1958

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Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Automobile Workers—AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—AFL-CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

20 January 1958.

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E
Atlanta 5, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Fleming:

We were sorry that you could not be with us for the Board Meeting, but some day I hope that our Board date will coincide with one of your journeys in this direction.

I wonder whether you could find a moment to comment on some of the items in the enclosed notes of our Board discussion? I would like to have your opinion of what the Rural Vocational Education issues are in the South from the racial as well as the general point of view. I enclose a copy of Senator Lister Hill's bill which he introduced in the First Session proposing to expand Area Vocational Schools. The other question which interests me is vertical integration in the South. I have checked the items in the discussion to which I refer.

There is no rush about any of this, but when you have time I would be most grateful for words of wisdom.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:er

Enclosures:

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

March 5, 1958

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life
and Labor
1751 N. Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

I regret that there is little prospect of my being in New York on April 2 for the Annual Meeting of NCALL.

It strikes me that I have been an even less functional board member than I predicted - even in correspondance. I hope you will feel free to replace me with someone, in the South or elsewhere, who can make a contribution to NCALL's important work.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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I regret that there is little prospect of my being in New York on April 2 for the Annual Meeting of NCALL.

It strikes me that I have been an even less functional board member than I predicted – even in correspondence. I hope you will feel free to replace me with someone, in the South or elsewhere, who can make a contribution to NCALL's important work.

Sincerely,

HCF

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National Sharecroppers Fund
United Automobile Workers—AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—AFL-CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

Rec'd 2/27/58

February 25, 1958

To: The Board of Directors

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting will be held in New York City, April 2, 1958 from 10:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. The place of meeting will be the conference room of the Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches, 257 Fourth Avenue.

This meeting will be something of a milestone because it comes at the time when NCALL's migrant education research project is in its final stage. New opportunities for the NCALL Research Fund can now be seized because the Bureau of Internal Revenue has assured us that donor tax-exemption will be granted.

Among the items on the agenda of the Annual Meeting will be a summary of the new research proposals which have been made. Will you help to make that summary useful by sending your suggestions (by March 15) on the enclosed sheet?

In case you have not seen it, perhaps you would like to write to Community Research Associates, Inc., 124 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York, for a copy of CURRENT SOCIAL RESEARCH, AN INVENTORY. In transmitting this report to the Honorable Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Mr. Bradley Buell, Executive Director, says that the INVENTORY is "designed to be of assistance in developing plans" for research grants related to programs of the Social Security Administration. The projects listed in the INVENTORY cover a broad area of subject matter some being in NCALL's field of interest.

Please detach and mail
to NCALL, 1751 N St.NW
Washington 6, D. C.

I expect_____ do not expect_____ to attend the Annual Meeting in New York on April 2nd.

Please make a luncheon reservation for me_____

Signed _____

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

SUGGESTED NCALL RESEARCH PROJECTS

On this sheet will you please list any low income farm problem which you feel has not received accurate attention? Will you state what the question is that needs an answer? In other words what would NCALL want to find out?

In making suggestions it would be helpful to have your thoughts about a) the straight research stage and b) a possible demonstration stage.

Signed _____

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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United Packing House Workers of America—AFL-CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

March 10, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

We are sorry you cannot be at the New York meeting but your membership on our Board gives me the good feeling that when we need advice and information about the South we can impose on you.

We have just been granted tax exemption for our research fund. It is highly possible that our next enterprise will be in the South and you will be hearing from me about it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:RM

20 1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

March 11, 1958

To: The Board of Directors

From: Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

PARTIAL AGENDA OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
April 2, 1958, 10:00 A.M. - 3:00 P.M.
Conference Room, Division of Home Missions
National Council of Churches
257 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

TAX EXEMPTION FOR THE RESEARCH FUND IS NOW A FACT. The letter from the Bureau of Internal Revenue granting donor tax exemption has arrived.

Part of the Annual Meeting will be a joint session of the directors of NCALL and of the Research Fund to discuss new research proposals. (The Research Fund will have its Annual Meeting at 3:00 P.M.)

REVIEW OF NCALL OBJECTIVES. Because this year is a milestone in NCALL history, the report of the Executive Secretary will be an account of the purposes served by NCALL up to this date. Proposals for the future will be discussed and acted upon.

CHANGE IN THE BY-LAWS TO PROVIDE FOR TERMS OF OFFICE FOR OFFICERS AND MEMBERS-AT-LARGE. In line with the action of the Board at the 1957 Annual Meeting, amendments will be proposed providing:

1. That officers may serve two consecutive terms of two years each and may not serve a third term without a lapse of one year.

2. That members-at-large may serve two consecutive terms of three years each and may not serve a third term without a lapse of one year.

3. That the officers elected in 1958 shall be considered as new officers even though they may have a record of prior service.

4. That in 1958 one-third of the members-at-large shall be elected for one year (the division to be made by lot) one-third for two years, and one-third for three years, and thereafter at each Annual Meeting, one-third of the members-at-large shall be chosen for a three-year term.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

April 2, 1958
New York City

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor met on Wednesday, April 2, 1958 at 10:00 A.M. in the conference room of the Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Dr. Howard A. Dawson presided. Others present were: Fay Bennett, National Sharecroppers Fund; Eli E. Cohen, National Child Labor Committee; Richard O. Comfort, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches; Clyde Ellis, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association; Curtis Gatlin, National Child Labor Committee; Helen Gulick, New York Consumers League; Elizabeth Herring, NCALL, Benson Y. Landis, National Council of Churches; Martha Lewis, NCALL; Edith E. Lowry, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches; Theodore Norman, Jewish Agricultural Society; Serafino Romualdi, AFL-CIO; Esther C. Stamats, United Church Women; Amber Warburton, Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth; Rowland Watts, Migrant Childrens Fund; Marian Weller, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.; Susanne Zwemer, National Consumers League; Gertrude Folks Zimand, Member-at-Large.

MINUTES: Minutes of the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL held in New York City on March 19, 1957, minutes of the Executive Committee held in Washington on April 16, 1957, minutes of the Executive Committee held in Washington on October 13, 1957, and minutes of the autumn meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL held in Washington on December 13, 1957 were approved as read.

TRIBUTE TO PHILIP SCHIFF: Dr. Dawson paused to pay tribute to Philip Schiff who died on February 14, 1958. Dr. Dawson mentioned the eloquent editorial that had appeared in the Washington Post about Phil which said in part -

> "There was hardly a philanthropic or social welfare undertaking in this community that Philip Schiff didn't have a hand in....He was...one of Washington's real leaders in everything pertaining to care of the sick and needy, the homeless and helpless. He brought to problems of this kind the wisdom and skill of long experience and training in social work. But he brought also a nature of extraordinary compassion, warmth and quickness of insight. No suffering was alien to Phil Schiff. No demand was too taxing. No obstacles overawed him. He died suddenly - in service, as he would have wished. The community is the poorer for his passing."

Dr. Dawson said that it was impossible to relate what each member of NCALL Board had derived from association with Phil over the years, but he wished the official record to reflect the personal blessings that each had received from having known and worked with Phil.

Phil had not only been treasurer of NCALL since its inception, but treasurer of the National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor which had been organized in 1947. When the Council decided to broaden its base and work in behalf of all low income rural people, NCALL was organized to fill that need, Phil was elected treasurer of the new organization, has held that office for most of the past eight years. NCALL has lost one of its pioneer and loyal workers.

REPORTS

Treasurer. The Annual Financial Statement for January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957 was accepted as distributed.

Dr. Dawson reported that tax exemption for NCALL Research Fund, Inc. was now an accomplished fact. At present the Fund had a cash balance of $3,586.34. This total was earmarked for costs of publishing and distributing the report on the education of migrant children.

Dr. Dawson appointed an ad hoc Finance Committee to include: Paul Sifton, Ada Stough, Katherine Ellickson, Mrs. Marvin Sonosky, Fay Bennett and Dr. Dawson, ex-officio member. The responsibility of the Finance Committee would be to draw up a budget and draft a more permanent finance committee plan. Miss Bennett moved that the Finance Committee be instructed to prepare an adequate budget in which salaries of staff members be scheduled at prevailing rate and that the committee make every effort to seek financial assistance to underwrite the salaries. Dr. Norman seconded the motion. Carried.

Membership Committee. Dr. Norman, chairman, reported (1) the proposal made at the 1957 annual meeting to invite the Southern Mountain Schools Association to become a member organization of NCALL was being pursued; (2) AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department had been invited to become a member organization; and (3) the National Jewish Welfare Board had sent a letter of resignation from NCALL.

The report was accepted.

Legislative Committee. In the absence of Paul Sifton, chairman, Miss Herring reported on cooperative activities of NCALL on farm labor issues. Two of the organizations interested in farm labor are the U. S. Section of the Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, and the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

After discussion by the Board of the Area Redevelopment Bill sponsored by Senator Paul Douglas, Illinois, Miss Bennett moved that NCALL prepare an attractive brochure on the program involved in this bill. Mrs. Warburton seconded the motion. Carried.

Clyde Ellis spoke to this motion, emphasizing the importance of educating the public to an appreciation of a bill of this type. For example, as an aid to the United States in the present depression, he cited the value of river development in one part of the country which would not only benefit that area economically but provide employment for hundreds in Pittsburgh.

Officers: Howard A. Dawson, Chairman; Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., 1st v.p.; Fay Bennett, 2nd v.p.; Theodore Norman, 3rd v.p.; Gertrude F. Zimand, sec'y-treas.; Shirley Sonosky, ass't sec'y-treas.

Executive Committee - Members-at-large: Eli E. Cohen, Katherine P. Ellickson, Edith Lowry, Paul Sifton, Reuben Johnson.

Membership Committee: Theodore Norman, Chairman; Ethlyn Christensen, Benson Y. Landis, Gertrude F. Zimand, Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Rev. Richard O. Comfort.

Nominating Committee: Katherine P. Ellickson, Chairman: Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., Barbara Moffett, Edith Lowry, Eli E. Cohen.

Legislative Committee: Paul Sifton, Chairman; Katherine P. Ellickson, Louise Stitt, Shirley Sonosky, Edith Lowry, Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.

Miss Lowry made a motion that the slate be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Zimand. Carried.

NCALL RESEARCH POLICY AND PROPOSALS

Miss Herring presented for discussion a list of possible research undertakings that the NCALL Research Fund might wish to explore. The proposals fell into three categories:

Projects in low income farm communities and areas
Projects dealing with general farm labor problems
Projects dealing with the welfare of migrant children.

Dr. Paul Blackwood and Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand reported on the cooperative research programs of the Office of Education and Social Security Administration. (See enclosed research proposals.)

Presentation of biography of Sir Edward Coke to Howard Dawson, Chairman of NCALL.

In behalf of the Board, Curtis Gatlin presented Dr. Dawson with the book in recognition of his superior legal ability, tenacity and enormous and generous effort expended in securing tax exemption for the Research Fund.

Adjournment: 2:40 P.M.

Amber A. Warburton, Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND

CONSULTATION ON RESEARCH PROGRAM

The NCALL RESEARCH FUND is about to publish the final report of its pilot education project with the children of migrant agricultural workers. The book will be published this fall by the Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association.

The FUND is now turning its attention to what the next phase should be of its studies of low income farm problems. Its approach as a research agency is guided by three considerations; i.e.

Is a study needed to clarify the problem?
Will a group of member or cooperating organizations of NCALL stand back of the study?
Will the study pave the way for a program of action?

At a recent meeting, the FUND considered ten proposals for studies of particular aspects of the situation of farm labor and low income farm operators. In addition to suggestions for continuation of the FUND's interest in migrant children, the following research proposals were considered:

Are information services available to low income farm operators in the South?
How do young people in low income farm families get advised about, prepared for and helped in finding jobs?
How are welfare needs being met in low income rural situations?
How can agricultural extension, public welfare, public health and other social services work together to solve problems of low income farm dependency and rural community poverty?
What successful rural medical self help medical plans are in existence?
Under what conditions should foreign farm labor be admitted? What aid should the US offer Mexico with its rural problems?
Is agricultural migrancy the only way to meet the technological requirements for seasonal farm labor? What effect would improved tenure, labor recruitment and labor standards have upon the supply of resident seasonal labor?
How can the insurance needs of farm labor be met?
How can voluntary and tax-supported agencies in low income farm areas work together with respect to adult education?
Where does responsibility lie for community services in farm labor slums around cities and towns?
Is there enough understanding on the part of teachers, social workers and other professionals of the social conditioning of low income farm people migrating with the crops or to the cities?

The directors of the FUND came to the conclusion that each of these questions involved a central issue; i.e. what overall strategy for a low income farm area will work? It was recognized that a complex of factors accounts for the persistence of rural poverty on an area wide scale, and that single programs are likely to meet defeat unless developed as part of a plan. It was recognized also that low income farm areas have been studied extensively, many useful programs have been tried but that all this knowledge and experience has not been put together in a form that provides enough guidance for the thinking of national organizations.

The FUND directors agreed therefore that as a preliminary to making up their minds as to what new studies they would undertake, a consultation should be arranged with a group of specialists in and out of government on what the FUND might do put together in a national picture three kinds of data; i.e.

Low income farm research most relevant for area improvement.
Successful approaches tried in low income farm areas.
Constructive proposals not yet tried.

The directors of the FUND felt that if such an overall picture existed, even though not exhaustive, the main issues would be clarified and a better framework would be provided for selection of and carrying out particular studies. The directors realized that such a descriptive study would mobilize the intelligent interest of national organizations now lacking any understood way of taking hold of the problems of rural poverty. The Councils of Social Agencies which link voluntary and tax-supported agencies in cities stimulate public discussion and mobilize citizen action. Such councils do not and often could not exist in low income farm areas. As a result tax-supported agencies are frequently the only active factors and they are limited by lack of broad citizen support. To accomplish anything this support must be rural and urban.

The subjects of the consultation will be therefore:

Would it be useful and possible to attempt an overall picture of low income area research and proposals?

What would the researchers look for and how would citizen groups participate in the fact-finding? Since one objective is to involve national organizations in strategic programs for rural improvement, how could such a project result not in a book to put on a shelf but in intelligent commitment of many people?

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D. C.

May 1958

National Council on
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FAY BENNETT, *3rd Vice-chairman*
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PAUL SIFTON
ESTHER STAMATS
THELMA STEVENS
ADA BARNETT STOUGH
ROWLAND WATTS
VENIETTE C. WEIL
GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND

Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Parents Committee
Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches
Girl Scouts of the USA
International Association of Machinists—AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Migrant Children's Fund
National Agricultural Workers Union—AFL-CIO
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Automobile Workers—AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—AFL-CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

October 7, 1958

To: The Board of Directors

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FALL BOARD MEETING
November 14, 1958
Washington, D. C.

The fall meeting of the Board of Directors will be held on Friday, November 14, 1958 from 10:00 a.m. - 2:30 p.m. in Washington, D. C. The place of meeting will be the YWCA at 17th and K Streets (fourth floor).

NEW MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

Among the items on the agenda will be action on the membership applications of three organizations:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
The United States Section - Joint United States - Mexico Trade Union Committee
The Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church, United Church of Christ

This letter constitutes the advance notice of membership applications required by the NCALL by-laws.

NEW RESEARCH PROPOSALS

At the meeting of the Research Fund directors on September 30, research proposals in the following areas were assigned to task forces - to be worked out and drafted - On November 14, a report will be given.

1. Low income farm area development projects - principles of ~~products~~ failure as indicated by relative success and failure
2. Vocational education in low income farm areas - policy goals for national and state programs
3. Mexican farm labor program - coordination of available data and new studies as needed to guide and support policy
4. Coordination of farm labor data to sharpen policy goals
5. Training of personnel for the social services in low income farm areas

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REGISTRATION BLANK

I do - do not - expect to attend the board meeting in Washington on November 14.

Please make a luncheon reservation ($1.50) for me (yes) - (no)

Name _____

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL
LIFE AND LABOR

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Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
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Girl Scouts of the USA
International Association of Machinists —AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Migrant Children's Fund
National Agricultural Workers Union —AFL-CIO
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Jewish Welfare Board
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
United Automobile Workers—AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers of America—AFL-CIO
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

October 31, 1958

To: The Board of Directors

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

AGENDA OF BOARD MEETING
Friday, November 14, 1958 10:30 AM- 2:30 PM
YWCA, 17th and K Streets NW, Washington, D.C.

The morning session will be in the fourth floor club room and the luncheon session in the lounger (also on the fourth floor) Luncheon reservations are necessary in advance because a guarantee must be given ($1.50).

NEW ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERS The Board will act on the membership applications of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the United States Section of the Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, and the Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church, United Church of Christ.

FARM LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE NEXT SESSION OF CONGRESS The outlook is good for the introduction and consideration of several farm labor bills (e.g. housing, rest stops, registration of crew leaders, minimum wage). A Congressional investigation of farm labor policy is also a possibility. The Board will discuss what can be done to build effective support for these developments.

NEW RESEARCH PROPOSALS The Board of Directors of the NCALL Research Fund will report several new research proposals and ask for the advice of the NCALL Board of Directors. Task forces are at work defining research proposals in the following areas:

1. Low income farm area development policy.
2. Vocational education in low income rural areas.
3. Coordination of available data and new studies to guide policy with respect to a) Mexican farm labor, and b) farm labor in general
4. Training of professional personnel for the social services (including education) in low income farm areas.

NOTE: Under separate cover copies of recent broadcasts on farm labor by Edward P. Morgan have been forwarded to you. These are background for the Board discussion on November 14.

Also, under separate cover, a report has been sent to you of a consultation on programs with migrant children which was held in New York on September 26, 1958. The meeting was initiated by a group of member organizations to meet the need for a fresh perspective on the direct services which they were giving to migrant children. NCALL assisted the planning committee in setting up the meeting.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

RECEIVED JUN 3 1959

MINUTES OF THE AUTUMN MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

November 14, 1958
Washington, D.C.

The autumn meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor convened on Friday, November 14, 1958, at the YWCA, Seventeenth and K Streets, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Howard Dawson presided. Others present were: Stuart Morrison, National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor; Katherine Ellickson, AFL-CIO; Ted Norman, Jewish Agricultural Society; Mrs. Harper, Women's Bureau, Dept. of Labor; Richard Shipman, Farmers Union; Curtis Gatlin, National Child Labor Committee; Louise Stitt, and Vera Waltman, Consumers League; Ethlyn Christensen, National Board, YWCA; Amber Warburton, Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth; Mrs. Clifford Bender, Women's Division, Methodist Church; Marian Weller, Girl Scouts; Kermit Overby, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association; Rabbi Eugene Lipman, Social Action Committee, Union of Hebrew Congregations; Vincent de Francis, American Humane Association; Francis X. Servaites, National Housing Conference; Judith Howard, American Friends Service Committee; Olya Margolin and Shirley Sonosky, National Council of Jewish Women, Martha Lewis and Elizabeth Herring, NCALL.

MINUTES: Mrs. Sonosky moved that the minutes of the Annual meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL held on April 2, 1958, in New York, be approved as circulated. The motion was seconded and carried.

The secretary read a letter of resignation from Mrs. George L. Weil. Mrs. Warburton moved that her resignation be accepted with regret and that the secretary be directed to so inform Mrs. Weil by letter. Motion carried.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER: Mrs. Warburton moved that the Financial Statement of the General Account be accepted as distributed. Motion carried.

Miss Herring, reporting on the status of annual dues, said that reminders will be sent out to those organizations who have not paid. Two letters go out to contributors in January and in the fall. Mrs. Warburton suggested setting up a committee to increase the mailing list of individuals who are prospective contributors so that when more clerical help is available in the office it can be used.

Dr. Dawson called the attention of the Board to the death in New York City of a former Board member, Dr. Davidson, of the Jewish Agricultural Society. Dr. Davidson became a member of the Board of NCALL when it was formed in 1951 and added the support of his organization. Dr. Norman moved that the secretary prepare an appropriate resolution to send to the family. Motion carried.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Miss Herring gave a resume of activities since the Aprl 2 meeting. Mrs. Warburton moved the Board accept the report and asked for a written statement to be prepared so that all members can be informed of the activities.

Miss Herring announced that the National Committee for the White House Conference is to meet Dec. 18-19. Mrs. Ellickson moved that Dr. Dawson designate a small Board group which would find out how NCALL can be helpful. Motion carried.

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE: Dr. Norman moved that the applications for membership to NCALL of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the United States Section of the Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, and the Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church, United Church of Christ be accepted. Motion carried.

MEETINGS ON FARM LABOR: Miss Stitt announced the Fifty-eighth Annual meeting of the National Consumers League on December 4-5 to consider "New Goals for Social Legislation". The meeting will take place at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor has called a public inquiry for February 5-6 at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

FARM LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE FIRST SESSION OF THE EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS: Miss Herring listed several farm labor issues that are being worked on by the Council of State Governments: a migrant housing bill which would establish the principle of Federal Government responsibility; regulations covering child labor outside school hours; minimum wage and other issues.

The minimum wage issue will receive attention at the Conference of the National Consumers League and further attention will be called to farm labor at the Public Inquiry mentioned above.

The President's Committee on Migratory Labor will prepare a bill to license crew leaders. Legislation calling for federal responsibility in providing rest stops for migrants and the reintroduction by Senator Johnson of the Depressed Areas Bill were also mentioned.

After a discussion of the ways in which voluntary organizations can best be effective in securing legislation it was concluded that opportunities must be taken advantage of and energies not scattered; a steering committee to coordinate activities should be established to include members of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, and legislative representatives of other organizations working toward farm labor standards. Representatives of the following organizations indicated their interest in such a committee: American Humane Association; YWCA; AFL-CIO; National Housing Conference; Women's Division, Methodist Church; National Child Labor Committee; Consumers League; Farmers Union; Social Action Committee, UAHC; National Council of Jewish Women.

It was agreed that all member organizations be invited to designate a representative if they so desire.

Paul Sifton, chairman of the legislative committee, reported on the outlook for legislation in the fields of food processing, family farms, migrant labor, depressed areas. He suggested that the committee to further farm

legislation be selective in the matters chosen for support and advised, "write down what you want then underline what you can get."

Dr. Dawson stated that the Depressed Areas Bill should be passed without crippling amendments and steps taken to get the appropriation in the budget.

PROGRESS REPORT OF TASK FORCES FOR NEW RESEARCH PROJECTS: Board members were given copies of the Progress Report (attached to the minutes).

During the discussion of the various proposals for new research projects, Dr. Dawson stated that under the National Defense Education Act a section for vocational education of rural youth, intended for technological training, could be used for education of underprivileged rural groups including migrants. He believes a project would be supported and gotten underway in one or two State Departments of Education.

Dr. Norman, in speaking on the coordination of data, pointed out that it was extremely important to collate and put together material available which focussed on the points of action in order to "help what a few know to get to what many need to know."

Mrs. Ellickson told the Board of the Arkansas project sponsored by the Department of Labor to discover the effects of foreign contract labor on the domestic labor supply. She emphasized the need of a project that could be promptly started should the Depressed Areas Bill be passed.

Miss Stitt moved that the Board recommend to the Research Fund the following proposals:

A. That NCALL make application to the proper Foundations for funds to study what constructive methods are possible for meeting seasonal farm labor without use of foreign contract labor.

B. That NCALL make the necessary investigation as to how to apply for funds under the National Defense Education Act for establishing schools in areas where there are many migrants to train them for useful vocational occupations.

This motion was accepted by the Board. The meeting was adjourned at 2:45 PM.

Shirley Sonosky,
Ass't. Secretary-Treasurer

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT - GENERAL ACCOUNT - January 1, 1958 - December 31, 1958

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in bank, January 1, 1958			$ 413.00
From Memberships and Contributions	$4282.14		
Board Luncheons	36.00		
Contributions-Philip Schiff Memorial	10.00		
Sale of Publications	24.33		4352.47
Refund on Salary		200.00	
Refund F.I.C.A.		11.25	211.25
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$4976.72

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$2235.17	
Executive	$1125.00		
Assistant	600.00		
Office	510.17		
Office Supplies		83.20	
Travel, Living and Conference Attendance		476.78	
Office Rent		330.00	
Telephone and Telegraph		292.21	
Postage and Stamped Envelopes		208.31	
Printing, Mimeo, Stationery		813.28	
Subscriptions to Publications		76.13	
Taxes: D. C., New York, and F.I.C.A.		93.52	
Bank Service Charge		8.85	
Returned Check		25.00	
Conference Expenses		81.40	
Board Luncheons		55.99	
Memorial Contribution (Philip Schiff)		15.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$4794.84
BALANCE IN NCALL REGULAR ACCOUNT, December 31, 1958			$ 181.88

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND INC.
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT - RESEARCH FUND - January 1, 1958 - December 31, 1958

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in Security Bank, January 1, 1958	$2,711.74
Transfer from Trust Fund of Department of Rural Education, National Education Association	1,170.71
Withdrawal from Research Fund Savings Account, Prudential Building Association	1,000.00
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$4,882.45

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$785.45	
Administration	$125.00		
Migrant Education Supervisor	500.00		
Bookkeeping and Clerical	160.45		
Florida State University Workshop		500.00	
Deposit - Savings Account, Prudential Building Association		3000.00	
Filing Fee, Articles of Incorporation		10.00	
Travel Expenses - Taxi and Telephone		79.05	
Mimeographing and Printing		144.98	
Postage		25.00	
Supplies (including typewriter)		176.98	
Deficit on Research Fund Luncheon		6.25	
Rent		30.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$4,757.71
BALANCE IN SECURITY BANK, December 31, 1958			$ 124.74
BALANCE IN PRUDENTIAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION			2,058.34
CASH ON HAND, December 31, 1958			$2,183.08

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STATUS OF NCALL RESEARCH FUND SAVINGS ACCOUNT IN PRUDENTIAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION

DEPOSITS		$3,058.34
June 4, 1958	$3,000.00	
Interest	47.42	
Transfer from NCALL Savings Account	10.92	
WITHDRAWALS		
September 18, 1958	$1,000.00	$1,000.00
		$2,058.34

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

February 12 ~~December 15,~~ 1959

To: Members of the Consultation on ~~the Education of~~ Programs for the Children of Migratory Agricultural Workers

From: Elizabeth B. Herring

Subject: MIGRANT CHILDREN AND THE U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

At the time we met in New York on September 26, 1958 we recorded our regret that Dr. Paul Blackwood's future responsibilities would not permit his giving as much time as in the past to the education of migrant children. There was general agreement that voluntary organizations would do well to recommend to the Office of Education that a full time staff member be appointed to specialize on work with the states on how to improve the educational opportunities of migrant children.

In discussions among several of us after the meeting it was agreed that letters from individual voluntary organizations would be an effective way of registering concern. If your organization or you as a person would like to say something about this subject, will you please address your letters to Dr. Lawrence G. Derthick, Commissioner of Education, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C.

A carbon of your letter, sent to the NCALL office, would be appreciated.

Several members of the staff of the Office of Education have had a warm interest in the education of migrant children for some time. All, however, have heavy responsibilities of other sorts. Some one is needed, well informed on the needs of migrant children, who can not only give full time himself, but can be a focal point for uniting the kinds of specialization in the Office of Education staff. If for example, a specialist for migrant education were attached to the Elementary Schools Section, he would work cooperatively with other staff members concerned with school administration, adult education and related fields.

Still another reason why a migrant specialist is needed lies in the newness of the field. Much travel and direct consultation with state school authorities is necessary if progress is to be made. This is impossible for staff members who are carrying other absorbing responsibilities.

Whether the following additional comments belong in your letter to the Office of Education is a question, but I add them for your consideration. A full time migrant education staff member in concentrating on the needs of agricultural migrants would learn much that would benefit schools trying to serve America's mobile population, agricultural or otherwise. Also the cultural characteristics of children from low income farm areas of the South and Southwest are those of local as well as migrant children. To learn to serve migrant children with more insight would be to help the general cause of rural education in low income farm areas.

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

March 5, 1959

To: The Board of Directors of NCALL

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING
New York, N.Y.
Friday, May 8, 1959
9:30 A.M.- 3:00 P.M.

Will you please note on your calendars that the date of the Annual Meeting, to be held in New York, will be May 8.

Additional information about the place and the agenda will be sent to you soon. Because of the importance of the agenda a longer session has been planned than usual.

A representative attendance is hoped for. If it is not possible for a board member to attend, it will be helpful if an alternate can be designated.

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

RECEIVED APR 20 1959

April 15, 1959

To: The Board of Directors of NCALL

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

TIME AND PLACE OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the NCALL Board of Directors, called in New York on Friday, May 8, 1959 will be held in the Seminar Room on the first floor of the headquarters building of the National Board of the YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. and close at 2:00 P.M. A sandwich luncheon will be served.

Among the items on the agenda will be:

Report of the NCALL Study Committee on Community services to Migrant Families

Report of the NCALL Steering Committee on Farm Labor Legislation. Discussion of urgent matters of strategy.

Report of the new Steering Committee on Family Farm and Low Income Area Development.

Proposals of a Special Committee on New Plans for Providing Staff for NCALL and the NCALL Research Fund

Each board representative of a member organization is invited to bring another representative of his organization if he wishes to do so.

Please fill out and Mail to NCALL, 1751 N St.,N.W.,Washington,DC

I do---- do not---- expect to attend the Annual Meeting of NCALL.

Please reserve luncheons for ----(number) from my organization.

Signed_____

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

May 5, 1959

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life
and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

Thanks for the communication and your note of May 1.

The most likely person I can think of for case material on child labor in the South is A. E. Cox, who has a roving rural assignment for the National Council of Churches. If you are not in touch with him, he might be worth a try. His address is 933 Chambliss Road, Memphis 16, Tennessee.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Dr. Harold C. Fleming

May 1, 1959

To: THE NCALL STEERING COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR LEGISLATION

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

IMPORTANT

An influential Senator is prepared to introduce an agricultural child labor amendment which will protect children engaged in hired farm work outside of school hours.

The Senator would like to secure as many senatorial co-sponsors as possible. In order to do so, he would like to be able to indicate which national organizations support his desire to introduce such a bill.

Will you please wire or telephone me whether your organization may be listed by the Senator? The following telegram is the kind of authorization needed.

> "The----------(name of organization) authorizes the following statement to be given to Congressional sponsors of agricultural child labor bills. " We appreciate your willingness to introduce bills extending legal protection to hired child workers in agriculture. We affirm the principle that hired child workers in agriculture and urban child workers should have equal protection before the law, and authorize the use of the name of our organization as supporting this principle."

IMPORTANT NOTE Only member organizations of NCALL are being invited to send this authorization. Those who participate in this plan will be among the organizations listed on the left side of this page.

SEE ENCLOSURE FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Dear Dr. Fleming: Could you suggest two or three people who would give us thoughtful case material on children who work for hire in Southern agriculture?

Elizabeth Herring

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

BACKGROUND OF PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL CHILD LABOR BILLS

At the March 20, 1959 Washington meeting of the NCALL Steering Committee on Farm Labor Legislation, a delegation representing several organizations was appointed to consult with members of the Senate and House Subcommittees on Labor as to their willingness to introduce an agricultural child labor amendment, and their judgment as to what should be done.

A cordial response was received and a request registered for a draft of suitable language for the bill. Mrs. Elizabeth B. Coleman, formerly chief of the Child Labor Branch of the Wage, Hour and Public Contracts Division, US Department of Labor was asked to prepare such language. Mrs. Coleman prepared two alternative bills. The Steering Committee (meeting in sections in New York and Washington) approved one version. Both versions have been given to the Senator with information as to the preferences of the Steering Committee.

The NCALL Steering Committee consists of representatives of fourteen member organizations of NCALL. These organizations participate in the work of the Steering Committee because of their desire to work actively to promote farm labor legislation before the 86th Congress. Other member organizations, not able to participate in the work of the Committee because of distance or other reasons, have asked to be kept informed of the recommendations of the Steering Committee so that they may cooperate when possible.

May 1, 1959

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N Street, Washington 6, D.C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Annual Meeting
of the
Board of Directors

May 8, 1959 -- 9:30 A.M. - 2:00 P.M.
600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL was held at 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City, May 8, 1959.

Those present were: Howard A. Dawson, Chairman; Fay Bennett and Theodore Norman, Vice-Chairmen; Gertrude Folks Zimand, Secretary-Treasurer; Elizabeth Herring, Executive Secretary, and the following:

Ethlyn Christensen, Clay L. Cochran, Eli E. Cohen, Elizabeth B. Coleman, Lyle Cooper, Rev. William Davidson, Mrs. James Evans, Judith Howard, Theresa Hoover, Rev. Huber F. Klemme, Benson Y. Landis, Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman, Edith Lowry, Monica Owen, David Sternback, Amber A. Warburton, Marian F. Weller and George W. Rabinoff of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

APPROVAL OF MINUTES

The Secretary-Treasurer reported that the Minutes of the November meeting of the Board of Directors had been mislaid but would be mailed with the Annual Meeting minutes. The main action at the November meeting had been discussion of farm labor legislation in 1959 and the authorization of a steering committee for such legislation.

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of April 15, 1959 were read.

TREASURER'S REPORT - MRS. ZIMAND

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the financial statement for NCALL and the NCALL Research Fund for the fiscal year of 1958. These reports were accepted with the comment that rarely had any organization accomplished so much on so small a budget.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY - MISS HERRING

The Executive Secretary reported on:

The Consultation on Programs with Migrant Children held last fall and attended by representatives of twenty voluntary and public agencies. This led to the appointment of a follow-up committee, "The NCALL Study Committee on Community Services to Migrant Families".

The highly successful "Farm Labor Hearings" of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, held this winter in Washington.

The farm labor legislative program and the appointment of a Steering Committee to work on this and the employment - on a minimum token stipend - of Mrs. Elizabeth Coleman, former chief of the Child Labor Branch of the Wage-Hour Administration, to assist in work on legislation in conformity with NCALL policy.

The formation of a new Steering Committee on Family Farm and Low Income Area Legislation.

The need for a redefinition of the function of the NCALL Legislative Committee, and amendment of the Statement of NCALL legislative policy.

REPORT OF MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE - BY DR. NORMAN

It was voted to approve the application of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches.

REPORT OF PERSONNEL COMMITTEE - BY DR. DAWSON

The Committee had considered a proposal from Miss Herring that another staff member be added who would major on the legislative activities of NCALL. Miss Herring felt that it was not possible for one person to carry NCALL's growing program and at the same time build the financial structure which was needed to sustain the program. The Executive Committee had voted on April 15 to recommend to the Board that a subsidy be sought for a period of years, during which time more staff effort could be put into money raising without sacrificing NCALL program.

The Personnel Committee recommended that Miss Herring continue as Executive Secretary and that a person be employed to carry on the legislative program of the organization under Miss Herring's direction. Appreciation of the heavy load she had so successfully carried and of the legislative assistance given this year by Mrs. Coleman on an almost volunteer basis, was expressed.

It was voted that the recommendation of the Personnel Committee be approved, provided that the finances of the organization permitted the employment of an additional staff member.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE- BY MR. COHEN (in the absence of Mrs. Ellickson)

1. A recommendation was made that the assignment of members-at-large by one, two and three year terms, approved at the last Annual Meeting, be carried out at this meeting. The result of the drawing by lot was as follows:

One Year Term: Henry K. Arneson, Shirley E. Greene, Lewis W. Jones, Serafino Romualdi, Shirley Sonosky, Louise Stitt.

Two Year Term: Clyde T. Ellis, Harold C. Fleming, Robert W. Hudgens, Thomas B. Keehn, Ira De A. Reid, Rev. James L. Vizzard S.J.

Three Year Term: Leah Lachenbruch, Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman, Lowry Nelson, George Sanchez, Gertrude Folks Zimand, Benson Y. Landis

The Board also approved the suggestion of the Nominating Committee that members-at-large who have not been active in attendance at meetings or by correspondence be consulted as to whether they wish to continue membership.

2. The following members-at-large were nominated to serve on the executive committee:

Eli E. Cohen, Clay L. Cochran, Edith E. Lowry, Paul Sifton, Reuben Johnson.

It was voted that this slate be approved.

3. It was recommended that the present Membership and Nominating Committees be continued until the fall meeting, and that a time be provided for the meeting of these committees before that meeting. This was approved.

4. It was recommended that the Executive Committee continue to act as the Finance Committee while working on plans to finance the employment of an additional staff member for legislative work.

REPORT ON PILOT PROJECT PROPOSED BY NCALL STUDY COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY SERVICES TO MIGRANT FAMILIES BY MARIAN F. WELLER

This committee of youth-serving organizations has been working on a proposal for a cooperative demonstration project in some migrant community. Three areas are being considered for such a project: i.e. Arizona, Chicago Heights, San Joaquin Valley. Leaders in these areas were asked to submit specific plans on the type of project they would like to see undertaken. The general nature of the migrant group in the three communities was described and more detailed information given for the proposals in the two communities from whom replies have been received to date.

The Board members expressed great interest in seeing a joint project carried out. There was discussion of the role and function of the Study Committee which represents the agencies which will participate and of the NCALL Research Fund in working out final plans for financing and sponsoring the project. No formal action was taken.

It was voted that the material received from the interested areas be circulated to all member organizations.

REPORT OF STEERING COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR LEGISLATION - BY ELIZABETH B. COLEMAN

Mrs. Coleman reported on developments with regard to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act; the omission of an agricultural minimum wage amendment and extension of agricultural child labor coverage in the main bills (Kennedy-Roosevelt) on which hearings are being held; the plans for separate bills and separate hearings. All member organizations are being kept informed of developments and the timing for action. It was suggested that if, at the time the main bills came up for debate, there seems little hope for hearings on separate bills on farm child labor and minimum wage, consideration be given to having such amendments offered to the main bills from the floor.

REPORT OF STEERING COMMITTEE ON FAMILY FARM AND LOW INCOME AREA LEGISLATION BY CLAY L. COCHRAN

This new steering committee was authorized by the Executive Committee at the April 15 meeting. Its first meeting will be held on May 21 at which time Dr. Willard W. Cochrane, Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of Minnesota, will present his view of the present status of family farming. In the fall all member organizations will be invited to designate representatives to serve on the committee in the event that the organization wished to work on family farm or low income area legislation.

REPORT OF RECENT MEETING OF THE UNITED STATES SECTION - JOINT U.S. MEXICO TRADE UNION COMMITTEE BY DAVID STERNBACK

The most important issues dealt with at its recent meeting were 1) establishment of a minimum wage, 2) organization of migrant workers in Mexico before they come to the United States, 3) inclusion of representatives of labor in the negotiations between the two governments.

PROPOSALS FOR ADDITION TO THE LEGISLATIVE POLICY OF NCALL

The recommendation of the Executive Committee that a third point be added to the Legislative Policy was considered and approved; as follows,

> "(3) A legislative committee may be formed upon approval of the Board or Executive Committee when five or more member organizations are interested in action on particular legislation.
>
> "Each legislative committee shall choose officers from its members and shall be free to plan direct legislative action provided it does not speak for NCALL as a whole. The strategy decided upon by legislative committees shall be reported to all member organizations of NCALL for their information. Legislative Committees shall be open to all member organizations wishing to be represented. The life of any committee shall not exceed the life of the Congress during which it was created without specific re-approval by the Board or Executive Committee."

Miss Herring stated that the new section 3 regularizes a procedure which had become accepted in NCALL as an effective way to unite the efforts of those member organizations wishing to take direct action on legislative measures.

There was discussion of the function of the standing legislative committee in the light of the development of the steering committees. It was recognized that the steering committees' activities were geared to current legislative events and that there was need also for long range thinking about strategy. The Board members felt that this function could be carried to good effect by the Executive Committee and that a standing legislative committee was not necessary. It was voted that the legislative committee should therefore cease to exist.

The meeting was adjourned at 2 P.M.

Gertrude Folks Zimand
Secretary-Treasurer

Suspend till Dec 7

National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

HOWARD A. DAWSON, *Chairman*
REV. JAMES L. VIZARD, S.J., *1st Vice-chairman*
FAY BENNETT, *2nd Vice-chairman*
THEODORE NORMAN, *3rd Vice-chairman*
GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND, *Secretary-Treasurer*
SHIRLEY SONOSKY, *Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*
ELIZABETH B. HERRING, *Executive Secretary*

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PAUL SIFTON
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LOUISE STITT
ADA BARNETT STOUGH
ROWLAND WATTS
AMBER ARTHUN WARBURTON
MARIAN F. WELLER

Member Organizations

Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Parents Committee
Catholic Committee of the South
Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches
Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Association of Machinists —AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Migrant Children's Fund
National Agricultural Workers Union —AFL-CIO
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church
United Automobile Workers—AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers —AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

October 7, 1959

To: The Board of Directors of NCALL

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

NOTICE OF MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

December 16 and 17, 1959

Oak Room, Burlington Hotel
1120 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C.

The meeting will begin with a six o'clock dinner session the evening of Wednesday, December 16. On Thursday, December 17, the sessions will start at 9:00 and close at 4:00 including luncheon.

The agenda of the Board meeting will include both business and workshop sessions, the latter under the direction of the NCALL steering committees on farm labor, family farm and low income area legislation. Additional persons will be invited to attend the workshop sessions to help in discussion of working papers now being prepared.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE NCALL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

The NCALL Steering Committee on Farm Labor Legislation, authorized a year ago by the NCALL Board of Directors, will continue to meet during the second session of the 86th Congress. If your organization has not designated a representative to serve on this committee and wishes to do so, will you please indicate the name of the person on the enclosed registration blank. The Steering Committee pools knowledge and discusses issues but does not speak in the name of the member organizations participating.

The Steering Committee on Family Farm and Low Income Area Legislation was authorized by the NCALL Board of Directors at its last meeting (May, 1959). A nucleus group is planning the workshop discussion announced above. Each member organization is invited at this time to designate a representative to serve on this new steering committee if it wishes to do so. (See blank enclosed.)

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

REGISTRATION BLANK

Please fill out this blank and return to NCALL, 1751 N Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Detailed information about hours and costs will be sent to board members in November.

- -

I expect to attend the NCALL Board meeting in Washington, on December 16 and 17. (yes) _____ (no) _____

This organization designates the following persons as representatives on the NCALL legislative committees:

Steering Committee on Farm Labor Legislation

Name of representative _____

Steering Committee on Family Farm and Low Income Area Legislation

Name of representative _____

Signed: _____

Organization: _____

NOTICE OF PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO BY-LAWS OF NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

To be Acted Upon at NCALL Board Meeting
December 16 and 17, 1959

It is recommended that the By-Laws be amended as follows:

In Article III - Membership and Associates - Section 2(b) - strike out the phrase "upon payment of the first annual $25.00 membership fee".

In the same Article III, in Section 2(d), substitute for the present sentence "Organizational members shall pay a membership fee of $25 per year" the following sentence: "Organizational members shall pay a $25.00 subscription for NCALL publications and other informational communications."

This amendment is recommended to clarify some questions of tax status involved in NCALL membership.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches
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Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church
United Automobile Workers—AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers —AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

November 19, 1959

To: The Board of Directors of NCALL

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

AGENDA OF MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

December 16 and 17, 1959

Oak Room, Burlington Hotel
1120 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C.

The plans for the board meeting and workshop sessions are going forward. I am glad to report that the Rev. Douglas M. Still, director of the California Migrant Ministry, National Council of Churches and Bard McAllister, director of the California Farm Labor Project of the American Friends Service Committee will be present and will assist in discussion of farm labor concerns.

SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16 DINNER 6:00 P.M.

Farm Labor Developments in California
Rev. Douglas M. Still
Bard McAllister

Business Session

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17

9:00 A.M. - 12:00 M. WORKSHOP ON FARM LABOR AND FAMILY FARM LEGISLATION

12:30 P.M. - 4:00 P.M. LUNCHEON AND AFTERNOON SESSION

Report of Committee appointed to study the political opposition to farm labor legislation in the Congress and in State legislatures.

Continued discussion of legislation.

The promised working papers on Farm Labor and Family Farm Legislation will be mailed to you after Thanksgiving. Will you please return the enclosed dinner and luncheon reservation blank as early as possible?

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

MEETING OF THE NCALL BOARD OF DIRECTORS
December 16 and 17, 1959
Washington, D.C.

REGISTRATION BLANK

Both the dinner and the luncheon will be in the Oak Room of the Burlington Hotel, 1120 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Advance payment will be appreciated.

DINNER RESERVATION

Reserve a ticket at $3.75 for the dinner, Wednesday, December 16 $_____

LUNCHEON RESERVATION

Reserve a ticket at $2.60 for the luncheon, Thursday, December 17 $_____

I enclose check for _____ Total $_____

Signed _____

Board members are invited to designate additional persons from their organizations who will be helpful in the workshop sessions. Please include their reservations on this reservation form.

Please return this blank to:

National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
1751 N Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

May 9, 1960

To: The NCALL Board of Directors

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

ANNUAL MEETING
May 24, 1960 9:30 A.M. - 2:00 P.M.
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y.
SIXTH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM

Replies indicate representative attendance at the Annual Meeting. This is fortunate because the wisdom of all will be needed in the discussion of the issues on the agenda.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Action will be taken at the Annual Meeting on two recommendations for NCALL membership:

Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
(Reported at the last meeting of the Board of Directors)
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers

This letter constitutes the official advance notice required in the by-laws.

HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE CONSIDERS FAMILY FARM INCOME ACT AND McINTIRE FARM LABOR BILL

For several days the House Agriculture Committee has been in executive session considering these bills. What will be reported out remains to be seen, and what happens after that also remains to be seen.

It is important to keep right on sending letters to Congressmen in support of the McGovern Mexican Farm Labor bill. They will have their effect, now and later.

I enclose another copy of the flyer the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor prepared for the use of all of us. The flyer is available at $10.00 per thousand from the N.A.C.F.L., 112 E. 19th St., New York 3, N. Y.

There are historic overtones about these sessions of the House Agriculture Committee. Urban support for family farm legislation is a must to strengthen the hands of the members of Congress who support decency in agriculture. Unless the supporters of the family farm have more urban allies, there will be neither family farm nor farm labor legislation.

A case history of what is going on in the House Agriculture Committee will be given at the Annual Meeting.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

The Plight of American Farm Workers—

Related to the Mexican Farm Labor Program (Public Law 78)

- Over two million Americans work for wages on the farms which feed the nation—at least half a million are migrants. (Many are of Mexican descent. Objection to imported, underpaid labor is **not** an objection to Mexicans. The domestic farm labor force represents different racial and cultural groups.)
- Their average annual wage for 1958 was $961, **including** income for off-farm work of $195.
- They are under-employed for most of the year. Their average farm employment for 1958 was 128 days. (This **excludes** sporadic workers employed less than 25 days.)
- Many live in shacks; home "on the trek" may be a truck or jalopy, sometimes tents and converted barracks.
- They are excluded from practically all state and federal social welfare laws—from the protection of most workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, minimum wage, and laws giving the right to organize.
- Their children receive only intermittent schooling, often work long hours in the fields to supplement the family's meagre earnings—are excluded from federal child labor laws covering children working outside school hours.
- Illness and accidents plague these workers more than most because of their low standard of living and nomadic existence—often local residence laws bar migrant farm workers from public welfare benefits and hospital care.

Yet—underpaid and under-employed U.S. farm workers must compete with an annual importation of nearly half a million Mexican contract farm workers.

- The Mexican importation program began as a war-time emergency during World War II, but has been continued and expanded since the Korean War when less than 200,000 were admitted.
- In 1959, 437,600 Mexican nationals were employed on about 50,000 farms—less than 2% of the nation's commercial farms. They do all kinds of farm work and not merely "stoop labor."
- Most family farmers do not use imported labor, and their own income has been reduced as a result of its use by large-scale operators.
- 95% of the Mexicans are employed in the 5 states of Texas, California, Arkansas, Arizona and New Mexico.
- At their 1959 peak, they made up nearly 90% of all the nation's seasonal lettuce harvest workers and more than 30% of the seasonal workers in cucumbers, tomatoes, citrus fruits, melons and nuts. They accounted for nearly 30% of the cotton harvest employment. In New Mexico, they constituted 78% of all seasonal farm labor.
- Instead of raising wages and improving conditions to attract and hold a stable farm work force, the large growers who depend on seasonal labor are able to import low-paid labor from Mexico through governmental channels—thus perpetuating bad conditions and forcing American workers to migrate to other areas seeking farm jobs to keep their families alive. (The guaranteed minimum wage to Mexicans brought in under contract is only 50 cents an hour.)
- Large-scale agriculture is the only industry in the American economy which is permitted a continuous flow of underpaid foreign labor, undercutting standards for domestic farm workers.

These bills are now before the Congress:

- H.R. 9875 (McIntire Bill)—To extend Public Law 78 (the Mexican labor import law) for two years [otherwise it is due to expire in June, 1961] and amending it to prohibit the Secretary of Labor from issuing regulations to protect wages and conditions of employment for U.S. farm workers hired through the federal-state employment service.

  (Supported by users of Mexican labor and spokesmen for some farm organizations.)
- H.R. 11211 (McGovern Bill)—To extend Public Law 78 but with a 20% reduction in numbers admitted yearly to provide for its abolition in 5 years, amended to reform the Mexican labor program to reduce adverse effects upon U.S. farm workers, recommended by a committee of distinguished consultants appointed by the Secretary of Labor to study the Mexican labor program.

  (Supported by church, civic, labor and family-farm organizations.)

Issued by

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR · 112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors
9:30-A.M. - 2:30 P.M., May 24, 1960
Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.

Presiding — Dr. Howard A. Dawson, Chairman

Attendance — Dr. Howard A. Dawson, Chairman; Fay Bennett and Theodore Norman, Vice-Chairmen; Gertrude Folks Zimand, Secretary-Treasurer; Ethlyn Christensen, Clay L. Cochran, Eli E. Cohen, Dr. Cameron P. Hall, Miss Hoover, Judith Howard, Robert W. Hudgens, Reuben Johnson, Mrs. Liss, Edith Lowry, Mrs. Owen, Msgr. William J. Quinn, Amber A. Warburton and Elizabeth Herring. Guests: Mr. Brownbridge, Mr. Pratt and Mr. John J. Walsh.

Minutes — The minutes of the January 12 Executive Committee meeting were approved, and will be circulated with the 1959 Treasurer's Report.

Report of Membership Committee — Theodore Norman, Chairman recommended acceptance of applications for membership of:

The Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
The Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers

By unanimous vote, these two organizations were elected to organizational membership.

Report of the Executive Secretary — Miss Herring's report dealt primarily with legislation and finance (discussed later). After her analysis of forces working for and against sound farm labor legislation and the outlook, both for legislation now pending in the Congress and on a long range basis, there was discussion of legislative strategy.

Legislation — The need for immediate action with regard to bills amending Public Law 78 led to suggestions about methods of legislative work. Miss Bennett suggested the coordination of efforts to secure telegrams, letters, etc. through one organization which would build up a list of key people in each state, who, when alerted, would, in turn, reach other important groups and individuals in their states.

Mr. Hudgens felt that there would be no great progress until the problem is recognized as a labor rather than an agricultural problem, with bills going to the Labor Committees in Congress, and with organized labor giving such support as they now give to other major activity. The first need is for minimum wage and the second, social welfare programs, including housing, health, etc.

Other Items — Brief reports were given on the following:

The age issue in child labor legislation. This will be considered at the NCALL Rural Youth Consultation to be held in December, for which preliminary work is now being done.

The minimum wage report of the U.S. Department of Labor, on which Mr. Cochran will prepare a statement to be sent to Board members.

The preparation and promotion of a new Public Affairs Committee pamphlet by Varden Fuller. The emphasis in this pamphlet will be on the need to bring agriculture into a rational place in the American economy (with farm labor implications). Board members indicated an interest in promoting the pamphlet and securing advance orders.

The Tulare County farm labor demonstration and self help housing project being developed by the NCALL Research Fund and possible sources for its support.

A meeting on the Stabilization of Migrant Labor attended by Msgr. Quinn.

The need for adequate presentation of the agricultural labor issue to the Democratic and Republican platform committees.

Report of Nominating Committee In the absence of the chairman of the committee, the only action taken was the re-election of Dr. Howard Dawson as chairman of NCALL. The opinion was expressed by the Board members that the two term limitation adopted in 1958 did not apply to the person then holding the office.

The slate for remaining officers and committee members will be sent to the members for referendum vote.

Finance After considerable discussion of the financial needs of NCALL and possible ways of raising additional support on a continuing basis, a committee of three was appointed to consider various methods, including the organization of a committee of "elder statesmen" in various fields who might be able to make or suggest an effective approach to individuals or organizations in their respective fields of interest.

The Board expressed its gratitude to the Executive Secretary who has carried on the activities of the organization during this very busy period at a less than minimal salary.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:30.

Gertrude Folks Zimand
Secretary-Treasurer

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Meeting of the Executive Committee
January 12, 1960
New York, N.Y.

An open meeting of the Executive Committee of NCALL, to which New York members of the Board had been invited, was held at the National Board of the YWCA January 12 at 10 a.m.

Those present were: Dr. Dawson, chairman, Theodore Norman and Fay Bennett, vice-chairmen, Gertrude Zimand, Secretary-treasurer, and Ethlyn Christensen, Mrs. Renata Claiborne, Eli E. Cohen, Edith Lowry, Mrs. Warburton and Elizabeth Herring, Executive Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Board were summarized.

The treasurer's report was presented showing a deficit of $336.51.

The executive secretary presented a memorandum with suggestions for putting NCALL on a firm financial basis. It was voted that a Finance Committee be appointed and consider these and other suggestions for a long-range financial policy. It was suggested that, in the meantime, the situation be explained to member agencies and they be asked to increase their contributions.

An invitation from the National Conference of Social Work to become a member was considered. It was suggested that we express our interest in the Conference, but take no action this year.

Application for membership from the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice was presented. It was voted to recommend this membership to the Board.

The executive reported on two inactive organizations which, according to NCALL policy, should be presented to Board for dropping. She was authorized to take appropriate action in these two cases.

The proposed meeting of an NCALL delegation with Sen. Williams was discussed. It was agreed that the important points for such a delegation to discuss were tactics and strategy - i.e., an omnibus bill or individual issue bills; and the interest of NCALL in legislation on farm matters not assigned to his committee. It was suggested that our approach to him should be that of seeking advice as to procedure and assuring him of our willingness to help secure support. The Chairman and Executive were authorized to appoint a delegation, and see that the materials for the interview were prepared, etc.

The Executive explained the proposal for holding a consultation of interested agencies in the spring to consider recent statistical data and reports on trends in farm population, with special reference to taking a fresh look at the needs of rural youth. The idea of such a meeting was enthusiastically approved, and it was suggested that it might interest some new agencies in becoming members of NCALL.

Mr. Cohen, as a member of the U. S. Steering Committee for World Mental Health Year, reported that one area of interest to the committee was the Psychological Problems of Migration, broadly interpreted and including agricultural migration

within a country. He said the group was looking for an organization that could take responsibility for materials and planning in this area and asked for suggestions.

The Executive Secretary reported a special committee on publications was being organized to draft a plan to enable member agencies to utilize each others' legislative publications in 1960. A first step might be to find out from each agency what publications it planned and for what audience, determine what gaps remained, and how to fill them. It was suggested that this might be useful not only for legislative publications, but those on farm problems generally.

After further discussion of methods of approaching member agencies for additional financial support, the meeting adjourned at 4 p.m.

Gertrude Folks Zimand, Secretary-Treasurer

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OF

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

December 16 and 17, 1959, Washington, D.C.

MINUTES

The Board of Directors of NCALL met on December 16 and 17 with Dr. Howard A. Dawson, chairman, presiding. Those present at one or more sessions were:

Member Organizations and Members-at-large -
Clyde Ellis, Marjorie Bailey, John Baker, Fay Bennett, Ethlyn Christensen, Mary Condon, Lyle Cooper, Lewis Cordiner, Elizabeth Coleman, Clay L. Cochran, Rev. William Davidson, Charles DeVries, Rev. Nevin R. Mertz, Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Curtis Gatlin, Herbert Hill, Elizabeth Herring, Cameron P. Hall, Reuben Johnson, Margaret Jameson, Gardner Jackson, Edith E. Lowry, Vera W. Mayer, Bard McAllister, Angus McDonald, Monica B. Owen, Theodore Norman, Louise Stitt, Olya Margolin, Ada Barnett Stough, David Sternback, Serafino Romualdi, Shirley Sonosky, Rev. William Scholes, Rev. Douglas M. Still, Marian F. Weller, Constance Pennington, Judith Howard.

Cooperating Organizations, Guests and Speakers -
Ardee Ames, legislative assistant to Senator Williams; Nadine Blair, Washington office, National Council of Churches; Mrs. Clay L. Cochran; Rev. William Davidson, Protestant Episcopal Church; John Edelman, Textile Workers Union; Mrs. Gardner Jackson; Frances Neely, Friends Committee on National Legislation; George Rucker, Administrative Assistant, Rep. Al Ullman; Benton J. Stong, office of Senator Murray; Charles F. Schwan, Jr., Council of State Governments; Wallace J. Campbell, Cooperative League of the U.S.A.; Mrs. Lee Stanley, International Labor Organization; William Taylor, Americans for Democratic Action; Tom Venables, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association; John J. Walsh, President's Committee on Migratory Labor; James Hawkins, Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor, Pennsylvania; William Mirengoff, U. S. Department of Labor; Dr. Bushrod Allin; Dr. Orlin J. Scoville; Dr. William E. Hendrix; Dr. Nelson Leroy, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Before the business meeting at 6:00 P.M., December 16, the Reverend Douglas M. Still, Migrant Ministry, National Council of Churches, Los Angeles, Cal., and Bard McAllister, Farm Labor Project, American Friends Service Committee, Visalia, California, addressed the Board.

MINUTES: The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer moved that the minutes of the previous meeting be accepted as distributed. Motion carried.

TREASURER'S REPORT: The annual statement will be mailed with the minutes of this meeting. The following report from the Executive Committee on financial matters was read:

Report from the Executive Committee on Financial Matters

"At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors held in New York on May 8, 1959, Dr. Dawson gave the following report from the Personnel Committee: (Quoted from the Minutes of the Annual Meeting)

> "The Committee had considered a proposal from Miss Herring that another staff member be added who would major on the legislative activities of NCALL. Miss Herring felt that it was not possible for one person to carry NCALL's growing program and at the same time build the financial structure which was needed to sustain the program. The Executive Committee had voted on April 15 to recommend to the Board that a subsidy be sought for a period of years, during which time more staff effort could be put into money raising without sacrificing NCALL program.
>
> The Personnel Committee recommended that Miss Herring continue as Executive Secretary and that a person be employed to carry on the legislative program of the organization under Miss Herring's direction.
>
> It was voted that the recommendation of the Personnel Committee be approved, provided that the finances of the organization permitted the employment of an additional staff member.

In line with this action, the Board voted that the Executive Committee continue to act as the Finance Commitee while working on plans to finance the employment of an additional staff member for legislative work.

Since that time, Dr. Dawson has submitted a request to a possible donor for a three-year subsidy which would make this legislative assistant a possibility. A reply has not been received to date.

In the meantime arrangements are being made for a January meeting of the Executive Committee at which time some work will be done on financial proposals which have to do with long-range financing of NCALL.

A policy statement on the financial relations of member organizations to NCALL will be considered also. This is needed to clarify the relation of tax exempt organizations to NCALL which is not tax-exempt."

After a discussion concerning the confusion which arises from separate funds being deposited in the same bank, Clay Cochran moved that the regular account be moved to the First National Bank. (The Research Fund would remain in the Security Bank.) The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT OF THE NCALL STUDY COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY SERVICES TO MIGRANTS:

Marian F. Weller, chairman, reported that the committee is about ready to request a research fund for a project in Tulare County, California, which will combine community services and self-help housing.

BY-LAWS AMENDMENT: The Executive Committee recommended that the by-laws be amended as follows:

> In Article III - Membership and Associates - Section 2(b) - strike out the phrase "upon payment of the first annual $25.00 membership fee".
>
> In the same Article III, in Section 2(d), substitute for the present sentence "Organizational members shall pay a membership fee of $25 per year" the following sentence: "Organizational members shall pay a $25.00 subscription for NCALL publications and other informational communications."

Reuben Johnson moved that the Board amend the by-laws as recommended. The motion was seconded and carried.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING DATE: The meeting will take place on January 12, 1960 in New York City.

Mrs. Marvin J. Sonosky
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - GENERAL ACCOUNT - January 1, 1959 - December 31, 1959

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in bank, January 1, 1959			$ 181.88
From Memberships and Contributions	$3239.47		
From Workshop Registrations	295.80		
Board Luncheons	5.20		3540.47
Reimbursement - Telephone		56.33	
Reimbursement - Office Supplies		4.00	
Sale of Old Typewriter		30.00	90.33
Refund from Research Fund (Advance to cover Overdraft)	99.54		
Credit Memo from Security Bank*	.50		100.04
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$3912.72

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$1769.79	
Executive	$1100.00		
Assistant	235.75		
Office	434.04		
Office Supplies		144.48	
Travel, Living and Conference Attendance		210.83	
Office Rent		360.00	
Telephone & Telegraph		295.14	
Postage and Stamped Envelopes		129.28	
Printing, Mimeo, Stationery		446.20	
Subscriptions to Publications		37.30	
Taxes: D.C., F.I.C.A.		71.46	
Workshop Luncheon, Dinner, Board Meeting		226.49	
Conference Expenses		29.80	
Board Luncheons		15.80	
Bank Service Charge		7.10	
Advance to cover overdraft in Research Fund		99.54	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$3843.21
BALANCE IN NCALL REGULAR ACCOUNT, December 31, 1959			$ 69.51

* Bank error.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND INC.
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D.C.

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT - RESEARCH FUND - January 1, 1959 - December 31, 1959

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in Security Bank, January 1, 1959	$ 124.74
Transfer from Prudential Building Association	1500.00
Advance from Regular Account to cover overdraft*	99.54
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$1724.28

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$709.62	
Executive Secretary	$100.00		
Migrant Education Supervisor	500.00		
Bookkeeping and Clerical	109.62		
Refund of advance from Regular Account to cover overdraft*		99.54	
Telephone and Telegraph		10.50	
Mimeographing and Printing		31.88	
Postage		21.02	
Bank Service Charge		1.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$ 873.56
BALANCE IN SECURITY BANK, December 31, 1959			$ 850.72
BALANCE IN PRUDENTIAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION			597.88
CASH ON HAND, December 31, 1959			$1448.60

*Bank error. Credited deposit to wrong account.

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STATUS OF NCALL RESEARCH FUND SAVINGS ACCOUNT IN PRUDENTIAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION

DEPOSITS		$2097.88
Balance, December 31, 1958	$2058.34	
Interest	39.54	
WITHDRAWALS		
April 14, 1959	$ 500.00	
April 23, 1959	500.00	
August 20, 1959	500.00	$1500.00
BALANCE IN PRUDENTIAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION, December 31, 1959		$ 597.88

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Amended By-Laws

(As approved at Annual Meeting, April 2, 1958
and Board Meeting, December 16 and 17, 1959)

Article I - Name

Section 1 The corporate name of this organization shall be the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

Article II - Purposes

Section 1 The purposes of this organization shall be to improve the living and working conditions of the low-income farm and rural populations of the United States of America by all possible means, including the collection and dissemination to organizations and individuals, of information of scientific, economic, social, literary, and educational character. The objects of this corporation are exclusively scientific, educational, and literary. No part of the earnings of this corporation shall inure to the benefit of any private individual and no substantial part of its activities shall be the carrying on of propaganda or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation.

Section 2 The NCALL as an organization will limit its action on pending national, state or local legislation to providing information on such legislation to its membership.

Article III - Membership and Associates

Section 1 Organizations as hereinafter defined shall be eligible to become members of NCALL.

Section 2 Organizational members.

(a) Organizational membership shall be open to national and regional organizations interested in the social, economic or cultural problems of agricultural life.

(b) Such organizations may become members by majority vote of the Board of Directors, following application by the organization or nomination by a majority of the Membership Committee.

(c) Each organizational member shall name its own representative to NCALL who shall serve as a member of the Board of Directors. Substitute representation is permitted when it is so authorized by the member organization.

(d) Organizational members shall pay a $25 subscription for NCALL publications and other informational communications.

(e) The Membership Committee shall review annually the list of Organizational Members and shall bring to the attention of the

Board of Directors any organization which has failed to pay its membership dues or whose purpose or methods of work, in the judgment of the Membership Committee, have changed and are no longer in accord with the policy of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. The Board of Directors may authorize the dropping of such members.

Section 3 Individuals may become NCALL Associates upon payment of a fee of $5.00.

Article IV - Board of Directors

Section 1 The control and management of the affairs and funds of NCALL shall be vested in a Board of Directors.

Section 2 The Board of Directors shall consist of:
(a) One designated representative from each organizational member as provided in Article III, Section 2 (c); and
(b) Not more than 20 directors-at-large. One third of the members-at-large shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting for a term of three years. No members-at-large shall serve more than two three-year terms in succession. At the time this provision is adopted, one two and three year terms shall be assigned by lot.

Article V - Meetings

Section 1 The Board of Directors shall hold two regular meetings annually at such time and place as may be designated by the Board with ten days written notice thereof.

Notice of intention to propose an organization for approval by the Board of Directors must be given to all Directors at least ten days in advance of the meeting at which approval is proposed.

Section 2 Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Executive Committee or by the Chairman at the request of five members of the Board. Actions at special meetings may be taken only on matters specifically on the agenda as announced in the call for the meeting. 10 days advance notice shall be required for a special meeting.

Section 3 A quorum of the Board of Directors shall consist of 10 members of the Board.

Section 4 One of the two regular meetings of the Board of Directors in each calendar year shall be designated as the Annual Meeting of NCALL. At this Annual Meeting, the officers shall render a summary report of the activities and finances of NCALL.

Section 5 The fiscal year of NCALL shall be the calendar year.

Article VI - Committees

Section 1 The Standing Committees of NCALL shall be Executive Committee, Finance Committee, Membership Committee and Nominating Committee.

Section 2 (a) The Executive Committee shall consist of the elected officers of NCALL - Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and Treasurer - and five members designated by the Board from its membership, at least two of whom shall be representatives of organizational members.

(b) The Executive Committee shall have the power to act for the Board of Directors in the interim between meetings of the Board. All actions of the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Board at the next meeting of the Board following such action.

(c) A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of five members.

(d) Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

Section 3 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Finance Committee responsible for securing the necessary support for NCALL.

Section 4 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Membership Committee through which shall be recommended all new organizational members of NCALL.

Section 5 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Nominating Committee whose responsibility shall be to present at each annual meeting a proposed slate of officers and standing committee personnel for the ensuing year. The Nominating Committee may bring in recommendations for members-at-large at any meeting of the Board provided that the proposed names are submitted to Board Members in writing in advance of the meeting at which they are to be elected. In the case of vacancies occurring between annual meetings the Board may request nominations from the Nominating Committee.

Section 6 The Board of Directors shall appoint such other committees as may be necessary to conduct the work of NCALL.

Article VII - Advisory Committee

Section 1 The Board of Directors may appoint an Advisory Committee of not more than 50 persons.

Article VIII - Voting

Section 1 Voting privileges in NCALL shall be limited to the Board of Directors.

Section 2 Membership on the Advisory Committee is non-voting.

Article IX - Officers

Section 1 The officers of NCALL shall be a Chairman, First Vice Chairman, Second Vice Chairman, Third Vice-Chairman, Secretary-Treasurer and Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2 The officers shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting from nominations of the Nominating Committee, or from nominations made from the floor. The term of office shall be for two years or until the successor of the officer has been elected. No officer shall serve for more than two terms in succession.

Section 3 The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Council, and shall serve as Chairman of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee of the Board. In the absence of the Chairman, his office shall be exercised by a Vice Chairman in order.

Section 4 The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the Council of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee.

Section 5 The Treasurer shall deposit all money and securities of the NCALL in depositories approved by the Board of Directors. He shall have the power to withdraw funds and make disbursements in the name of the NCALL. He shall cause the accounts of the organization to be audited periodically by a certified public accountant, which audit shall be submitted to the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall be a signatory to all contracts executed in behalf of NCALL. The Treasurer shall provide such bond as may be required by the Board of Directors.

Article X - Employees

Section 1 The Board of Directors may authorize the employment of an Executive Secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to conduct the work of the NCALL.

Section 2 Employees of NCALL shall perform such duties as shall be assigned to them by the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee.

Section 3 The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for initiating and implementing such programs and activities as may be authorized by the Board of Directors or its Executive Committee.

Article XI - Amendments

Section 1 Except as otherwise required by the laws of the District of Columbia, the Certificate of Incorporation and these By-Laws may be amended by a majority of those present at a regular meeting of the Board of Directors, provided that the proposed amendment or amendments have been submitted in writing to the Directors at least one month in advance of the meeting at which the action is taken.

LEGISLATIVE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

(A Statement adopted by the Board of Directors - June 6, 1951)
With Amendment adopted at Annual Meeting, May 8, 1959

The legislative policy of the NCALL is stated both positively and negatively in the Constitution:

(1) "It shall facilitate action by cooperating agencies and members; providing information on and promoting discussion of the issues involved." (In the discussion at the organizational meeting, it was agreed that the word "facilitate" should be broadly construed and the importance of preliminary work on strategy, drafting, etc., was recognized.)

(2) "It will limit its action on pending national, state or local legislation to providing information on such legislation to its membership."

(3) (Amendment adopted May 8, 1959)

"A legislative committee may be formed upon approval of the Board or Executive Committee when five or more member organizations are interested in similar action on particular legislation.

"Each legislative committee shall choose officers from its members and shall be free to plan direct legislative action provided it does not speak for NCALL as a whole. The strategy decided upon by legislative committees shall be reported to all member organizations of NCALL for their information. Legislative Committees shall be open to all member organizations wishing to be represented. The life of any committee shall not exceed one year without specific re-approval by the Board or Executive Committee."

The following statement is a clarification of this policy:

(1) The Executive Secretary of the Council is authorized to confer with agencies and individuals and to participate in groups discussing strategy, bill drafting, etc., on any subject in line with the NCALL's statement of Program and Objectives. It should be made clear, both to the groups with which the Executive Secretary works in that capacity and to the member agencies of the NCALL, that the Secretary does not "represent" the Council in these discussions nor does such participation imply the support of its member agencies for the legislation concerned. Participation is for the purpose of helping to shape and inform member agencies about legislation which some of them wish to support, and thereby facilitate their action.

(2) The Council shall not assume that member agencies will, or urge them to, take action on any specific legislation, but shall

inform all members about the legislation, stressing the importance of suggested action by those who wish to be active on the specific subject at issue. This can be done in two ways:

(a) Directly by the Executive Secretary in communications to members.

(b) Indirectly by the Executive Secretary by transmitting to members a communication from an agency member which has a special interest in that legislation. The member agency's letter can be as "urgent" as it wishes.

LWD PR HCF Reactions? No

National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

HOWARD A. DAWSON, *Chairman*
REV. JAMES L. VIZZARD, S.J., *1st Vice-chairman*
FAY BENNETT, *2nd Vice-chairman*
THEODORE NORMAN, *3rd Vice-chairman*
GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND, *Secretary-Treasurer*
SHIRLEY SONOSKY, *Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*
ELIZABETH B. HERRING, *Executive Secretary*

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MARY H. BLANSHARD
RUTH MUSKRAT BRONSON
ETHLYN CHRISTENSEN
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KATHERINE P. ELLICKSON
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A. J. HAYES
HERBERT HILL
ROBERT W. HUDGENS
LEWIS W. JONES
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LEAH LACHENBRUCH
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PAUL SIFTON
THELMA STEVENS
LOUISE STITT
ADA BARNETT STOUGH
ROWLAND WATTS
AMBER ARTHUN WARBURTON
MARIAN F. WELLER

Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Parents Committee
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: Division of Home Missions, General Department of United Church Women, Department of the Church of Economic Life
Division of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Migrant Children's Fund
National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL-CIO
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Committee on Employment of Youth of the National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

July 12, 1960

Dear Friend:

The Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is planning a Washington consultation in December 1960 to consider the status of farm and rural youth. Your advice will be welcome as to the subject matter which should be covered in the consultation.

Technological change in agriculture, the lag in the training of rural youth for the changing occupational picture, the growth of the rural non-farm sector of the population all need to be understood from the angle of their effects upon the welfare of youth. What public programs are needed? How should voluntary organizations revise their youth programs to conform with present day rural facts?

Would your organization be interested in particiapting in this consultation? If so, the planning committee will be grateful for a statement from you as to what aspects of the subject your organization would like to see illuminated in the consultation.

You will be interested to know that by the time the consultation is called, results will be available of the cooperative study by the United States Census and the U.S. Department of Agriculture of the educational status and educational plans of farm, non-farm and urban youth. It is expected that this comparative study will be instructive as to the nature of the problems to be met.

Your comments and advice will be appreciated by August 5th.

Sincerely yours,

Eli E. Cohen

Eli E. Cohen
Chairman of Planning Committee
Consultation on Farm and Rural Youth

P.S.: Would you be good enough to send your comments directly to me at the
National Child Labor Committee
419 Park Avenue South
New York 16, New York

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

8/22/60

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Member Organizations
Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Parents Committee
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: Division of Home Missions, General Department of United Church Women, Department of the Church of Economic Life
Division of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO
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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Committee on Employment of Youth of the National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

August 18, 1960

To the Members of the Board of the
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor

Dear Friends:

The Finance Committee appointed at the last meeting of the Board was commissioned to develop a representative committee on Finance to draw up a plan for basic support of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. The Committee has met and will be in touch with you later.

Meantime, we know you will be excited with the enclosed report. It outlines the significant part that the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor has played during the past year in the aggressive efforts to help the constituent organizations play an active role in support of a better day for all who work in agriculture. It has kept us in touch with developments in the executive branch of government as well as Congress so that each of us could act promptly and intelligently. This is a very important service, especially for organizations outside of Washington.

This was felt keenly by the Finance Committee. We believe that a way must be found by which the organizations served can give more adequate support to the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. This is the channel for many of us to extend the program of our own organization in this field.

Would you give thought to this and send your ideas to Miss Elizabeth Herring at the above address or to Miss Edith E. Lowry at the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

We hope we may hear from you -- we need your ideas.

Very sincerely yours,

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Robert W. Hudgens

Robert W. Hudgens

Theodore Norman

Theodore Norman

Edith E. Lowry

Edith E. Lowry, Chairman

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

THE CURRENT PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

A Summary Report to the Board of Directors

by
Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor was formed by its member organizations to assist them in their effort to speed the end of exploitation and poverty and to safeguard democracy in agriculture.

This goal is expressed in five characteristic types of NCALL activity.

FIRST SERVICE HAS BEEN PROVIDED TO MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR ACTION FACILITATED

Hearings During the last three years NCALL has played a substantial role in assisting its member organizations to participate in hearings on:

The 160 Acre Limitation of the Reclamation Act
Migratory Labor Transportation Hearing of the Interstate Commerce Commission
Senate Minimum Wage Hearings
House Mexican Farm Labor Hearings
Senate and House Hearings on Domestic Migrant Legislation
U.S. Department of Labor Hearings on Farm Placement Regulations

NCALL has informed its members of the substance and status of proposed legislation. The Executive Secretary has consulted with Congressional committee members, sponsors of bills and legislative staff concerned; has informed member organizations of what part it would be possible for them to take and has assisted as called upon in the preparation of testimony.

NCALL has played a minor role in hearings on appropriations; depressed area and general education bills; arranging delegations to members of Congress of authorized representatives of member organizations; publishing informational materials indicating how individuals and organizations could take action; and informing key individuals of how they could help.

Policy Consultations NCALL has arranged delegations of authorized representatives to consult with members of Congress and the Executive Branch on questions affecting low income groups. A joint session of members of the OASI staff and NCALL board members is an illustration.

Publications Three types of informational material are issued from the Washington office: i.e.

The NCALL Bulletin
Legislative News Letters (when immediate action is needed)
Memoranda and Working Papers on Basic Issues

On request special material is furnished to member organizations wishing to include agricultural articles in their periodicals or needing specific information for policy groups.

Consultation with Individual Organizations, both Member and Non-Member On request, the executive secretary has assisted in drafting policy statements for official action by organizations, has consulted on steps to be taken in stimulating interest in farm issues; and has assisted with seminars and other agency meetings. Some NCALL board members have been generous with their time and talent in giving this type of service to organizations wishing to strengthen their farm labor and farm policy programs.

SECOND JOINT PLANNING FOR ACTION THROUGH STEERING COMMITTEES

NCALL has a STEERING COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR LEGISLATION and a STEERING COMMITTEE ON FAMILY FARM LEGISLATION. These committees operate under the provisions of an amendment to NCALL's official legislative policy. The amendment was adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors, May 8, 1959 and reads as follows:

> "A legislative committee may be formed upon approval of the Board of Directors when five or more member organizations are interested in similar action on particular legislation.
>
> "Each legislative committee shall choose officers from its members and shall be free to plan direct legislative action provided it does not speak for NCALL as a whole. The strategy decided upon by legislative committees shall be reported to all member organizations of NCALL for their information. Legislative committees shall be open to all member organizations wishing to be represented. The life of any committee shall not exceed one year without specific re-approval by the Board or Executive committee."

Under this charter the STEERING COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR LEGISLATION has been active, meeting in Washington as a rule but in Washington and New York sections if circumstances make this arrangement necessary. The STEERING COMMITTEE ON FAMILY FARM LEGISLATION is getting underway and will have more to report later.

The STEERING COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR LEGISLATION has discussed the substance of pending legislation and the strategy indicated. The committee has requested persons authorized by their organizations to consult with members of the Senate and House, resulting in the introduction of the agricultural child labor amendment in both houses and the Bailey migrant education bills in the House. Authorized persons were asked to work with Senator Williams on the language of the education bills and with Senator McNamara and Rep. O'Hara on the language of the child labor amendment.

On the recommendation of the Steering Committee a limited national letter inquiry was instituted to gain information on certain issues raised by the migrant housing bill.

Some long range thinking has been done on what kind of statutory domestic recruitment plan should be substituted for the Mexican Farm Labor Program.

While the informal consensus of the Steering Committee is not binding on any member of the Committee nor is it publicized, the discussion is helpful to each member in deciding what he thinks his agency should do in the way of action on particular legislation. Some participating organizations are not tax exempt. These agencies are free to take certain types of direct action with members of Congress. Other organizations are tax exempt and do not have this freedom. Consultation between these groups is valuable both as to policy and as to the types of action open to different groups.

THIRD INFORMATION TO NCALL ASSOCIATES AND TO A NATIONAL LIST OF PERSONS INFLUENTIAL IN STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

The NCALL by-laws provide the status of "NCALL ASSOCIATES" to individuals anywhere who wish to advance the aims of NCALL and to receive regular Washington information. The annual dues are $5.00. The NCALL Bulletin and some other publications go to the Associates.

The publications go also to an extended list of people who are placed on the NCALL mailing list because they ask to be, because of their influence in their fields of work, or because of the cooperation needed from them. Effective work in Washington requires exchange of information with the States and regions.

In recent years there has been a tendency for individuals on this mailing list to write in for rather large numbers of extra copies of the more substantial items which NCALL sends out and to distribute them, sometimes on a state-wide basis. Among the popular items have been the 1958 Bulletin summarizing the Senate 160 acre hearings and recent issues which have summarized the farm labor developments of sessions of Congress and the various aspects of the Mexican farm labor issue.

FOURTH NCALL PLANS CONSULTATIONS REPRESENTATIVE OF MEMBER AND COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

The December 1959 Workshop on Family Farm and Farm Labor Legislation and the anticipated 1960 workshop on the status of farm and rural youth are illustrations.

FIFTH COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO NCALL'S OBJECTIVES

NCALL participates in several Washington groups which deal with general matters affecting the welfare of farm people. These groups of Washington representatives are concerned with civil liberties, with programs administered by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, with rural electrification and resources and with housing. The informal discussions are a great help in keeping up with developments in the Congress and the Executive Branch. Opportunities present themselves to work with some of the members of these groups on farm labor and farm policy matters. It seems to the point to seek allies wherever they may be found.

NCALL participates in some general meetings such as the White House Conference on Children and Youth and the recent conference on interstate migration held in Phoenix. Attendance at meetings is rationed severely because of the large number which have some relevance for NCALL's program.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND

This separately incorporated tax-exempt agency is now completing its first major project; the migrant education study and demonstration. The final report by Elizabeth Sutton will be published in the fall in book form by the Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association.

Funds are now being sought for a demonstration program in a farm labor community and for a self help housing plan in Tulare County, California. The project committee (of the Research Fund) includes representatives of the American Friends Service Committee, Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., Migrant Children's Fund, National Board of the YWCA, National Committee on the Employment of Youth of the National Child Labor Committee.

Additional information about the objectives and details of this project may be secured from the NCALL office.

National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
1751 N Street N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

June, 1960

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL
LIFE AND LABOR

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Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Parents Committee
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: Division of Home Missions, General Department of United Church Women, Department of the Church of Economic Life
Division of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the USA
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National Congress of American Indians
National Consumers League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council
National Sharecroppers Fund
Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

November 2, 1960

TO: The NCALL Board of Directors

FROM: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

ANNOUNCEMENT
of
BOARD MEETING and CONSULTATION ON STATUS OF RURAL YOUTH

January 5 and 6, 1961
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

The meetings will be held at the headquarters building of the National Education Association, with the exception of the dinner meeting on January 5, which will be held at the Presidential Arms, 1320 G Street, N. W.

The schedule will be:

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5

From 9:30 A.M. to 12:00 M and 1:30 P.M. to 3:30 P.M. the BOARD OF DIRECTORS will meet in the Allan Room of the NEA on the first floor. (Luncheon is available in the NEA cafeteria)

At 6:30 P.M., a dinner meeting, the first session of the RURAL YOUTH CONSULTATION, will be held at the Presidential Arms.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 6

From 9:30 A.M. to 12:00 M and 1:30 P.M. to 3:30 P.M. The RURAL YOUTH CONSULTATION will meet in the Allan Room of the NEA (Luncheon available in the cafeteria)

Agenda of the Meeting of the Board of Directors on January 5

In addition to the discussion of old and new NCALL business, time will be given to discussion of the legislative outlook in the next session of Congress and of the plans of member organizations in relation to legislative issues.

SEE PAGE 2 FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THE RURAL YOUTH CONSULTATION AND OTHER MATTERS OF CURRENT IMPORTANCE.

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

CURRENT PROJECTS OF IMPORTANCE TO NCALL MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

CONSULTATION ON STATUS OF RURAL YOUTH, JANUARY 5 and 6, 1961. This meeting is convened by NCALL because of the importance of recent Federal, State and area studies of the relative status of farm, non-farm and urban youth; the educational and employment problems resulting from technological change in agriculture; and the implications of rural-urban migration under current circumstances.

The program of the CONSULTATION is under the direction of a planning committee of member organizations. Eli. E. Cohen, executive of the National Committee on the Employment of Youth is chairman. The planning committee will send full information about the CONSULTATION to board members later in November.

COMMITTEE ON THE MEXICAN FARM LABOR PROGRAM HAS OPEN MEMBERSHIP

Under the terms of NCALL's by-laws, legislative committees may be formed to work on specific issues by representatives of member organizations which have official positions on the issue. These committees do not speak for NCALL. A committee is now being formed on PUBLIC LAW 78 (the Mexican Farm Labor Program). Membership on the committee is open to any NCALL member organization.

"HARVEST OF SHAME", STORY OF MIGRATORY WORKERS, WILL BE ON "CBS REPORTS", FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 9:30 - 10:30 PM, EST

Member organizations may wish to encourage listening groups for this very important broadcast asking them to register their comments afterward with CBS and also with the national organization to which they belong. NCALL does not know the content of the script but does know that an extraordinary amount of interest, time and thought has been invested in the preparation of it by David Lowe, producer, and the executive producer of "CBS REPORTS", Fred W. Friendly.

"CBS REPORTS" cameras will show how migratory workers live, travel, and labor in America's fields and orchards. Films were taken of workers in the fields and on the highways at Homestead, Fla.; Kingsland, Ga.; Fayetteville, N.C.; Norfolk, Va.; Cranberry, N.J.; and Norwaih, N.Y. Other workers were filmed in their temporary shacks, or living in the fields -- of Stockton, California and Holland, Mich.

Among the persons interviewed on the program will be U.S. Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell and Charles B. Shuman, American Farm Bureau Federation.

FORTHCOMING ISSUE OF NCALL BULLETIN WILL CONTAIN LEGISLATIVE OUTLOOK

About December 1, NCALL will release an issue of the BULLETIN which summarizes where the 86th Congress left things with respect to issues of interest to NCALL and what the developments may be in the following fields:

Domestic farm labor legislation
The Mexican Farm Labor Program (Public Law 78)
Farm policy issues involving justice to farm people and the national interest.

Member organizations wishing to distribute copies of this issue to their constituencies, may place advance orders. Since the cost will depend upon the number ordered, member organizations are requested to indicate on the enclosed blank whether they are interested so that exact information on costs may be sent to them.

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS ARE INVITED TO HELP IN PROMOTING SALES OF "KNOWING AND TEACHING THE MIGRANT CHILD" by ELIZABETH SUTTON.

The NCALL Research Fund is happy indeed that the NCALL Migrant Education Research Project has culminated in this excellent book. Warm thanks are due to Elizabeth Sutton and to Dr. Howard A. Dawson, Department of Rural Education, NEA. Please write to Dr. Dawson for copies of the enclosed announcement.

NCALL WILL APPRECIATE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION

Please fill in the following blank and mail to the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, 1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

1. I { expect to attend / do not expect } the meeting of the Board of Directors in Washington on January 5, 1961.

Signed _____

2. My organization is interested in being represented at the January 5 and 6 CONSULTATION ON THE STATUS OF RURAL YOUTH. Please send me additional information.

Yes _____ No _____

Remarks _____

3. My organization is interested in serving on the Legislative Committee on Public Law 78 (corresponding as well as resident members are eligible)

Yes _____ No _____

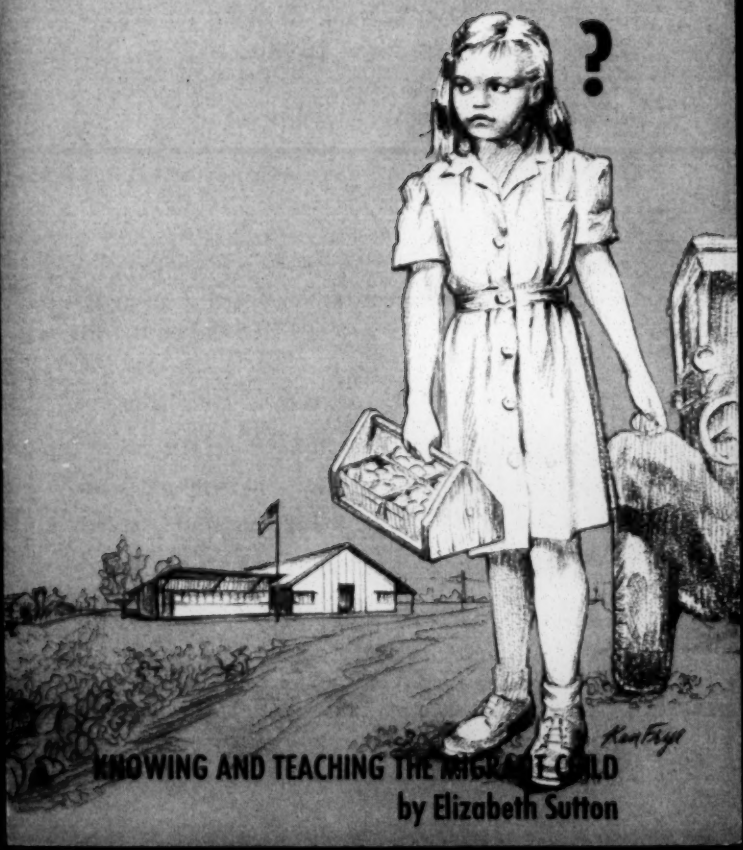
Remarks _____

4. My organization is interested in placing advance orders for the December NCALL BULLETIN which will give the legislative outlook for 1961. Please send me more information.

Yes _____ No _____

Remarks _____

WHAT SCHOOL FOR JOSIE ???



KNOWING AND TEACHING THE MIGRANT CHILD

by Elizabeth Sutton

JOSIE IS REAL—THE PROBLEM

American schools are expected to educate *all* children—but what about Josie? Work in the fields cheats Josie and many thousands of migrant children of the opportunities which education makes possible.

If this is your problem, in your school district, you will find *Knowing and Teaching the Migrant Child* by Elizabeth Sutton an invaluable handbook. It was prepared after three years of extensive research and work with migratory children in the schools of Palm Beach County, Florida, and Northampton County, Virginia. In both areas Miss Sutton served as a staff member of the school district, working directly with teachers, administrators, and permanent residents in an effort to gather ideas and test new techniques.

Miss Sutton provides us with a description and interpretation of significant elements in migrancy and in the behavior of migrant children, and with a report of successful school practices which aided in their adjustment and learning.

She supports personal observation with information drawn from such resources as:

- Enrollment and attendance data
- A daily journal she kept throughout the three-year project
- Three hundred written accounts submitted by teachers reporting on some 1200 school practices—most of them successful
- Two thousand compositions written by the children on topics such as
  - "How I Feel When I Go to a New School"
  - "The School I Have Liked Best"
  - "How I Feel When I Move."

Miss Sutton is no stranger to problems of poverty and underprivilege. Before serving on this research project, she spent a number of years among low-income groups in Kentucky and Tennessee as a teacher and supervisor of instruction. She was selected as project director in 1954 by the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor Research Fund, Inc.

Miss Sutton supplements this background of experience with her wealth of human understanding in interpreting for us the problems of the migrant child. We think you'll find her book a stimulating and invaluable guide.

Knowing and Teaching the Migrant Child will be available about September 1, 1960. The price for this 200-page book is $3.50. Won't you send us your advance order now?

KNOWING AND TEACHING THE MIGRANT CHILD

A IS CHRONIC

by ELIZABETH SUTTON

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
Att: Publications-Sales
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

advance order blank

Please send me:

_____ copies of *Knowing and Teaching the Migrant Child* (approximately 200 pages; $3.50 per copy). Discounts on quantity orders: 10 percent on 2-9 copies and 20 percent on 10 or more copies. Postage will be added for orders not accompanied by funds. Make checks payable to the National Education Association, Department of Rural Education.

Name _____

Position _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zone _____

Bill me _____ Payment enclosed _____

memorandum to educators

subject: **KNOWING AND TEACHING THE MIGRANT CHILD**

One of the most serious problems in many school communities is that of how to provide a satisfactory education for children of low-income groups. Agricultural migratory workers are one of the most important of these groups.

With the stimulus and financial aid of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor Research Fund, Inc., and the official sponsorship of the Superintendents of Schools and Boards of Education at Palm Beach County, Florida, and Northampton County, Virginia, Elizabeth Sutton was employed to conduct a program of supervising the education of migrant children over a period of three years. Prior to this assignment she had had many years of successful teaching and supervisory work in low-income rural areas in Tennessee and Kentucky.

In this volume Miss Sutton describes and interprets the principal problems encountered in working with migrant children and reports on successful school practices.

This book will be found valuable by all teachers working with children of underprivileged groups everywhere. It presents sound theory and practices that are the bases of all good teaching. Of course, it is of special value to teachers and others having a primary interest in migrant children.

Copies of this important report will be available about September 1, 1960. An advance order blank is provided for your convenience in ordering your copy now.

Howard A. Dawson

Howard A. Dawson
Executive Secretary
Department of Rural Education, NEA

National Council on

AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Parents Committee
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ
Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: Division of Home Missions, General Department of United Church Women, Department of the Church of Economic Life
Division of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church in the USA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
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Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
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National Sharecroppers Fund
Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

December 10, 1960

TO: THE NCALL BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FROM: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

AGENDA OF BOARD MEETING

Thursday, January 5, 1961
National Education Association
1201 - 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Allan Room
9:30 a.m. - 3:30 p.m.

MORNING SESSION: 9:30 AM - 12:00 M

The morning session will be opened by two speakers who will discuss "How to Work with Congress".

William B. Welsh, Administrative Assistant
to Senator Philip A. Hart of Michigan

John W. Edelman, Washington Representative,
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO

Mr. Welsh and Mr. Edelman will give us their views as to helpful and effective procedure and will answer questions.

During the second part of the morning, there will be a report from an NCALL Task Force of Washington representatives of national organizations: - "The Make-up of The Eighty-Seventh Congress and Methods of Work Indicated".

There will be discussion also of "New Policy Issues with Respect to Public Laws 78 and 414".

AFTERNOON SESSION: 1:30 PM - 3:30 PM

This will be the business session. The Membership Committee will present the name of the AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL-CIO, as a new member organization. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters have been effective supporters of farm labor social legislation, and now include farm workers in their membership.

****

THE RURAL YOUTH CONSULTATION WILL BEGIN WITH A DINNER MEETING ON JANUARY 5th AND CONTINUE THROUGH THE DAY ON JANUARY 6th. (SEE ENCLOSURES.)

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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National Sharecroppers Fund
Town and Country Department, Evangelical and Reformed Church
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

Dear Dr. Henning —

Information is enclosed about a consultation on the status of farm and rural non-farm youth to be held in Washington on January 5 and 6, 1961. Your organization is cordially invited to send a representative.

The effects of agricultural technology and longstanding inadequacies in education and other rural social services present a major challenge to the nation to preserve and develop its rural youth.

At this meeting representatives of national voluntary organizations will consider the facts as revealed by recent research. In light of these facts the group will review hopeful proposals for voluntary and public programs which offer solutions.

If your organization is interested in sending a representative, we will be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Howard A. Dawson

Howard A. Dawson
Chairman of the National Council
on Agricultural Life and Labor

Eli E. Cohen

Eli E. Cohen
Chairman of the Planning Committee

20 1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

A N N O U N C E M E N T

OF

CONSULTATION ON THE STATUS OF FARM AND NON-FARM RURAL YOUTH

Washington, D.C.
January 5 and 6, 1961

Representatives of the member organizations of The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor and other voluntary organizations will meet on January 5 and 6, 1961 to consider recent research findings on the relative status of farm, rural non-farm and urban youth.

OBJECTIVE

The objective of the consultation will be to identify the problems of farm and non-farm rural youth and to discuss programs which offer solutions in such fields as education, health, employment, farm and rural development policy. The role of voluntary as well as public agencies will be considered.

LEADERSHIP

As background for the discussion of program policy, the highlights of recent research on the status of rural youth will be given by:

Dr. James Cowhig,
Farm Population and Rural Life,
Branch Agricultural Marketing Service,
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Dr. Lee G. Burchinal
College of Agriculture
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

Spokesmen for policy viewpoints will be present also representing organized agriculture, organized labor, public education and area development.

SCHEDULE

Dinner Meeting 6:30 P.M., January 5, Presidential Arms, 1320 G Street, N. W., Washington, D.C.

Dr. Cowhig and Dr. Burchinal will give the highlights of recent research on the status of rural youth.

Spokesmen for policy viewpoints will comment on the implications of the data.

All Day Meeting 9:30 A.M. - 4:00 P.M., January 6, National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Allan Room on the first floor (luncheon available in the cafeteria).

The discussion will be devoted to clarifying the issues and discussing public and voluntary programs which promise solutions.

Planning Committee

Eli E. Cohen, Chairman	National Committee on Employment of Youth
Lewis Carliner	United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
Ethlyn Christensen	National Board of the YWCA
Clay L. Cochran	Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Mary Condon	Department of Rural Education, National Education Association
Reuben Johnson	National Farmers Union
Monica B. Owen	National Council of Churches
Marian Weller	Girl Scouts of USA

REGISTRATION FORM

The following persons will attend the RURAL YOUTH CONSULTATION, January 5 and 6, 1961 representing _____
(Name of Organization)

(Names) _____

_____

_____

Enclosed is $ for registration fees ($10.00 a person includes the dinner on January 5 and report of the Consultation)

_____

Checks should be made out and mailed to:

The National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

December 26, 1962

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

Thank you for your invitation to become a Member-at-Large of the Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. I am honored to be asked and am glad to accept.

I feel that I must warn you that I may have little to contribute in the way of knowledge about rural problems. I look forward, however, to learning from you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., 1st Vice-chairman
Fay Bennett, 2nd Vice-chairman
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Vincent De Francis
Rev. Clifford Earle
Rev. Eldon E. Ehrhart
Eleanor French
Rev. Ray Gibbons
Rev. Shirley E. Greene
Rev. Cameron P. Hall
A. J. Hayes
Laurance G. Henderson
Herbert Hill
Robert W. Hudgens
Robert M. Isenberg
Lewis W. Jones
Thomas B. Keehn
Rev. Huber F. Klemme
Leah Lachenbruch
Benson Y. Landis
Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman
Thomas J. Lloyd
Elizabeth Magee
Barbara W. Moffett
Rev. E. W. Mueller
Lowry Nelson
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Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
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United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

PA
Advice please

19 December 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

At our Annual Meeting on December 7, the NCALL Board of Directors voted to invite you to become a member-at-large of the Board. We hope very much that you will accept.

Although it may not be possible for you to be in Washington often, it would be a great help to hear from you occasionally about your suggestions for our work.

I enclose a little material which indicates what we are trying to do and how we work. A good deal of strength has gone into migrant labor legislation but we have a major interest in rural areas development and in family farm policy.

We have two board meetings a year and our Administrative Committee meets in between. It would be possible to call an Administrative Committee meeting some time when you are in town, so that we might hear from you on perspectives for the rural south.

With our best wishes and the hope that you will accept our invitation,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:pms
Enclosure

1751 N STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

FOR USE WITHIN NCALL

COMMENTS ON THE METHOD OF OPERATION

of the

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

BACKGROUND

The organization of NCALL in 1951 was the outcome of previous cooperative ventures of a number of national voluntary organizations. In 1942 and 1943 when the Farm Security Administration was under attack, an emergency committee was formed to try to prevent the abolition of the agency. Later some of the same agencies and others formed a committee to work for migratory labor reforms.

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Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches
Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches (predecessor, Home Missions Council)
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National Sharecroppers Fund

Proposals for the purposes and structure of a clearing house organization on "agricultural life and labor" were worked out. A number of national organizations were invited to send representatives to a meeting and NCALL was formed.

The name "National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor" was selected. The name was intended to indicate that the Council would concern itself not only with the immediate situation of migratory labor but also the conditions which cause rural poverty. The Council believed also that the character and organization of agriculture had a crucial effect upon the national welfare as well as upon those who earned their living in agriculture.

Because of the major role of governmental action, NCALL established headquarters in Washington. However its emphasis has not been exclusively on Federal programs. The interpretation of human values in agriculture to the end that citizen support will be forthcoming for necessary measures at community, state and Federal levels, has been a broad objective.

During NCALL's first years various ways of being useful were explored. As time has passed characteristic procedures have developed.

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In Washington there are representatives of many of the national organizations having a primary concern for human welfare. Mutual interest unites these representatives around various foci of subject matter. Among the subjects are:

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Housing
Education
Programs of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Agricultural Life and Labor
Others

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In the case of NCALL, the cooperative consultation process is not confined to Washington. Some group meetings are held in New York. Board meetings and NCALL conferences bring together broadly representative groups.

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Beside group consultation, publications and correspondence are important media of communication.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR

1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

December, 1962

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
December 7, 1962
Washington, D.C.

AGENDA

PRESIDING ---------- Dr. Howard A. Dawson, Chairman

MORNING SESSION ---------- Horace Mann Room

9:30 - 11:00 A.M. Business Session

Minutes - Mrs. Marvin Sonosky, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer

Report of Executive Secretary - Elizabeth B. Herring

Committee Reports

Finance - Edith E. Lowry
By-Laws - Clay L. Cochran
Membership & Nominating - Dr. Theodore Norman

11:00 A.M. - 12:30 P.M. Farm Labor Legislation in the Eighty-Eighth Congress

Discussion Leader: Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
Chairman, P.L. 78 Committee

Address: Frederick R. Blackwell, Counsel
Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor

Discussion of Domestic and Foreign Farm Labor Trends and Issues

LUNCHEON - 12:45 P.M.----------State Dining Room

Address: Dr. Seymour L. Wolfbein, Director
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training
U. S. Department of Labor

AFTERNOON SESSION----------Horace Mann Room

2:00 - 4:00 P.M. Training of Low Income Farm People for Employment: How Can Voluntary Organizations Support the New Government Programs?

RESOURCE PANEL: Reuben Johnson, Chairman
National Farmers Union
Eli E. Cohen, National Committee on the Employment of Youth
Anne Gould, Area Redevelopment Administration
William Mirengoff, Office of Manpower, Automation & Training

Discussion

ADJOURNMENT

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

"THE WORLD GROWS BETTER BECAUSE PEOPLE WISH THAT IT SHOULD AND TAKE THE RIGHT STEPS TO MAKE IT BETTER."

Jane Addams

In Rural America

Over half of the poverty in America is rural poverty.

More than one-fifth of the 22 million youth in rural America under 20 years of age are in poverty-ridden families.

1.7 million farm families have total money income from all sources of less than the equivalent of $208 per month.

Among Farm People

The average hourly earnings of the 4.2 million hired farm workers are less than half the earnings of the manufacturing workers in rural areas and small towns.

The average earnings of the migratory farm worker in 1961 were $1016.

In 1910 each American farm worker produced food and fiber for seven persons; in 1960 for twenty-four persons. The technological revolution in agriculture has doubled the output per man hour since 1950.

Mechanization continues to reduce the need for unskilled farm workers. In one state 50,000 workers have been displaced by mechanical cotton pickers during the last ten years; an additional 25,000 by sugar cane harvesters; and 15,000 by rice harvesters.

A program is needed which will retrain farm workers in the marketable skills demanded by modern agriculture and industry.

In The Future

All people deserve equal opportunity for a satisfying life for themselves and their children.

Rural poverty can be eradicated so that the next generations of rural babies, regardless of race or region or economic status of their forefathers, can start life with equality of opportunity.

That The Voice Of The Oppressed May Be Heard:

NCALL – Serves national and regional organizations and individuals as they work to change those social and economic conditions which adversely affect the welfare of people who earn their living by work in agriculture.

NCALL – Keeps members informed on:

Current trends in farm labor migratory and local situations;

Conditions affecting family farmers;

Pending Federal legislation;

Developments in related agencies of the U.S. Government.

Provides a channel for member organizations to share information and experience.

Shares appropriate information with the various branches of government.

Provides information on world movements related to agriculture.

Interprets the trends in agriculture and the farm labor situation through news media.

Sponsors consultations and conferences on problems of agricultural life and labor.

NCALL – Receives its financial support from:

Payments from organizations for the Bulletin, reports, memoranda, and other services;

Contributions from individuals and groups;

Research grants for specific projects.

"It is not to die or even die of hunger that makes a man wretched. Many men have died. But it is to live miserably and know not why, to work more and gain nothing, to be heart worn, weary, yet isolated and unrelated."

Thomas Carlyle – "Past and Present" 1843

How You Can Help

If you are concerned about the conditions of agricultural migrants and others who work on farms, why not become an "Associate" at five dollars a year? Larger contributions will help to sustain and strengthen the program.

NCALL publications and legislative releases are sent to Associates and contributors.

Checks should be made payable to the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, 1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

NCALL – Has as members:

Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking
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Jewish Agricultural Society
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National Sharecroppers Fund
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United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
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National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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JAN 1963

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Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

VMA: for MJ file

January 3, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are happy to have the good news that you will accept our invitation to serve on the Board of Directors of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. I hope that you will find your way to Washington soon so that we can have the pleasure of talking to you.

Next week, the proceedings of our Annual Meeting in December will be mailed to you. You will note that we elected Mr. James P. Mitchell, the former Secretary of Labor as President of the NCALL. We have revised our by-laws to provide for an Administrative Committee, of which Reverend James L. Vizzard, S.J. will be Chairman. I have learned today that Mr. Mitchell, who now lives in San Francisco, will be in Washington on February 18. We are calling a meeting of resident board members on that day to confer with him. If by any happy chance you expect to be in town, we hope that you will come. A notice will go out shortly to all board members.

Next week we are mailing a bulletin on the subject of rural poverty and the measures adopted by the Eighty-Seventh Congress. If any members of the staff of the Southern Regional Council have suggestions for us about the ideas in that bulletin, we will be grateful for them.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

EBH:pms

1751 N STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

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MJ - Pres. Kennedy has asked you to be alert for the set up of the Labor Department. Please keep this confidential. Board

January 18, 1963

TO: THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

From: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

NOTICE OF MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

Monday, February 18, 1963
2:00 - 4:30 P.M.
Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

NCALL's President, Mr. James P. Mitchell, will be in Washington on February 18. A meeting of the Administrative Committee has been called for that day. Father Vizzard, Chairman of the Administrative Committee, hopes that board members or alternates whose schedules permit will attend the meeting and join in the consultation with Mr. Mitchell.

Among the items on the agenda will be:

Status of farm labor and low income rural legislation in the Eighty-Eighth Congress

Report and recommendations of the NCALL Committee on Training of Farm Workers and Other Low Income Farm People

Will you please let me know whether you have items which you would like to have discussed at the meeting?

NCALL appreciates the opportunity to meet in the new Religious Action Center which is the Washington office of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism. The Commission became a member organization of NCALL at the December Annual Meeting. Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch is the director of the Center.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR

1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

December, 1962

by ELIZABETH W. MACMILLAN

Certified Household Assistants course

1 *Answer to* 2 *Community Needs*

ALMOST every community today has a few elderly people who cannot quite manage by themselves, yet hesitate to enter a nursing home for several reasons: they are reluctant to give up their independence; they resent the lack of privacy; they feel that such places are for the ill or helpless; or the cost of such a plan may be prohibitive.

A good many communities also have a group of women who need employment but who lack the necessary education or training that would enable them to handle what jobs might be available.

In an effort to meet these two needs, the executive director and the adult program director of the Lorain, Ohio, YWCA discussed the possibility of providing a training program for women who could go into homes to care for the elderly.

Conferences were held with the City Welfare Director, the Home Service secretary of the American Red Cross, and the Employers' Service representative of the Ohio State Employment Service (OSES) to get their opinions about such a course. They all agreed that Lorain definitely needed trained personnel for this type of work, which would not be in competition with nurses' aides who work in hospitals and nursing homes or with licensed practical nurses.

A committee, including also representatives from the United Health Foundation and the Business and Professional Women, set up a tentative curriculum of 40 hours spaced over a two-week period:

- 3 hours—Personal appearance
- 10 hours—Home management
  - 4 hours—Job organization; short cuts to good homemaking
  - 3 hours—Use and care of electrical equipment and other household appliances
  - 3 hours—Cleaning and laundering techniques
- 9 hours—Food preparation
- 2 hours—Understanding the process of aging
- 14 hours—Home nursing (Red Cross home nursing course)
- 2 hours—Diversional activities.

The YWCA took full responsibility for coordinating the project and publicizing it. The OSES handled the testing and selecting of applicants and the placing of trainees. The Red Cross provided a volunteer home nursing instructor. The other courses were taught by the YWCA adult program director, a home economics major who taught in the public schools and served for six years as instructor in the School of Practical Nursing. The Business and Professional Women's Club underwrote the expenses of the course so that it might be offered free of charge, and one of its members sat in on several of the classes and assisted. Several other volunteers helped with job organization, preparing trays for invalids, and personal grooming.

Announcements were sent to local newspapers and radio stations. The Association wrote letters to women selected by the City Welfare and Employment Service from their lists. As a result, 23 contacts were made to the Employment Office; 15 women took the aptitude test; 10 were selected. One of these was a member of the adult activities committee of the YWCA who had agreed to join the class as an adviser and to interpret the project to outside groups.

There were four Negro and five white women in the class, as one of the original ten dropped out because of a conflict in schedule. Members of the planning committee and the volunteer instructors were invited to attend the graduation on the last day when special certificates signifying successful completion of the course, Red Cross home nursing cards and pins were given out.

Asked for comments, the group suggested that first aid be included in the curriculum; more time be spent on nutrition; the class be extended to three weeks' duration with three- instead of four-hour class sessions.

In summing up, the women who were available for jobs as Certified Household Assistants were placed through the facilities of OSES. The first training course was a worthwhile project, and the program is continuing. Publicity is now directed toward making the community aware of the availability of these trained workers.

Mrs. James A. MacMillan is chairman of publicity for the Lorain, Ohio, YWCA.

600 Lexington Avenue, New York,N.Y.

National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

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Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., 1st Vice-chairman
Fay Bennett, 2nd Vice-chairman
Theodore Norman, 3rd Vice-Chairman
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Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
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Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
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Department of the Church in Town and Country, United Church of Christ
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

January 4, 1963

TO: THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FROM: Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary

I. Several items are enclosed:

Minutes of the Annual Meeting on December 7, 1962

A domestic peace corps proposal by Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.

"Comments on the Method of Operation of NCALL" - (prepared for new members) -

A reprint "1 Answer to 2 Community Needs" from the YWCA Magazine (illustrating how a voluntary organization can help with training for employment)

A folder "Farm Families, Youths, Operators, Workers and the Manpower, Development and Training Act."

II. The 1962 Financial Statement will be mailed to you soon.

In 1962, about $4,500 in new money was contributed - This is renewable so far as we know. With another $5,000 in new money in 1963, NCALL's budget will be on the way to health.

NCALL is indebted to the Finance Committee and to Miss Edith Lowry, who provides the staff assistance to the Committee. Also several other board members have stimulated the enrollment of "Associates" ($5.00 a year).

One part of the Finance Committee's policy is to secure 100 gifts of $100. About 20 such gifts have been secured. Do you have suggestions of other persons who might contribute $100? If so, will you please write to Miss Edith E. Lowry, Consultant, NCALL, 1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Miss Lowry will be very glad to have your ideas and suggestions.

Enclosures

1751 N STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
December 7, 1962
Washington, D.C.

MINUTES

ATTENDANCE: Dr. Howard A. Dawson, Chairman; Daniel S. Bedell, UAW-AFL-CIO; Rev. E. Russell Carter, National Council of Churches; Ethlyn Christensen, National Board of the YWCA; Clay L. Cochran, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; Eli E. Cohen, National Committee on the Employment of Youth; Vincent De Francis, American Humane Association; Rev. Ralph J. Duggan, Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers; Eleanor Eaton, American Friends Service Committee; Donald Farrell, National Council of Catholic Men; Rev. G. Shubert Frye, United Presbyterian Church of USA; Mary C. Gereau, National Education Association; Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Union of Hebrew Congregations; Robert M. Isenberg, National Education; Robert E. Jones, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice; Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman, Union of Hebrew Congregations; Lewis Maddocks, United Church of Christ; Olya Margolin, National Council of Jewish Women; Arnold Mayer, Amalgamated Meatcutters AFL-CIO; Peggy Roach, National Council of Catholic Women; Henry Munoz Jr., Bishops Committee for the Spanish Speaking; Mrs. Sarah H. Newman, National Consumers League; Theodore Norman, Jewish Agricultural Society; Reuben Johnson and Richard Shipman, National Farmers Union; Rev. Emerson W. Smith, Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church; Mrs. Marvin Sonosky, National Council of Jewish Women; Louise Stitt, National Consumers League; Rev. J. L. Vizzard S.J., National Catholic Rural Life Conference; Rowland Watts, National Sharecroppers Fund; Amber A. Warburton, Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth; Marian F. Weller, Girl Scouts of the USA. Elizabeth B. Herring and Edith E. Lowry:- staff.

Speakers and guests Frederick R. Blackwell, Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor; Millard Cass, Deputy Under Secretary of Labor; Seymour L. Wolfbein, director, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training and William Mirengoff (OMAT); Willis Sloan, David Fessenden and Howard Dellon, Farm Labor Service of USDL; Louisa Shotwell; Frances Dysinger; George Arnstein and Thomas McLernon, National Education Association.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY Elizabeth B. Herring

There was discussion of one of Miss Herring's questions; i.e. whether NCALL should take some steps to broaden public understanding of rural housing needs. It was pointed out that several important rural housing programs were authorized by the 87th Congress (administered by the Farmers Home Administration). These programs deserve public support so that in the future they may be enlarged and strengthened. Agreed: that the staff should confer with National Housing Conference representatives and bring proposals later.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE Edith E. Lowry

Miss Lowry reported on the progress made on broadening the base of NCALL and increasing financial support. The emphasis has been on securing additional member organizations; contributions from individuals (100 individuals being invited to give $100 each) and a mail appeal to individuals on NCALL mailing list inviting them to contribute and to become associates of NCALL at $5.00 a year. Broadening the participation of organizations and individuals in NCALL is important as well as the financial gains. The 1962 annual financial statement will show considerable improvement.

REPORT OF BY-LAWS COMMITTEE Clay L. Cochran, Chairman

The Committee recommended changes in the by-laws which would have the following effect:

Establish the Following Offices

1. Honorary President
2. President
3. Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Administrative Committee

Enlarge the Administrative Committee (formerly Executive Committee)

In addition to the officers who are ex-officio members, the number of members-at-large of the Committee would be increased from 5 to 10.

The requirement is added that the Committee members shall be able to attend meetings. In special instances alternates may attend by authorization of the Chairman of the Administrative Committee.

The Chairman of the Administrative Committee becomes an ex-officio member of all Standing Committees.

Increase the Number of Members-at-Large of the Board of Directors from 20 to 21

Since each third of the members-at-large serves for staggered three-year terms, the change is needed to provide a number divisible by 3.

Remove the Phrase "By all possible means" from the Statement of Purpose in the By-Laws

This statement is inexact and raises questions.

Moved, seconded and carried to adopt the changes in principle and instruct the by-laws committee to make the necessary editorial changes.

Moved, seconded and carried to waive the by-laws requirement that 30 days notice be given of recommended changes in the by-laws.

* * * * * *

MEMBERSHIP AND NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORTS Dr. Theodore Norman, Chairman

The committee recommended approval of the membership applications of three organizations: National Council of Catholic Women; National Council of Catholic Men; and Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism.

Moved, seconded and carried that the applications of these organizations be approved.

The Committee proposed the following nominations:

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

In addition to the official representative of member organizations (41), the by-laws permit election of 21 members-at-large. The following vacancies exist:

Five for one year unexpired terms
Three for two year unexpired terms
Seven for three year terms (those expiring in 1962)

The committee nominates the following:

For one year unexpired terms

Dr. Paul S. Taylor — Mrs. Eugene McCarthy
Dr. Leslie Dunbar — Mr. James P. Mitchell
Prof. G. Franklin Edwards

For two year unexpired terms

Dr. Hermann N. Morse — Marion Clawson

For three year terms (incumbents)*

Mrs. Leah Lachenbruch* — Benson Y. Landis*
Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman* — Dr. George Sanchez*
Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand* — Dr. Howard A. Dawson
Dr. Henry A. McCanna

OFFICERS

(All present officers have completed their second two year term and are therefore not eligible for re-election to the same office)

NOMINATIONS

Honorary President - Howard A. Dawson

President - James P. Mitchell

Vice-presidents: Fay Bennett (1) Theodore Norman (2) Daniel S. Bedell (3)

Chairman of Administrative Committee - - - - - Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
Vice-Chairman - - - - - - - - - - - - - Daniel S. Bedell

Secretary-Treasurer - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Marian S. Weller
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer - - - - Mrs. Sarah H. Newman

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

In addition to the officers who serve as ex-officio members, the revised by-laws require election of ten members-at-large of the committee.

The committee nominates:

Eli E. Cohen
Ethlyn Christensen
Clay L. Cochran
James G. Patton
Mrs. Marvin Sonosky
Rev. Cameron P. Hall
Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch
Thelma Stevens
Rev. Henry A. McCanna
(one vacancy to be filled later)

COMMITTEES

A review of some aspects of our committee set-up is needed. Pending that review the nominating committee recommends continuation of the present membership of the by-laws, nominating, membership and finance committees. The committee also recommends the following as members of the Personnel Committee. (*incumbents)

Chairman: Howard A. Dawson
Fay Bennett*
Ethlyn Christensen*
Clay L. Cochran*
Eli E. Cohen*

Incumbent Members of Standing Committees

Membership: Theodore Norman (chairman), Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand, Benson Y. Landis

Finance: Edith E. Lowry (chairman), Theodore Norman, Robert W. Hudgens Very Rev. Msgr. William J. Quinn

Nominating: Theodore Norman (chairman), Gertrude Folks Zimand, Ethlyn Christensen, Eleanor French, Elma Greenwood, Rev. G. Shubert Frye

By-Laws: Clay L. Cochran (chairman), Daniel Bedell, Olya Margolin, Richard Shipman, Rev. J. L. Vizzard, S.J.

Theodore Norman
Chairman of Nominating Committee

Moved, seconded and carried that the Report of the Nominating Committee be accepted and the slate declared elected by unanimous vote.

* * * * * * * *

At the luncheon meeting Dr. Norman presented to Dr. Howard A. Dawson, an expression of appreciation signed by board members for his ten years service as Chairman of NCALL. A purse was presented to Dr. Dawson to buy those books he would most enjoy as a token of the Board's appreciation. Dr. Norman spoke of the universal satisfaction that Dr. Dawson would continue as Honorary President.

Dr. Norman also expressed the pleasure of the Board that Mr. James P. Mitchell, former Secretary of Labor had accepted the invitation of the Board to serve as President. His service to farm labor during his tenure as Secretary of Labor was greatly appreciated.

Dr. Norman also spoke of the leadership to be counted on from Father Vizzard in his new post as Chairman of the Administrative Committee.

DISCUSSION OF FARM LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

As chairman of NCALL's subcommittee on P.L. 78, Father Vizzard introduced the speaker, Mr. Frederick R. Blackwell, counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor (Chairman of the Subcommittee is Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr.) Mr. Blackwell presented an evaluation of experience with farm labor legislation during the Eighty-Seventh Congress and indicated lines along which procedure could be strengthened during the sessions of the Eighty-Eighth Congress.

During the discussion period, the chairman called upon Mr. Millard Cass, Deputy Undersecretary of Labor to give greetings from the Department of Labor. The resource panel included Mr. Willis Sloan, Mr. David Fessenden and Mr. Howard Dellon from the Farm Labor Service of the Department of Labor.

DISCUSSION OF TRAINING OF LOW INCOME FARM PEOPLE FOR EMPLOYMENT: HOW CAN VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORT THE NEW GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS?

Dr. Seymour L. Wolfbein, Director of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, spoke at the luncheon meeting on some of the considerations affecting the operations of the new manpower programs made possible by the Manpower Development and Training Act. Training of low-income farm people was the subject of the afternoon session. The resource panel included:

Reuben Johnson (Chairman), National Farmers Union
Eli E. Cohen, National Committee on the Employment of Youth
Anne Gould, Area Redevelopment Administration
William Mirengoff, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

* * * * * * * *

Announcements Made

1. Mr. Richard Boone of the Study Committee for a National Service Corps will meet with interested organizational representatives after the meeting.

2. Organizations can file statements until January 1 with the Department of Labor to include in the record of the hearings on possible adverse effect upon domestic farm workers of the employment of workers from the British West Indies.

4:00 P.M. Adjournment.

A PROPOSAL FOR THE DOMESTIC PEACE CORPS

Suggested during the Annual Meeting

Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.

There is a wide-spread conviction that meeting the desperate human needs of migratory farm workers and related groups must have high priority in any national effort such as the proposed Domestic Service Corps. I suggest that one of the ways in which the Corps could serve most effectively would be to train a certain number of the volunteers to expert knowledge about 1) the programs and funds already available to meet some of the needs of these people; 2) the techniques for developing projects which will merit and receive support under these programs; and 3) methods of identifying and developing local leadership and mobilizing community efforts in such projects.

The reasoning behind this proposal is as follows: State and federal legislation, most of it recent, has created a number of valuable tools which are waiting to be used to the benefit of migratory workers and other U.S. citizens on the bottommost rung of the socio-economic ladder. But many of these tools lie unused or inadequately used because at the community and grass roots level, where ultimately action must take place, there is little awareness of the availability of the tools or confusion and dismay at their very number and complexity. In the absence of local knowledge and initiative, Washington-based administrators with good programs and adequate funds can do little or nothing.

My proposal, then, is that a certain number of Domestic Service Corps volunteers, after thorough briefing and training in the above three areas, be sent into the communities and among the peoples where they can inform, interpret, and serve as catalysts and coordinators for both individual and community improvement under legislative programs already in existence. In fulfilling this role the volunteers will almost certainly discover that not every needed tool has been provided and through experience will be able to make recommendations to the appropriate legislative and administrative bodies.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE & LABOR
1751 N STREET, WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

December 7, 1962

National Council on AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Rec'd 4/9/63 ✓

Howard A. Dawson, Chairman
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., 1st Vice-chairman
Fay Bennett, 2nd Vice-chairman
Theodore Norman, 3rd Vice-Chairman
Gertrude Folks Zimand, Secretary-Treasurer
Shirley Sonosky, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer
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Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking
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National Sharecroppers Fund
Department of the Church in Town and Country, United Church of Christ
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church

April 5, 1963

Dear Friend:

Hearings on the migratory labor bills are scheduled in the Senate for April 10th and 11th and in the House in the near future.

Letters are needed, especially to Representatives as in the House, there is less awareness of the problem.

The letter might make such points as:

1. You are glad that bills to protect migratory farm labor have been introduced in both Houses.

2. You hope that hearings will be called soon.

3. You hope that your Senators and Congressman will support the bills.

4. Anything you would like to say from your own experience about the urgency of action to improve the conditions of migratory farm workers.

For your information, I include reports on migratory labor events during the last Congress and on current events in the Senate.

Your name has been placed on our mailing list and you will be notified when additional letters to Congress will be needed. In the meantime, the letter suggested above will help because it will stimulate Congressional attention and indicate public opinion.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

1751 N STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

September 20, 1963

Miss Edith E. Lowry
Acting Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life
and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

file

Dear Miss Lowry:

I have your notice of September 2 of a Board meeting in Washington on October 17. At this time I doubt very much that I shall be able to attend.

I am sorry to hear of Miss Herring's illness and her resignation. I hope you will extend to her my sincere regards.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1963

Miss Edith E. Lowry
Acting Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life
and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

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Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street N.W. · Washington 6, D. C. · NOrth 7-3979

JAMES P. MITCHELL
President

REV. JAMES L. VIZZARD S.J.
Chairman, Administrative Committee

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

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American Friends Service Committee
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Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
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Jewish Agricultural Society
Methodist Church: Woman's Division of Christian Service; General Board of Christian Social Concerns
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National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: Division of Home Missions, General Department of United Church Women, Department of the Church and Economic Life
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
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National Housing Conference
National Lutheran Council Division of American Missions
National Sharecroppers Fund
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
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United Church of Christ: Department of the Church in Town and Country; Council for Christian Social Action
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United Presbyterian Church in the USA: Office of Church and Society: Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee

September 7, 1963

To the Board of Directors

Dear Friends,

You may not have heard that Miss Herring is resigning as Executive Secretary of NCALL because of illness. Her health is considerably improved but she does not feel equal to carrying the responsibilities of leadership of NCALL.

This means some very important decisions must be made by the Board. The Administrative Committee has met and is meeting again soon to work out possible plans for the consideration of the Board.

In view of this a meeting of the Board is called for

2 p.m., October 17, 1963
at the
Philip Murray Building
(second floor Board Room)
1126 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

We urge you to plan to attend if at all possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Edith E. Lowry

Edith E. Lowry
Acting Executive Secretary

DIRECTORS—Howard A. Dawson, Honorary President • James P. Mitchell, President • Fay Bennett, 1st Vice President • Theodore Norman, 2nd Vice President • Daniel S. Bedell, 3rd Vice President • Marian F. Weller, Secretary-Treasurer • Sarah H. Newman, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer • Rev. James L. Vizzard S. J., Chairman Administrative Committee • Daniel S. Bedell, Vice Chairman • Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary • Edith E. Lowry, Consultant • Rev. E. Russell Carter • Ethlyn Christensen • Marion A. Clawson • Clay L. Cochran • Eli E. Cohen • Franz Daniel • Leslie W. Dunbar • Rev. Eldon E. Ehrhart • Donald Farrell • Vincent De Francis • Eleanor French • Rev. G. Shubert Frye • Rev. Ray Gibbons • Rev. Shirley E. Greene • Rev. Cameron P. Hall • A. J. Hayes • Mrs. Ambrose Hernes • Herbert Hill • Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch • Robert W. Hudgens • Robert M. Isenberg • Lewis W. Jones • Robert E. Jones • Leah M. Lachenbruch • Benson Y. Landis • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Thomas J. Lloyd • Elizabeth Magee • Howard C. Maxwell • Rev. Henry A. McCanna • Mrs. Eugene J. McCarthy • Barbara Moffett • Rev. Hermann N. Morse • Rev. E. W. Mueller • Frank Noakes • Beatrice S. Parsonnet • James G. Patton • Very Rev. Msgr. William J. Quinn • George Sanchez • Rev. Emerson W. Smith • Shirley Sonosky • Thelma Stevens • Paul S. Taylor • Rev. John A. Wagner • Gertrude Folks Zimand.

December 3, 1963

Miss Edith E. Lowry
Acting Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life
and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Lowry:

I cannot be at the Board of Directors' meeting December 13. I do promise you, however, that I shall make every effort to attend the next one.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street N.W. · Washington 6, D. C. · NOrth 7-3979

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National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
National Education Association: Department of Rural Education
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Lutheran Council Division of American Missions
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United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United Presbyterian Church in the USA: Office of Church and Society: Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee

November 8, 1963

To the Members of the Board of Directors of NCALL

Dear friends,

The date when the largest number of members can attend the meeting of the Board is December 13th. The Board will convene at 10:00 a.m. and continue until 3:30 or 4:00 p.m. Through the courtesy of Rabbi Hirsch we shall meet at the Religious Action Center, 2027 Massachusetts Ave.N.W., Washington, D.C. Please make reservations for luncheon on the attached blank.

Another matter of importance! We understand that there is a move on in the Senate to reject House Bill H.R. 8195 extending P.L. 78 for one year and without safeguards recommended by U.S. Dept. of Labor. Letters to Senators immediately will help as action is not scheduled until the end of next week.

Sincerely yours,

Edith E. Lowry

Edith E. Lowry
Acting Executive Secretary

- -

Please make ___ reservations for luncheon at the meeting of the NCALL Board of Directors December 13, 1963.

Name _____

Organization _____

DIRECTORS—Howard A. Dawson, Honorary President • James P. Mitchell, President • Fay Bennett, 1st Vice President • Theodore Norman, 2nd Vice President • Daniel S. Bedell, 3rd Vice President • Marian F. Weller, Secretary-Treasurer • Sarah H. Newman, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer • Rev. James L. Vizzard S. J., Chairman Administrative Committee • Daniel S. Bedell, Vice Chairman • Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary • Edith E. Lowry, Consultant • Rev. E. Russell Carter • Ethlyn Christensen • Marion A. Clawson • Clay L. Cochran • Eli E. Cohen • Franz Daniel • Leslie W. Dunbar • Rev. Eldon E. Ehrhart • Donald Farrell • Vincent De Francis • Eleanor French • Rev. G. Shubert Frye • Rev. Ray Gibbons • Rev. Shirley E. Greene • Rev. Cameron P. Hall • A. J. Hayes • Mrs. Ambrose Hernes • Herbert Hill • Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch • Robert W. Hudgens • Robert M. Isenberg • Lewis W. Jones • Robert E. Jones • Leah M. Lachenbruch • Benson Y. Landis • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Thomas J. Lloyd • Elizabeth Magee • Howard C. Maxwell • Rev. Henry A. McCanna • Mrs. Eugene J. McCarthy • Barbara Moffett • Rev. Hermann N. Morse • Rev. E. W. Mueller • Frank Noakes • Beatrice S. Parsonnet • James G. Patton • Very Rev. Msgr. William J. Quinn • George Sanchez • Rev. Emerson W. Smith • Shirley Sonosky • Thelma Stevens • Paul S. Taylor • Rev. John A. Wagner • Gertrude Folks Zimand.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street N.W. · Washington 6, D. C. · NOrth 7-3979

JAMES P. MITCHELL
President

REV. JAMES L. VIZZARD S.J.
Chairman, Administrative Committee

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

MJ-file

December 9, 1963

Member Organizations

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism
Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Methodist Church: Woman's Division of Christian Service; General Board of Christian Social Concerns
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Committee on Employment of Youth of the National Child Labor Committee
National Consumers League
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: Division of Home Missions, General Department of United Church Women, Department of the Church and Economic Life
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
National Education Association: Department of Rural Education
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Lutheran Council Division of American Missions
National Sharecroppers Fund
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Church of Christ: Department of the Church in Town and Country; Council for Christian Social Action
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United Presbyterian Church in the USA: Office of Church and Society: Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee.

TO: THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FROM: EDITH E. LOWRY, Acting Executive Secretary

The United States Senate on December 4, 1963, voted to extend Public Law 78 (The Mexican Farm Labor Program) for one year without provision for equal protection for American and Mexican workers. The Senate accepted the House bill extending Public Law 78 for one year without amendment. Now the bill goes to President Johnson for his signature.

It is important that the President hear from you. We suggest first, that you may want to urge him to veto the bill. You may want to draw his attention to the fact that the U. S. Department of Labor opposed the one year extension unless protection for American workers was included. When Under Secretary John F. Henning testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, he said:

> "We would oppose any further extension of Public Law 78 without amendments which would bring the required job offers made to Mexicans and to domestic workers more closely together."

In a letter of November first to Senator Eugene McCarthy, Secretary of Labor Wirtz reemphasized this position of the Administration stating, "we are opposed to the extension without the amendments."

We suggest, second, that if the President does not veto the bill, he be urged to send a strong message to Congress making it clear that he will never again sign a bill extending Public Law 78. We would hope that his message would urge the Congress and the growers to start now to develop an alternative program for recruiting domestic workers along the lines proposed in Senate bill S.527. (The Voluntary Farm Employment Service, introduced by Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr.)

In the debate on the floor of the House and the Senate, many made statements that this one year extension would be the end of the program. Time will tell whether they mean it. When Senator Ellender of Louisiana moved that the Senate concur in the House version which had no protection for American workers, he made it clear that this was the last time he would ask for an extension of the program. It is urgent that President Johnson hear from you now.

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Extracts from Statement of Senator Hubert Humphrey
on Public Law 78 in the U. S. Senate December 4, 1963

The House version, because it does not contain the McCarthy amendment, would continue to deny to American nationals certain important benefits which are extended to Mexican nationals. That situation cannot be justified. Under present law and under the House amendment, American workers could get all these benefits if they went to Mexico, took out Mexican citizenship, and then were imported back to the United States as braceros. But American workers could not obtain such benefits if they applied for jobs in this country as American citizens.

The situation means that an American law, passed by the U.S. Congress, makes it a handicap for one having American citizenship to be an American worker. Such conditions cannot be justified.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
December 13, 1963
Washington, D. C.

MINUTES

ATTENDANCE: Rev. James L. Vizzard S.J., National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Chairman; Daniel S. Bedell, UAW--AFL-CIO; Mrs. Alice L. Bell, National Board of the YWCA; Fay Bennett, National Sharecroppers Fund; Rev. E. Russell Carter, National Council of Churches; Ethlyn Christensen, National Board of the YWCA; Clay L. Cochran, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; Col. Henry Ashton Crosby, Observer; Rev. Ralph J. Duggan, Bishop's Committee for Migrant Workers; Eleanor Eaton, American Friends Service Committee; Rev. Eldon E. Ehrhart, United Church of Christ; Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Msgr. George G. Higgins, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Robert M. Isenberg, National Education Association; Robert E. Jones, Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice; Olya Margolin, National Council of Jewish Women; Rev. Howard C. Maxwell, United Presbyterian Church, USA; Arnold Mayer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, AFL--CIO; Rev. Henry A. McCanna, National Council of Churches; Mrs. Sarah H. Newman, National Consumers League; Peggy Roach, National Council of Catholic Women; Cassandra Stockburger, National Child Labor Committee; Elizabeth Herring and Edith E. Lowry, staff.

MINUTES of the Annual Meeting of the Board held December 7, 1962 were accepted as circulated.

ANNUAL MEETING OF BOARD FOR 1963

As the notice to this meeting did not indicate that it would be the Annual Meeting the Board declared it the Annual Meeting for 1963. It was agreed to ask the Nominating Committee to bring in a report nominating persons for the expiring terms of Members-at-large and that it shall be retroactive.

REPORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

Father Vizzard, Chairman, reported that Miss Herring's resignation had been accepted with deep regret and it is hoped that she will be able to help with the work of NCALL on a consultative basis at a fee in 1964. As an expression of appreciation a check for $500 as separation pay was sent to her.

The Administrative Committee has been concentrating on securing more adequate financial support to provide an adequate salary for an Executive Secretary, a Research Assistant, secretarial service and office space. The salary range for the Executive Secretary was set at $9,000 to $11,000. The Executive Secretary would be secured first and the Research Assistant added as funds are available.

Mrs. Shirley Sonosky's resignation from the Administrative Committee was accepted with regret and Mrs. Sarah H. Newman was asked to serve until Mrs. Sonosky's successor is appointed.

RESIGNATION OF MRS. EUGENE MCCARTHY

Father Vizzard presented Mrs. McCarthy's resignation as a Member-at-large on the Board. It was accepted with regret.

REPORT OF TREASURER

In the absence of Miss Weller, Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Lowry presented an analysis of NCALL finances as of December 13, 1963 as a basis for planning for the future staff set-up of NCALL.

Receipts -- NCALL General Fund	$9,495.
Receipts -- NCALL Research Fund	1,200.
Balance -- NCALL General Fund	4,620.74
Balance -- NCALL Research Fund	2,320.84

It was felt that the receipts of approximately $10,000 are renewable in 1964. A full financial report will be prepared at the end of the year.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

In the absence of Dr. Theodore Norman, Chairman, Miss Christensen reported that the committee unanimously recommended the approval of the membership application of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor.

It was voted to approve this application.

It was suggested that other organizations such as those concerned with the rights of minority groups- Negro, Spanish, Indian-- The Grange, The American Veterans Committee, be considered for membership.

SPECIAL FINANCE CAMPAIGN

Father Vizzard reported on the special finance campaign.
1. Letter and prospectus sent to each member organization and contributor. Response not very encouraging to date.
2. Major approach to Industrial Union Department. United Automobile Workers, United Packing House Workers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union. Industrial Union Department contributed $2500 for 1963. Others have matter under consideration.
3. Special assignments to committee members were reported on.
4. It was suggested that the Teamsters Union might be approached for financial support.
5. Msgr. Higgins offered to write to Unions not already approached for financial support.
6. It was felt important to define clearly the unique cooperative function of NCALL as compared to the functions of the member organizations of NCALL, some of which receive grants from labor groups.
7. It was pointed out by several representatives of member organizations that could not make a substantial cash contribution to NCALL but it would be possible to contribute to projects by making available special services.

PERSONNEL COMMITTEE

Dr. Howard A. Dawson, chairman, reported that the committee had recommended the size of staff needed, the qualifications, educational background, salary ranges, but stated the committee was in no position to recommend candidates until adequate financial resources were available. Several candidates have been recommended to the committee.

DUPLICATION OF NEWS LETTERS

Father Dugan asked if NCALL could help in coordinating the dissemination of information as some of NCALL member organizations send out news letters and sent them to the same people. The question was raised as to the possible confusion created and the wastefulness; some felt that duplication added emphasis to the importance of the issue. No solution was offered.

PROJECTS

Father Vizzard reported on several projects that are developing that could be carried out by NCALL Research Fund. As pilot projects the information and experience would be shared with member organizations and made generally available to public and voluntary agencies. Those member organizations that desire to participate in any of the projects could do so through the Research Fund.

1. Mobile School for migrants that would move with a group of migrants, possibly from Florida to New Jersey or from San Antonio, Texas to California, to provide education in health, sanitation, hygiene, nutrition, job training and retraining for young adults and adults and day care for the young children.

The project was stimulated by a Peace Corpsman in Nigeria who offered his service and those of his associates in such a project on their return to this country. A number of Federal Agencies have expressed interest in participating- such as OMAT, the Migrant Section of the U.S. Public Health Service, the Citizens Committee for the National Service Corps, the Peace Corps and the U.S. Office of Education. Also local and state units of NCALL member organizations would be available through the Research Fund to tie in the areas in which the migrants move in developing the project.

2. Believing that the Mexican Farm Labor Program (Public Law 78) is soon to end, several large growers in California want to develop their own program for recruiting their own domestic farm labor force. They have discussed this possibility with Father Vizzard. They would draw up a contract for employing domestic farm workers similar to the contract for employing Mexican Farm Workers, including minimum wage, transportation, housing, etc. Father Vizzard is to work with Father Wagner in Texas and others to survey the situation and recruit American farm workers to migrate to California to fill jobs these California growers have available. The growers plan to remodel the Bracero housing to make it suitable for families.

3. A training project for low income farm workers was submitted to OMAT last spring and was favorably received by OMAT but NCALL could not follow through on it because of the illness of Miss Herring. Interest in the project continues.

LUNCHEON SESSION

At the luncheon hour, Mrs. Sarah H. Newman, Executive Secretary of the National Consumers League, presented a summary statement on the Status of Farm Labor Legislation. Discussion followed. Report is attached.

PROCEDURE FOR ACTION ON PROJECTS

The procedure for action on any projects was recalled. The Administrative Committee of NCALL would review the projects and recommend to the Board of Directors which in turn would recommend to the Research Fund Board. The Research Fund Board would decide on what projects to undertake, ascertain which member organizations desire to participate, and set up a committee of representatives of the participating organizations

to develop, direct and supervise each project. It was recognized that considerable work is required in drafting the prospectus for each of the suggested projects before any action can be taken. Father Vizzard asked Dr. Dawson if he could give a block of time to do this. Dr. Dawson said he would have to give thought to this suggestion as he already had some prior committments.

JOB DESCRIPTION

In order to interview candidates for the position of Executive Secretary, the need for a description of the responsibilities of the position was recognized. Mrs. Mary Gereau was asked to draw up a job description in consultation with Miss Herring.

EMPLOYMENT OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

It was agreed to proceed to employ an Executive Secretary as an act of faith, even though funds were not in hand for a full year's operation.

It was voted:

1. to set aside $5500. of the current balance for the salary of an Executive Secretary for six months.
2. that the Personnel Committee interview candidates immediately and recommend to the Administrative.
3. that a Memorandum of Agreement be drawn up by a committee composed of Dr. Dawson, Father Vizzard and Miss Herring.

As important as the proposed projects are, it was emphasized that the most important responsibility of the Executive Secretary is to provide a cooperative channel for the member organizations in their legislative effort. This has bearing on the qualifications of the person to be secured.

OFFICE SPACE

The need for more adequate office space was discussed. Rabbi Hirsch graciously offered space in the Religious Action Center, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., as all the offices were not in use.

It was voted to accept with great appreciation this kind offer of cooperation to provide more adequate office space. (The details are to be worked out.)

It was voted to express deep appreciation to the Council of Churches of Greater Washington for the privilege of having office space in the Council of Churches building for the past ten years.

APPRECIATION TO MISS LOWRY

It was voted to express to Miss Lowry the appreciation of the Board for carrying on during this period of Miss Herring's illness.

THE ELIZABETH B. HERRING AWARD

Clay Cochran presented the following resolution:

That there be established by NCALL an annual award to be known as the Elizabeth B. Herring Award to be bestowed on one or more persons for outstanding services promoting and protecting the welfare of rural people with emphasis on hired

farm labor, each award to be phrased in terms of the individual involved and that the first award be given to Elizabeth B. Herring in 1963.

ELIZABETH B. HERRING AWARD
- 1963 -

KNOW YE ALL MEN

That the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor hereby bestows humbly and gratefully the first Elizabeth B. Herring Award upon its namesake, Elizabeth B. Herring for a lifetime of courageous devotion to the welfare of rural people; for her generous and invaluable services to NCALL; for her sturdy and cheerful leadership; and particularly for her unstinting efforts on behalf of the silent ones, the poorest of the poor, the migratory farm workers and their hapless children.

Presented on this thirteenth day of December, 1963.

_____ President

_____ Chairman of Administrative Committee

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON ON FARM LABOR

It was agreed that a high level delegation of six to eight persons representing member organizations seek an opportunity to confer with President Johnson regarding farm labor, the minority groups it represents and particularly Public Law 78 to see if he will support the termination of this program in 1964. It was recognized that because of the great pressures on the President it may be necessary to confer with one of his assistants, but an attempt should be made to see the President if at all possible. It was agreed that a memorandum on the position of our member organizations should be prepared in advance and sent to the President in advance of the interview.

FUNCTION OF NCALL IN PREPARING PUBLIC FOR ACTION ON PENDING LEGISLATION

Recognizing that it takes considerable time to develop an understanding of proposed legislation and public opinion in support of it, it was suggested that an important function of NCALL is to work on an educational program with its member groups over a two or three year period. It was suggested that NCALL begin now on such a program on S.528 - minimum wage for agricultural workers and S.527 to provide improved voluntary methods of recruiting, training, transportation and distributing agricultural workers.

ADJOURNMENT 2:30 p.m.

MIGRATORY LEGISLATION REPORT

December 12, 1963

During this first session of the 88th Congress, a balanced program of legislation to alleviate the problems confronting migratory farm workers and their families was introduced by Senator Harrison A. Williams. Although the substance of the bills was very similar to the ones introduced in the last Congress, some modifications were incorporated to conform with suggestions made during previous hearings, and to expedite passage of the legislation.

In the House, two Congressmen, Rep. Bennett (Florida) and Representative Cohelan (California) introduced bills. Most of the bills in the House go to Congressman Roosevelt's General Subcommittee on Labor, of the House Labor and Education Committee; the health and housing bills are assigned to other committees.

Following is a list of the bills, with a description of their coverage and their present status:

S. 521 and H.R. 4517 (Education)
S. 522 and H.R. 3803, 4523 (Day Care)
S. 523 and H.R. 4520 (Child Labor)
S. 524 and H.R. 3802, 4558, 6242 (Crew Leader)
S. 525 and H.R. 3801, 4519 (National Advisory Council)
S. 526 and H.R. 4522 (Sanitation Assistance)
S. 527 and H.R. 4518 (Farm Employment Recruitment)
S. 528 and H.R. 4521 (Minimum Wage)
S. 529 and H.R. 4516 (National Labor Relations Act Coverage)
S. 981 (Housing Assistance)

In the Senate, hearings started early in April on S. 521 - S. 526, and the bills were approved by the Senate on June 10 and 11.

Hearings were held on September 26 by the Senate Subcommittee on S. 527, but the bill has not yet been reported out. The Banking and Currency Committee held hearings on S. 981 in October but has not yet reported the bill.

In the House, H.R. 6242, a bill similar to S. 524, the Crew Leader Bill, was reported out by the full Labor and Education Committee and is now in the Rules Commitee. The House has not held hearings on any of the other bills.

There are also two other bills, S. 2260 (tax relief for farm labor housing) which is in the Finance Committee and S. J. Res. 82 (residential requirements for voting) which is in the Judiciary Committee. Neither of these committees have scheduled hearings on this legislation.

On P.L. 78, the House had, early in the session, voted down any extension. The Senate later passed a one-year extension with an amendment granting to domestics all the fringe benefits given Mexican braceros. The House later (on October 31) passed a straight one-year extension which the Senate adopted on December 4. The bill was then sent to the President for signature. He is being urged to veto the measure, or at least to indicate that this is the last extension. A strong message by the President might also be useful when "adverse effects" hearings are held. It is highly likely that the program will not be renewed after 1964. Senator Ellender said he would not ask for further extension, and many in the House who voted for the bill, indicated likewise.

A hearing was held in Washington on the order rescinding the 95 cent hourly rate for Florida farm workers. Prospects for reinstatement of the rate look hopeful.

The Department of Agriculture has scheduled a series of hearings on rates for sugar beet workers in Salt Lake City, Utah, on December 6; Fargo, North Dakota, on December 18; Detroit, Michigan on December 20; San Antonio, Texas, on January 7, 1964; and McAllen, Texas on January 9, 1964

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - GENERAL ACCOUNT - JANUARY 1, 1963 - DECEMBER 31, 1963

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in bank, January 1, 1963	$ 1,839.14
From Memberships and Contributions	10,588.34
TOTAL	$12,427.48

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages		$2,135.64	
Executive	$1,000.00		
Office	1,135.64		
Honoraria		550.00	
Office Supplies		273.56	
Legal Services		40.00	
Travel, Living and Conference Attendance		171.53	
Gifts transferred to NCALL Research Fund		600.00	
Office Rent		385.00	
Telephone and Telegraph		350.31	
Postage and Stamped Envelopes		213.75	
Printing, Mimeo, Stationery		1,282.36	
Subscriptions to Publications		29.28	
Taxes - D. C. Unemployment Compensation and F.I.C.A.		121.40	
D. C. Property Taxes		2.20	
Conference Expenses		48.50	
Board Luncheons		38.88	
Bank Service Charges		1.15	6,243.56
			$ 6,183.92
Checks drawn in 1962 - paid in 1963 (Cks. 1513-14-15-16-17 & 18)		$ 244.05	
Research Fund Ck #123 deducted from General Fund in error		100.00	
Deposit credited to General Fund in error - 11/29/63		500.00	- 844.05
			$ 5,339.87
Ck #1497 - Payment stopped - funds reinstated in 1964			+ 10.50
			$ 5,350.37
To adjust totals to agree with bank figures of 12/31/63 ($5,350.89)			+ .52
BALANCE IN NCALL ACCOUNT December 31, 1963			$ 5,350.89

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR - RESEARCH FUND INC.
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - RESEARCH FUND - JANUARY 1, 1963 - DECEMBER 31, 1963

A. RECEIPTS

Balance in Security Bank, January 1, 1963	$1,394.58
*Contributions	1,175.00
Balance in Prudential Building Ass'n, January 1, 1963	137.81
Interest for 1963, Prudential Building Ass'n Account	7.30
	$2,714.69

* $500 of contributions was credited to our General Fund in error. Security Bank is correcting error as of February 3, 1964.

B. DISBURSEMENTS

Salary - Executive Secretary	$100.00	
Travel Expenses	7.55	
Secretarial and Clerical Wages	16.19	
Office Supplies	100.00	
Printing and Mimeographing	7.52	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		231.26
CASH ON HAND - December 31, 1963		** $2,483.43

**Balance in Security Bank - December 31, 1963 as per their statement of that date	$1,838.32
Adjustment as of February 3, 1964, transferring $500 from General Fund to Research Fund (See note above)	500.00
Corrected balance in Security Bank	$2,338.32
Balance in Prudential Building Ass'n - December 31, 1963	145.11
TOTAL CASH ON HAND - RESEARCH FUND, December 31, 1963	$2,483.43

file

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N Street N.W. · Washington 6, D. C. · NOrth 7-3979

JAMES P. MITCHELL
President

REV. JAMES L. VIZZARD S.J.
Chairman, Administrative Committee

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary

file

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Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism
Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Methodist Church: Woman's Division of Christian Service; General Board of Christian Social Concerns
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Committee on Employment of Youth of the National Child Labor Committee
National Consumers League
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: Division of Home Missions, General Department of United Church Women, Department of the Church and Economic Life
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
National Education Association: Department of Rural Education
National Farmers Union
National Housing Conference
National Lutheran Council Division of American Missions
National Sharecroppers Fund
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Church of Christ: Department of the Church in Town and Country; Council for Christian Social Action
United Packing House Workers, AFL-CIO
United Presbyterian Church in the USA: Office of Church and Society: Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work
United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee

January 23, 1964

Memorandum To The Administrative Committee
of NCALL

From: Edith E. Lowry, Acting Executive Secretary

At the call of the Chairman, Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., the Committee will meet at 2:30 p.m. Friday, January 31st, at The Religious Action Center of U.A.H.C. at 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Recommendations on personnel will be presented for consideration.

DIRECTORS—Howard A. Dawson, Honorary President • James P. Mitchell, President • Fay Bennett, 1st Vice President • Theodore Norman, 2nd Vice President • Daniel S. Bedell, 3rd Vice President • Marian F. Weller, Secretary-Treasurer • Sarah H. Newman, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer • Rev. James L. Vizzard S. J., Chairman Administrative Committee • Daniel S. Bedell, Vice Chairman • Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary • Edith E. Lowry, Consultant • Rev. E. Russell Carter • Ethlyn Christensen • Marion A. Clawson • Clay L. Cochran • Eli E. Cohen • Franz Daniel • Leslie W. Dunbar • Rev. Eldon E. Ehrhart • Donald Farrell • Vincent De Francis • Eleanor French • Rev. G. Shubert Frye • Rev. Ray Gibbons • Rev. Shirley E. Greene • Rev. Cameron P. Hall • A. J. Hayes • Mrs. Ambrose Hernes • Herbert Hill • Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch • Robert W. Hudgens • Robert M. Isenberg • Lewis W. Jones • Robert E. Jones • Leah M. Lachenbruch • Benson Y. Landis • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Thomas J. Lloyd • Elizabeth Magee • Howard C. Maxwell • Rev. Henry A. McCanna • Mrs. Eugene J. McCarthy • Barbara Moffett • Rev. Hermann N. Morse • Rev. E. W. Mueller • Frank Noakes • Beatrice S. Parsonnet • James G. Patton • Very Rev. Msgr. William J. Quinn • George Sanchez • Rev. Emerson W. Smith • Shirley Sonosky • Thelma Stevens • Paul S. Taylor • Rev. John A. Wagner • Gertrude Folks Zimand.

"NA" Gen. Corresp.

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

WASHINGTON OFFICE • 1404 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.W.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Cr. ref.

File

February 4, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring, Executive Secretary of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, has been selected to receive the National Farmers Union's 1964 Award for Outstanding Service to Agriculture.

We are currently preparing a booklet of testimonial letters from her many loyal friends and co-workers which will be presented to her. I wonder if you would care to write a letter for inclusion in this tribute which I know she will treasure. If so, please address the letter to her and the envelope to me, at 1404 New York Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. It would be helpful if you will mail in large envelope to avoid folding the letter. We must have these by February 15.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

James G. Patton

JAMES G. PATTON

On behalf of the Southern Reg. Council, I want to congratulate you on publicly paying tribute to Miss Elizabeth for all the good work she has done in the past for farmers throughout the South. I know you share my feelings that she will keep up her outstanding work. It is fitting, of course, that the National FU has selected her for the NFU Award.

With ~~best~~ very best wishes

You will treasure it

file

February 12, 1964

Miss Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural
Life and Labor
1751 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Herring:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I want to express our gratitude to you for all that you have done in the past for farmers throughout America. In your retirement, I know that you will keep on with the work. It is, therefore, all the more fitting that the National Farmers Union has selected you for its 1964 Award for Outstanding Service to Agriculture. You richly deserve it.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

COPY

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Laboratory for
Research in
Instruction

Longfellow Hall, Appian Way
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

March 10, 1964

Mr. Ben Neufeld
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
1751 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Neufeld:

At the suggestion of Senator Harrison Williams we are writing to you to request sources and materials that would aid our teaching about migrant labor problems in the United States.

The Harvard Project Social Studies at the Graduate School of Education is now engaged in developing a new three year social studies curriculum under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. One of the features of the curriculum is that it utilizes a large number of case studies as the primary focus from which students will examine continuing or basic human dilemmas. One of the cases we are developing deals with the problems of "standard of living" and "distribution of privileges" as exemplified by the life of migratory workers in the United States.

Although we have adequate material on the daily life and situation of the migrant, there are some areas in which we have not yet found adequate material.

We are seeking a series of case studies that illustrate various political, economic, and social obstacles that block attempts to improve the migrants' situation through legislation. For example, do you know of materials that dramatically illustrate how "invisible" the migrant problem really is to most Americans? Do you have materials that show concretely the reasons for migrants being "voiceless and voteless"? With regard to the many bills in Congress, are there materials that demonstrate the kinds of groups and interests voting for and against, and stalling the legislation? What kinds of lobbying, legislative, grass roots, and parliamentary strategies are necessary to make progress in this area?

We hope to develop a unit, focusing on the migrants, that illustrates the mechanics and complexities of the political process in general. We would like to have a series of vignettes in which students are able to view the situation through the eyes of many different observers: the migrant laborer, a crew leader, the employer, a Congressman, and a union official, voluntary welfare worker, a lobbyist, etc.

We realize that there is a great deal of interpretive and analytical material dealing with the problem. However, we are more interested in dramatic, journalistic, narratives that portray concrete events and dilemmas in such a way as to be exciting for high school students of average ability.

We would be thankful for any material you can send or suggest.

Sincerely,

s/ FRED M. NEWMANN
Fred M. Newmann
Research Associate

FMN:nmm

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N W Washington, D C 20036

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

TRANSACTIONS - JANUARY 1, 1964 - MARCH 31, 1964

A. Balance brought forward		$5,765.24
B. Disbursements		
Salaries	$1,131.90	
Withholding Tax	221.03	
Honorarium	50.00	
FICA	21.75	
Business Taxes	8.10	
Rent and Contributions for use of space	260.00	
Telephone and Answering Service	113.51	
Bond and Insurances	134.66	
Furniture and Equipment	173.75	
Secretarial Service	168.53	
Printing	102.39	
Postage	14.00	
Subscriptions	11.00	
Equipment Repairs	40.39	
Supplies	40.39	
Transportation and Attendances	129.00	
Moving	75.00	
Miscellaneous	14.87	
Bank Correction	500.00	
		$3,210.18
C. Receipts		
Deposits shown on		
Bank Statement #1	$1,552.65	
Bank Statement #2	3,080.00	
Bank Statement #3	546.18	
		$5,178.83
Balance on March 31, 1964		$7,733.89
Bank Reconciliation		
Per statement of March 31, 1964	$8,477.13	
Less outstanding checks	743.24	
	$7,733.89	

7 April 1964

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND, INC.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

7 April 1964 at 10:10 A M

Religious Action Center, Washington, D. C.

PRESENT: Fay Bennett, Clay Cochran, Sarah H. Newman, Theodore Norman, Cassandra Stockburger, Rev. James Vizzard, Elizabeth Herring, Edith Lowry; Ben Neufeld.

Marian Weller wired her regrets: weather prevented her flying down.

CONFIRMATION OF BOARD MEMBERS

It was moved and seconded that the Board of Directors which has been acting for the past year be confirmed. This action was required by the lack of a quorum at the last Annual Meeting (see minutes of that meeting). The motion passed unanimously.

APPOINTMENT OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

It was moved and seconded that Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary of NCALL, be appointed Executive Secretary. The motion passed unanimously.

AUTHORIZATION OF ROUTINE EXPENDITURES

It was moved and seconded that the Executive Secretary be authorized to reimburse NCALL for services rendered by the staff and for related costs. The motion passed unanimously.

AUTHORIZATION TO SIGN CHECKS

It was moved and seconded that the following be authorized to sign checks drawn on the Research Fund account: The President, the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Executive Secretary. The motion passed unanimously.

FINANCIAL REPORT

A. It was moved by Cochran, seconded by Bennett that the Board agree to accept a grant of $2,500 and to authorize the Executive Secretary to disburse funds from this grant for expenses connected with preparation for the Hearings on Farm Labor, a research project of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, an NCALL member organization, to be held May 18 and 19 at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Washington. The motion passed unanimously.

B. It was moved by Norman and seconded by Newman that the Financial Statement for 1963 be accepted with the proviso that, starting in January 1964, the accounts be audited annually by an outside accountant. The motion passed unanimously.

AMENDMENT OF THE BY-LAWS

A. It was moved by Norman, seconded by Cochran, that the provisions of Article IV of the By-Laws, requiring written notice of proposed changes, be waived for this meeting. The motion passed unanimously.

B. It was moved by Cochran, seconded by Norman that the number of members of the Board of Directors be increased to sixteen. The motion passed unanimously.

C. It was moved by Norman, seconded by Cochran that a quorum of the Board be reduced to five members. The motion passed unanimously.

ELECTION OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Chairman of the Nominating Committee (Norman) reported that the Committee recommended the re-election of the present Board, with these changes: substitution of Cassandra Stockburger for Eli E. Cohen at Mr. Cohen's request and the addition of Elizabeth B. Herring and Edith Lowry. He moved that the slate be elected. Seconded by Newman, the motion passed unanimously.

ELECTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

It was moved by Norman, seconded by Cochran that the Administrative Committee be composed of Rev. James L. Vizzard, S. J.; Daniel Bedell; Clay Cochran; Howard Dawson and Sarah H. Newman. The motion passed unanimously.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

It was reported by the Chairman of the Nominating Committee (Norman) that the Committee recommended continuation of the re-election of the present officers. After discussion of the ability of the officers to attend meetings, it was moved by Norman, seconded by Stockburger, that the following officers be elected:

President	Rev. James L. Vizzard, S. J.
Vice-President	Daniel Bedell
Secretary	Sarah H. Newman
Treasurer	Clay Cochran

The motion passed unanimously.

DISCUSSION OF PROJECTS

A. 1963 Training Project: Neufeld reported that the Research Project group at OMAT do not consider this a research project, but rather an action program. They therefore are unable to support it in its present form. Further discussion was postponed.

B. Mobile Project: Neufeld reported that the original Mobile School project suggested by Jim Garofalo has been discussed with the Labor and HEW Departments and has grown into a "mobile task force", concerned with a number of disciplines: vocational training, basic education for adults, education for children, health services, vocational counseling, etc. After discussion of the feasibility of the project, centering mainly on the selection of participant migrant families, it was moved

by Bennett, seconded by Stockburger, that an ad hoc committee be appointed to give further study to the project. The motion passed unanimously; the President appointed Eleanor Eaton, Cassandra Stockburger, Edith Lowry and Fay Bennett to the committee.

C. Planned Community for Migrant Farm Workers:

Father Vizzard briefly described a proposed integrated community to be built in or near San Antonio, Texas, to include, in addition to housing, facilities for job training, commercial facilities, recreational facilities, etc. The project would start with 120 families, be increased to 700 in appropriate stages, charging subsidized rents at first but giving tenants an opportunity to pay increased rents through increased job opportunity and eventually to purchase their homes. The Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking carried the proposal to the point of approval by the HHFA under the Demonstration Project grant program but were then forced to withdraw sponsorship. It was proposed that NCALL or the Research Fund sponsor the program. It was the consensus of the Board that it looks with favor on the project but wants more information before deciding whether to undertake sponsorship. Accordingly, it asked the Executive Secretary to send copies of a description of the project to all members of the Board of NCALL; to ask Father Wagner, Executive Director of the Bishops' Committee, to create an on-the-spot committee with which it could consult, this committee to consist of Father Wagner, Betty Whitaker, the Friends Service Committee and the Texas State AFL-CIO at the minimum; to ask the President to appoint such a committee for this project, and to ask the President to see if the IUD-AFL-CIO could send Clay Cochran to the area to investigate and report to the Board's ad hoc committee.

ADJOURNMENT

The Board adjourned at 12:10 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

Sarah H. Newman
Secretary

SHN:bn:sos

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N W Washington, D C 20036

ADOPTED BY ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
7 APRIL 1964
BUDGET FOR 1964

Classification		First Quarter (approximate)	Remaining 3 Quarters (estimated)	Full Year (estimated)
Staff Services				
NCALL Staff				
Salaries		$1625	$6750	$8375
Related taxes (FICA, DCUI)		60	125	185
Related expenses (Bond, Workmens Comp)		100		100
Honoraria and Consultant fees		50	500	550
Services by other organizations (typing, small-scale mimeo, transcription, mailing, etc, includes supplies, postage, etc, not billed separately)		170	750	920
Bookkeeping and accounting	(1)	0	150	150
Office Expenses				
Rent and contributions for use of space		193	533	726
Telephone		70	210	280
Answering service		35	105	140
Postage	(2)	15	250	265
Supplies		45	125	170
Furniture and equipment		175	200	375
Maintenance of F & E		55	20	75
Property taxes		0	15	15
Printing and related costs		105	800	905
Transportation - Local		15	75	90
Other n.e.c.	(3)	75	25	100

Notes

(1) Currently included in "Services by other organizations"
(2) First quarter: See note under "Services by other organizations"
(3) First quarter: Moving

7 April 1964

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 Massachusetts Avenue N W Washington, D C 20036

BUDGET FOR 1964

Classification	First Quarter (approximate)	Remaining 3 Quarters (estimated)	Full Year (estimated)
Organizational Expenses			
Subscriptions and publications	30	90	120
Attendances	25	75	100
Transportation and related costs out of town	100	250	350
Insurance	30	0	30
Board and Administrative Committee	0	50	50
Other n.e.c.	0	25	25
	$ 2973	11,123	14,086
Revenues in Sight			
Contributions and Subscriptions	5128.83	4,000	9,178
New money			5,000

7 April 1964

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

By-Laws

(As amended at Administrative Committee meeting, 7 April 1964)

Article I - Name

Section I The corporate name of this organization shall be the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

Article II - Purposes

Section I The purpose of this organization shall be to improve the living and working conditions of the low-income farm and rural populations of the United States of America. It shall collect and disseminate to organizations and individuals information of scientific, economic, social, literary and educational character. The objects of this corporation are exclusively scientific, educational and literary. No part of the earnings of this corporation shall inure to the benefit of any private individual and no substantial part of its activities shall be the carrying on of propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

Section 2 The NCALL as an organization will limit its action on pending national, state or local legislation to providing information on such legislation to its membership.

Article III - Members, Associates and Associated Groups

Section 1 Only organizations as herein defined shall be eligible to become Members of NCALL.

(a) Membership shall be open to national and regional organizations interested in the social, economic and cultural problems of agricultural life.

(b) Such organization may become a Member by majority vote of the Board of Directors, following application by such organization or nomination by a majority of the Membership Committee.

(c) Each Member shall name its own representative to NCALL who shall serve as a member of the Board of Directors. Substitute representation is permitted when it is so authorized by the Member organization.

(d) Members shall pay a $25.00 annual subscription for NCALL publications and other informational communications.

(e) The Membership Committee shall review annually the list of organizational members and shall bring to the attention of the Board of Directors any organization which has failed to pay its annual subscription or whose purpose or methods of work, in the judgment of the Membership Committee, have changed and are no longer in accord with the policy of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. The Board of Directors may authorize the dropping of such Members.

Section 2 Individuals may become NCALL Associates.

(a) Students in secondary schools or institutions of higher learning may become Associates upon payment of an annual subscription of $1.00.

(b) All other persons may become Associates upon payment of an annual subscription of $5.00.

Section 3 Organizations which are interested in the social, economic or cultural problems of rural life and whose membership is exclusively or primarily organizational may become NCALL Associated Groups by majority vote of the Board of Directors following application by such organization or nomination by a majority of the Membership Committee.

(a) Associated Groups shall not be required to pay a subscription fee but shall agree to exchange publications with NCALL and to exchange observers when appropriate.

Article IV - Board of Directors

Section 1 The control and management of the affairs and funds of NCALL shall be vested in a Board of Directors.

Section 2 The Board of Directors shall consist of:
(a) One designated representative from each organizational member as provided in Article III, Section 2 (c); and
(b) Not more than 21 directors-at-large. One third of the members-at-large shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting for a term of three years. No members-at-large shall serve more than two three-year terms in succession. At the time this provision is adopted, one, two, and three year terms shall be assigned by lot.

Article V - Meetings

Section 1 The Board of Directors shall hold two regular meetings annually at such time and place as may be designated by the Board with ten days written notice thereof.

Notice of intention to propose an organization for approval by the Board of Directors must be given to all directors at least ten days in advance of the meeting at which approval is proposed.

Section 2 Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Administrative Committee or by the President at the request of five members of the Board. Actions at special meetings may be taken only on matters specifically on the agenda as announced in the call for the meeting. 10 days advance notice shall be required for a special meeting.

Section 3 A quorum of the Board of Directors shall consist of 10 members of the Board.

Section 4 One of the two regular meetings of the Board of Directors in each calendar year shall be designated as the Annual Meeting of NCALL. At this Annual Meeting, the officers shall render a summary report of the activities and finances of NCALL.

Section 5 The fiscal year of NCALL shall be the calendar year.

Article VI - Committees

Section 1 The Standing Committees of NCALL shall be Administrative Committee, Finance Committee, Membership Committee, Nominating Committee, and Personnel Committee.

Section 2 (a) The Administrative Committee shall consist of the elected officers of NCALL; Honorary President, President, First, Second and Third Vice Presidents, Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Administrative Committee, Secretary-Treasurer and Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, and ten members designated by the Board from its membership, at least four of whom shall be representatives of member organizations. The ten members shall be residents of the Washington area or persons who have indicated that they will be able to attend meetings of the committee.
(b) The Administrative Committee shall have the power to act for the Board of Directors in the interim between meetings of the Board. All actions of the Committee shall be reported to the Board at the next meeting of the Board following such action.
(c) A quorum of the Administrative Committee shall consist of five members.
(d) Vacancies in the Administrative Committee shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

Section 3 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Finance Committee responsible for securing the necessary support for NCALL.

Section 4 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Membership Committee through which shall be recommended all new organizational members of NCALL.

Section 5 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Nominating Committee whose responsibility shall be to present at each annual meeting a proposed slate of officers and standing committee personnel for the ensuing year. The Nominating Committee may bring in recommendations for members-at-large at any meeting of the Board provided that the proposed names are submitted to board members in writing in advance of the meeting at which they are to be elected. In the case of vacancies occurring between annual meetings the Board may request nominations from the Nominating Committee.

Section 6 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Personnel Committee which shall recommend to the Board conditions of employment for NCALL staff members and recommend persons to fill staff vacancies.

Section 7 The Board of Directors shall appoint such other committees as may be necessary to conduct the work of NCALL.

Section 8 The President and Chairman of the Administrative Committee shall be ex-officio members of all committees.

Article VII - Advisory Committee

Section 1 The Board of Directors may appoint an Advisory Committee of not more than 50 persons.

Article VIII - Voting

Section 1 Voting privileges in NCALL shall be limited to the Board of Directors.

Section 2 Membership on the Advisory Committee is non-voting.

Article IX - Officers

Section 1 The officers of NCALL shall be Honorary President, President; First, Second and Third Vice Presidents; Chairman, Vice Chairman of the Administrative Committee; Secretary-Treasurer and Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2 The officers shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting from nominations of the Nominating Committee, or from nominations made from the floor. The term of office shall be for two years or until the successor of the officer has been elected. No officer shall serve for more than two terms in succession.

Section 3 The President shall preside at all meetings of the Council and Board of Directors. In the absence of the President, his office shall be exercised by a Vice President in order. The Chairman of the Administrative Committee shall preside at all meetings of the Committee. In the absence of the Chairman his office shall be exercised by the Vice Chairman.

Section 4 The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep the minutes of the Board of Directors and of the Administrative Committee.

Section 5 The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit all money and securities of the NCALL in depositories approved by the Board of Directors. He shall have the power to withdraw funds and make disbursements in the name of the NCALL. He shall cause the accounts of the organization to be audited periodically by a certified public accountant, which audit shall be submitted to the Board of Directors. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be a signatory to all contracts executed in behalf of NCALL. The Secretary-Treasurer shall provide such bond as may be required by the Board of Directors. The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer shall act in the absence of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Article X - Employees

Section 1 The Board of Directors may authorize the employment of an Executive Secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to conduct the work of the NCALL.

Section 2 Employees of NCALL shall perform such duties as shall be assigned to them by the Board of Directors or the Administrative Committee.

Section 3 The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for initiating and implementing such programs and activities as may be authorized by the Board of Directors or its Administrative Committee.

Article XI - Amendments

Section 1 Except as otherwise required by the laws of the District of Columbia, Certificate of Incorporation and these By-Laws may be amended by a majority of those present at a regular meeting of the Board of Directors, provided that the proposed amendment or amendments have been submitted in writing to the Directors at least one month in advance of the meeting at which the action is taken.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR — MJ - file

MINUTES OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

7 April 1964 at 1:30 PM

Religious Action Center, Washington, DC

ATTENDANCE: Father Vizzard, Chairman; Dan Bedell, Fay Bennett, Clay Cochran, Elizabeth Herring, Rabbi Hirsch, Edith Lowry, Arnold Mayer, Henry McCanna, Theodore Norman, Cassandra Stockburger, Ben Neufeld.

Edith Lowry was asked to serve as Secretary Pro Tem.

DISCUSSION WITH DR. GLENN OLDS

Dr. Glenn Olds, President of Springfield College, Massachusetts, and assistant to Sargent Shriver for those aspects of the War on Poverty involving the Volunteers For America and non-governmental volunteers, joined the Committee for lunch before the meeting. Dr. Olds, who recalled that he had been a migrant in his youth, generally described the provisions of the Poverty Bill, expressing the belief that volunteers would find a role under all titles. Suggestions were advanced for uses of Volunteers, including intensive training of some in existing government programs so that they could be brought to bear on problems (Vizzard) and their use as "buffers" between the migrant and the community (Mayer).

Dr. Olds asked for immediate volunteers to help him with his secretarial work, and the executive secretary was instructed to canvas the membership for this purpose.

ACTION ON REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

At the December 1963 meeting of the Board of Directors, the Nominating Committee was requested to report to the next meeting of the Administrative Committee nominating members-at-large of the Board to succeed Directors whose terms expired in 1963, and such other nominations as were required.

The following were nominated as Board Members-at-Large

James P. Mitchell	1964
Elizabeth Herring	"
Edith Lowry	"
Ernest F. Witte	"
Leslie W. Dunbar	1966
Rev Shirley E. Greene	"
Robert W. Hudgens	"
Lewis W. Jones	"
Elizabeth Magee	"
Shirley Sonosky	"
Paul S. Taylor	"

Fay Bennett will submit the name of the representative of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor (Msgr George G. Higgins, a member of the Committee, was subsequently named). Mrs. Zimand wrote suggesting that she be dropped from the Board to make a place for a more active member. The Committee expressed appreciation of Mrs. Zimand's thoughtfulness but was eager to have her serve out her full term and requested the Executive Secretary to write her accordingly.

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

The Nominating Committee recommended that the present members be continued for 1964 and that the following be added:

Arnold Mayer
Cassandra Stockburger in place of Eli E. Cohen at his request.

Mrs. Newman, already a member in her capacity as Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, would not be listed again.

Voted that those nominated be elected.

HEARINGS ON THE POVERTY BILL

It was reported that hearings have begun and continue for two or possibly three weeks. Several member organizations are planning to testify.

MEMBERSHIP

The following organizations were confirmed as Members of NCALL:

	Board Representative
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America	Howard D. Samuel, Assistant President
American Veterans Committee (AVC)	J. Arnold Feldman, Executive Director
United Steelworkers of America	Francis Shane, Executive Secretary, Committee on Civil Rights

They have appointed the Board representatives indicated.

Other organizations considering membership are the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and CORE. It was agreed that if they decided to become members before the next meeting of the Administrative Committee, the Executive Secretary be authorized to list them on the new letterheads. Travelers Aid should be approached again about membership and listed if they join.

It was suggested that the Executive Secretary communicate with Herbert Hill of NAACP stressing the importance of their active participation in NCALL. It was also suggested that a record be kept of attendance at future meetings so that all Members with inactive representatives may be asked to appoint new representatives or local alternatives.

BY-LAWS

The recommended change in the By-Laws, relating to membership, was approved with the understanding that the term "affiliate" would be clarified and the student Associate subscription set at $1.00 ("affiliate" was subsequently changed to "Associated Groups").

REPORT ON PROJECTS

The Executive Secretary presented a description of the Mobile Services Project. It was received with interest, a number of suggestions were made, and it was agreed that it was not yet ripe for action. More planning will be done with the cooperation of an NCALL-Research Fund *ad hoc* committee, and it will be presented to this Committee later.

The Planned Community for Migratory Farm Workers, the housing and training project initiated by the Bishops' Committee on the Spanish Speaking, was outlined by Father Vizzard. As this project has already had favorable action by Governmental agencies and by local leaders in Texas, it was agreed that the Research Fund Board would report again after further consideration, including consultation with an advisory committee to be set up in Texas by an *ad hoc* committee to be appointed by Research Fund President Vizzard.

Selected excerpts from the project description are attached.

BULLETIN

Mr. Neufeld reported that a Spring Bulletin is in preparation, to include information on the following:

Legislative picture

How the Congressional system is preventing action on migrant legislation

Poverty Bill - analysis and needed action

Housing Bill - its relevance to low income farmers and farm workers

Current activities of NCALL member organizations

Mr. Neufeld hopes to issue the Bulletin at regular intervals.

Suggestion was made that pertinent information published by member organizations could well be included in NCALL Bulletins, so all member organizations would have access to it. An example would be the recent news letter of National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor analyzing the Poverty Bill. It was agreed that NCALL, rather than any of the organizations represented, would prepare the definitive statement on the Poverty Bill.

It was suggested that the manuscript of the Bulletin be sent to member organizations in advance of publication, indicating cost of additional copies, should member organizations wish to distribute them to their own constituencies.

VACATION AND SICK LEAVE FOR THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Mr. Neufeld suggested the following:

Vacation - 18 working days a year with maximum accrual of 36 days.

Sick Leave - 15 days a year and no maximum accrual.

It was agreed that this is generally in line with the personnel practice of Government and voluntary organizations.

When covered by Workmen's Compensation, the Executive Secretary would not receive salary, and time off would not count against sick leave or vacation.

Voted to approve the above policy but to work out policy for other staff as needed.

DIRECTORY OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUMMER WORKERS

The Executive Secretary reported working with the Rural Education Department, NEA, toward assembling information on summer work opportunities; numerous offers of services are received by NCALL and its member agencies. Miss Stockburger offered to provide information.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The annual report for 1963 and for the first quarter of 1964 were presented.

It was agreed that an audit by a CPA of the accounts of NCALL would be made beginning with 1964 in accordance with the requirement in the By-Laws.

Report attached.

The Proposed Budget for 1964 was presented. It was pointed out that with a follow-up of the 1963 contributions, sufficient funds should be available for 1964 to make it possible to operate without a deficit.

Voted to accept the financial report for 1963 and the first quarter of 1964 and to approve the proposed budget for 1964.

COMMUNICATION:

A. From Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

Read by the Executive Secretary, it relayed to a small group an offer of some supplies for the use of migrants. For information, contact the Executive Secretary.

B. From Harvard University Graduate School of Education

Requesting case materials for use in the secondary schools (Attached).

Annual Elizabeth B. Herring Award

Voted that Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. be the awardee of the Elizabeth B. Herring Award in 1964, in recognition of his distinguished service in behalf of migratory farm labor, and that an appropriate ceremony be arranged for the presentation.

It was agreed that the Chairman would appoint a committee to work out plans for the presentation in cooperation with Senator Williams' staff.

"PUBLIC HEARINGS ON FARM LABOR AND POVERTY IN RURAL AMERICA"

Sponsored and conducted by the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor May 18-19, Statler-Hilton Hotel, Washington, DC.

Fay Bennett reported on plans for the Hearings. A widely representative group of witnesses is being invited to provide new information about the problem and its solutions. The Dinner speaker (Monday night, 18 May) is Sargent Shriver; his topic is "Poverty on the Land in a Land of Plenty".

Mrs. Jean Kirson, working in the NCALL office, is handling arrangements locally.

PLATFORMS OF THE DEMOCRATIC & REPUBLICAN PARTIES

It was agreed that the Executive Secretary would send NCALL member organizations suggestions to be offered to the platform committees of the political parties.

APPRECIATION TO RABBI HIRSCH

Voted to express great appreciation to Rabbi Richard Hirsch for his hospitality.

The Meeting was adjourned at 4 PM.

Respectfully submitted

Edith E. Lowry
Secretary Pro Tem.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND, INC.

BY LAWS
Adopted by the Board of Directors, 7 April 1964

ARTICLE I
Name and Purpose

Section 1 The name of this organization shall be the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor Research Fund, Incorporated.

Section 2 The purpose of this Fund shall be to stimulate and conduct research for the study of any economic, social, cultural or educational problem of importance to low income farm people.

ARTICLE II
Management

Section 1 The management of this Fund shall be vested in a Board of Directors of sixteen members. The Directors shall elect their own officers.

Section 2 The officers of the Board shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

Section 3 At the time or immediately following the Annual Meeting of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, Directors of the Fund shall be chosen by the members of the Board to serve for a period of three years and until their successors are elected. Such successors shall be elected at the regular annual meeting of the Board from a list of nominees to be selected according to such procedures as may be adopted by the Board of Directors.

Section 4 Five members of the Board of Directors alone shall have and exercise the powers necessary to accept, accumulate, manage and dispose of money and property entrusted to the Fund, not inconsistent with the laws under which it has been incorporated.

Section 5 The Board of Directors shall have the power to appoint an Administrative Committee of five members of the Board of Directors to transact routine business in the interim of the meetings of the Board of Directors. Three members of the Administrative Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The Board shall have the power to appoint such other committees of the Board as may be needed.

Section 6 The Board of Directors is empowered to fill vacancies in its number by reason of death, resignation or other inability to serve.

ARTICLE III
Meetings

Section 1 At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors a report shall be presented by the President, Secretary, Treasurer and standing committees.

Section 2 Meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held twice a year or as called by the President at such other times as the business of the Board requires. Notice of each meeting shall be mailed at least ten days prior to date of the meeting. Notice of the meeting may be waived by a written waiver signed by each member of the Board who did not receive the ten day notice.

Section 3 Four members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for transacting business at meetings of the Board except for amendment of the by-laws and election of directors for which the vote of seven members of the Board will be required.

ARTICLE IV
Amendments

These by-laws may be altered or amended by a vote of the majority of the Board of Directors. They may be amended or altered at any meeting of the Board of Directors provided the proposed change has been mailed in writing to all members of the Board at least fifteen days in advance of the date of the meeting.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND, INC
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, D C 20036

April 24, 1964

To Research Fund Directors
NCALL Directors

From Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

Subject "A Planned Community for Migratory Farm Workers"

This packet has been prepared to give you a picture of a demonstration project which was initiated in San Antonio, Texas, for sponsorship by the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking and carried through to approval by the HHFA. At that time, however, the Bishops' Committee was not in a position to sign the sponsorship contract and receive the grant funds.

It is now suggested that NCALL or the Research Fund sponsor the project.

At its Annual Meeting on 7 April 1964, the Research Fund Board, looking on this suggestion "with favor" and voting to get more information from people in San Antonio, asked me to circulate basic information about it to all of you. I have selected these items from a more complete description:

An outline of the Project, prepared by Allison B. Peery, the architect who designed the community (green pages)

A description of the Community which is to be built and operated under the Project, prepared by Mr Peery (pink)

Cost and economic analyses prepared by Mr Peery (white)

A letter from HHFA raising questions about costs (blue)

Mr. Peery's reply, explaining some of the features of the community (yellow)

The Board would appreciate your comments and questions. Would you please send them to this office for distribution.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

Mar 21, 1962

Mr. Allison B. Peery
Architect
211 North Presa
San Antonio, Texas

Dear Mr. Peery:

This is in reply to your letter of February 26, covering two copies of the supplement to the application for a Section 207 grant on the part of the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking.

The supplement has not as yet been thoroughly reviewed. However, it is readily apparent that considerable refinement of the proposal has taken place.

On the other hand, we must at once observe that the $8,000 per dwelling cost figure is seriously questioned. To begin with, effective demand for housing at the $8,000 level, or even much lower levels, does not exist and is to be cultivated within a potential market of uncertain and untested demand characteristics. Even should the cost level be accepted, FHA commitments and financing be obtained, and the dwellings prove marketable in Bexar County, the price level of the housing would hardly invite replicability of the demonstration in other communities, as is, of course, the basic purpose of every eligible demonstration.

Moreover, the proposed demonstration would employ a combination of public subsidy and support, involving at least four different programs of Federal assistance, a circumstance further emphasizing the necessity of a more realistic cost objective.

In addition, the $8,000 cost level is one which does not favorably compare with other low-cost housing ventures current in Texas. As the submission itself notes, "Middle income, semi-luxury air conditioned apartments in the San Antonio area are built year after year at a per unit cost ranging from $4,000 to $6,000." Further, the widely-publicized SARAH undertaking in San Antonio is geared to a $7,000 sales price for three bedroom dwellings. These dwellings

were designed and developed to meet FHA minimum property standards for low-cost housing and enjoy support of the HHFA Section 314 demonstration grant program. It should also be added that one of our more advanced Section 207 proposals, also from the Southwestern part of the country, aims at a dwelling, designed for a hot-dry climate, to market at $5,000.

While we, of course, support your concern that the quality of the proposed demonstration dwellings be properly related to the low-cost objective, the considerations outlined above require that the $8,000 objective be carefully re-evaluated.

Lastly, since a combination of FHA-insured loans is to provide financing for the proposed development, we have contacted the FHA Commissioner's Office here in Washington which advises that you should arrange a conference with Mr. H. Earl Rosamond, FHA Multi-Family Housing Representative, HHFA Region V Office, Room 2000, Federal Center, 300 West Vickery Boulevard, Fort Worth 4, Texas. Please inform us as to the results of your discussion with Mr. Rosamond.

Sincerely yours,

George B. Nesbitt
Director, Low-Income
Housing Demonstration Program

Notes Concerning
A Planned Community for Migratory Farm Workers

Mr. George Nesbitt,

1- It has been our intention to apply only for the Preliminary Development grant, requested November 7, 1961; then, after detailed refinement of the proposal, request the financing terms and the required subsidy, all in due time. The questions raised by you, and others, have made it necessary for us to attempt the refinement of the proposal in a less thorough manner than will be the case when we are operating under the Preliminary Development grant contract.

We have therefore tried to show the feasibility of the scheme by selecting sample conditions, designing for them, and figuring costs based on familiar construction techniques. We believe that ultimate refinement will produce even lower costs. One obvious example - some of the dwelling units need not be as large as our sample. When we suggested that a subsidy of $67,104.00 would be required, it was on the basis of an $8,000.00 per dwelling unit total cost, which included dwelling units, parks and open spaces and central community facilities - we chose that figure we knew we could stay under. Please note that a more careful analysis shows a lesser figure using a fairly large sample dwelling unit. Further, please note that the $8,000.00 figure was never the sales price of the dwelling unit to the migrant family. We now know our sample house could sell, with land, for $6,678.90. Smaller houses could sell for less. Further, careful refinement, we believe, will lead to even lower costs.

2- Concerning SARAH, and other current low-income projects, please note that these are almost entirely attempts to squeeze a typical builder house even smaller, usually with no planning or design, much less any real analysis of the problems that keep low-income families in the low-income bracket. It has been our central idea that through the low-income housing demonstration program we might show that there is a better way, economically sound, that will produce a community designed to flourish socially and esthetically as well.

3- Mr. Rosamond raises questions some of which are answered by this submittal. He did not have these designs or cost figures, and was operating with the same information you received prior to this submittal. I refer specifically to his questions 2, 3 and 4.

Concerning his first question, we would like to present our case to the FHA Commissioner after final refinement. His number 5 question sets limits within which we easily qualify. Concerning number 6, I would like to stick to my figures since they are based on pretty careful research, and in reference to taxes, have clear assurance from the County Commissioner in whose precinct the demonstration project would lie, that he and his attorneys can help us set up the project to enjoy tax exemption.

4- By way of review, let's go through the whole process once more. The sponsor borrows $912,488.40 for the 120 family demonstration project. ($7,604.07 per dwelling unit.) He builds the project, geared to the needs of the Migrant family, and provides the spaces for job-training and job-placement, health clinic, administration, land for commercial leasing, parks and open spaces. He moves in the migrant families for whom he immediately secures employment (year round) at 75¢ an hour, charging them 20% of their income for rent. The difference he needs to meet all his expenses is made up from the subsidy. He begins to raise the level of the migrant family's income through his job training and job placement facilities, and raises the family's rent concurrently, until the family is paying economic rent. He then sells the dwelling unit to the family at a sales price composed of only the cost of the dwelling unit and the pro-rata share of land cost the dwelling unit sits on. Meanwhile the sponsor has leased out land to commercial enterprises, generating income; pays rent for his own office, charges the health unit rent for its office, charges the Community Development Council rent for the job-training facilities; i.e., in general, during the time he is selling off the dwelling units to the migrant families, he puts the central facilities on a paying basis so that when all the dwelling units are sold, he is in a position to expand the idea by constructing more dwelling units and starting the process all over again.

Obviously, the central facilities will serve more than the pilot, 120 families. It is for this reason we show a site diagram of a community of 714 dwelling units, the 120 family demonstration being the first part.

5- If our grant request is approved, we hope to revise our figures downward. I hope that I have shown there is little likelihood they will have to be revised upward. If our studies indicate a simpler financing scheme, we will revise accordingly. Incidentally, the project could be transferred as purely a rent scheme; its only because of the Latin orientation toward home ownership that we have included this feature.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

2027 Massachusetts Avenue NW Washington, D C 20036

A PLANNED COMMUNITY FOR MIGRATORY FARM WORKERS

A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

Outline prepared by:
Allison B. Peery, Architect

I. PURPOSE: To show that domestic migratory farm workers can be integrated socially and economically with their home base community by providing:

1. A Planned Community of safe, sanitary and decent dwelling units designed for permanent occupancy and ultimate ownership by the migratory farm worker family.

2. Permanent job-training and job-placement facilities in the community.

3. Permanent classroom space for the education of children and adults in language and citizen benefits and responsibilities.

4. Space for permanent health facilities and health education facilities.

5. Space for necessary commercial facilities to insure that the community will function as a natural one.

II. METHOD: The demonstration should proceed according to the following outline:

1. The national sponsor (NCALL) enters into a contract with the Housing and Home Finance Agency agreeing to sponsor and administer the demonstration.

2. The architect is authorized by NCALL to proceed with the planning and design of the community through the design development stage. (Monies for the architect's fees have been included in the demonstration grant through the design development stage).

3. A non-profit corporation of citizens from the locale where the planned community will be constructed enters into negotiations with the local FHA office for a permanent loan covering the cost of land acquisition and construction of the entire community under the provisions of Section 221d3 of the Housing Act. It is this corporation which signs the mortgage papers and, through the architect, administers the completion of working drawings and specifications for, and construction of, the entire community.

4. At the completion of construction, the local corporation sets up its rental office and rents its housing to the migratory farm worker families which have been selected for the demonstration by the national sponsor. The migratory farm worker family is charged "economic rent", that is, the amount of rent which is necessary to amortize the cost of land acquisition and construction borne by the local corporation over the period of the life of the loan. If the migratory farm worker family is unable to pay "economic rent" (which will probably be the case) then the family pays twenty per cent of its monthly income, whatever that amount might be. The difference between what the family is able to pay and "economic rent" is made up in subsidy payments which the national sponsor pays to the local corporation. Monies for subsidy payments have been included in the project demonstration grant.

5. All of the job-training and job-placement, educational and health facilities of the community are brought to bear in a well organized, integrated campaign administered by the national sponsor but carried out by local organizations, to raise the income level of the migratory farm worker family. Since the amount of rent paid by the family is a function of income, the families' rent soon rises to the point of "economic rent".

6. The all-out effort of the community facilities continues until the migratory farm worker family is in an economic position to qualify for home ownership of the same dwelling in which they have been housed through the period of subsidy rent and "economic rent".

7. As soon as families qualify, the dwelling units are sold to them and they then assume their own mortgage. The community facilities remain as an integral part of the community and more dwelling units are added and the process begins all over again.

III. <u>SPONSOR</u>: The role and responsibilities of the sponsor are as follows:

1. To enter into contract with the Housing and Home Finance Agency agreeing to carry out the demonstration.

2. To administer the demonstration from the period of design development through the period when "economic rent" and home ownership have been achieved.

3. Appoint a director to co-ordinate and administer the demonstration. Funds for this purpose have been included in the demonstration grant.

4. Furnish subsidy payments to the local corporation when required. Funds for this purpose have been included in the demonstration grant.

5. Observe and publish a report on the methodology and results of the demonstration. Funds for this purpose have been included in the demonstration grant.

IV. INITIAL STEPS: The first step is to confer with Mr. George B. Nesbitt, Director, Low Income Housing Demonstration Program, Housing and Home Finance Agency, express a willingness to sponsor the demonstration, and discuss with Mr. Nesbitt the official measures that must be taken to secure the contract for the demonstration.

4. THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY

4. The PCMFW will be a new and improved method of housing migratory farm workers at their home base. The demonstration will show that stabilization of this group and a healthful, decent, economically sound living standard can be achieved through:

A. The nature of the community.

The PCMFW will contain 120 safe, sanitary and decent dwelling units. The planning and design will produce dwelling units so carefully fitted to the needs of this group as to stimulate and maintain the desire for ownership of the unit and the desire to remain in the community. There will be space provided for a permanently staffed and maintained job-placement office. There will be space to house the job-training classes and workshops. There will be classroom space for the education of children and adults in language and citizen benefits and responsibilities. There will be space provided for health facilities and space for the necessary commercial facilities to insure that the community will function as a natural one.

B. A progression from subsidized rent through economic rent to home ownership within the same dwelling unit.

The migrant family will be offered a dwelling unit in the community which it may ultimately own. The initial rent which the family will pay will be 20% of income, using PHA formulae and standards. "Self-help" maintenance will be encouraged, stimulated by the progression toward ownership. As soon as the family income reaches the point which normally produces ineligibility in current low income housing projects, the typical "gap" is closed through a succession of rent adjustments until economic rent is achieved. The family then becomes eligible to buy the dwelling unit, with a final rent adjustment to produce the minimum down payment required in the permanent financing scheme. The 120 families which will be housed in the first PCMFW will be selected from the 12,000 migrants known to be home-based in Bexar County. It is estimated that 98% of this group are of Mexican descent. Since all current social survey data indicates a rigid orientation toward home ownership on the part of Latins, the project has been organized to achieve this result.

A sample site of 76.37 acres has been developed to demonstrate how the project could work. Each single family dwelling is row house with a common party wall to its neighbor, providing maximum density, yet permitting the clear legal isolation of each unit for sale in the future. Each plot, 40'x80' would provide a minimum, landscaped front yard, and a walled back yard. The private back yard space is an essential item fulfilling the emotional need of families of Mexican descent for a place to garden, cultivate flowers, keep animals and birds.

A system of open spaces, to serve as parks and playgrounds, are included within easy strolling distance of the dwelling units.

Land to be leased out for small neighborhood commercial establishments is located at points in the project to integrate these facilities into the neighborhood in a natural way. Laundries, dry cleaning establishments, neighborhood groceries, soda fountains and taverns would serve as meeting places, in general, would be in close proximity to park and recreational spaces. This integration of commercial and residential land use within the neighborhood is also derived from the cultural pattern of Latin families.

The Community Center, located in the dominant open space would provide:

Office space for the administrative center of the project (rental office, maintenance headquarters)

Office space for the job-placement center.

Space for the health clinic.

Large recreation space designed to accommodate basket-ball games, dances, indoor children's activities for bad weather and mass meetings.

Educational facilities space designed to accommodate a public library branch, a study hall for children with school home-work, class-rooms or small meeting rooms, space for the Programmed Instruction demonstration.

Space for blue-collar job-training designed to accommodate truckers and warehousemen's school, service station training school, and building trades school. This space could be equipped with facilities and tools to accommodate furniture repair and maintenance. It could also serve as a shop where families could make repairs to their own automobiles. The space could ultimately function on the level of a hobby shop.

The sample site chosen accommodates 714 single family dwelling units yielding a density of 9.3 families per acre.

A sample single family dwelling unit has been developed to indicate how the space needs of a low-income, large family could be met. Space for the family automobile or truck is included as an essential item, inasmuch as this prized possession is never left on the street, and would be parked in the front yard if not provided for.

Adequate living, dining and kitchen facilities would include cabinets and appliances (range and refrigerator, with connection for future washing machine).

Two dormitory bedrooms and one private bedroom together with a compartmented bath could serve a family of from six to twelve. Screen partitions may be used to sub-divide the dormitory space into semi-private sleeping spaces.

The units would have to be breeze oriented (as no air-conditioning is intended) with an emphasis on sun control, provided here by the use of a deep overhang and a minimum balcony which could also serve for extreme hot weather sleeping out.

The privately fenced rear yard would allow for expansion of the dwelling unit, or the construction of outbuildings, within the orderly pattern of the community.

COST ANALYSIS SINGLE FAMILY DWELLING UNIT

1st floor	467 sq. ft.	
2nd floor	654 sq. ft.	
	1121 sq. ft. gross enclosed space	
	200 sq. ft. car port	

Foundation concrete slab-on-grade	$ 416.95
Structural shell pre-cast, pre-stressed concrete panels, beams, flat slab 2nd floor and roof panels, and pre-cast stair	2,415.40
Roofing	104.00
Exterior panels (glass and non-lead bearing)	543.84
Interior panels (factory made, sandwich type)	525.60
Cabinet work kitchen, storage, ready-hung doors (interior and exterior)	470.00
Floor covering	120.00
Plumbing Heating (combined in factory assembled core)	650.00
Electric	175.00
Site work paving, walks, walls, landscaping	218.50
Cost	$5,639.29
Contractor's profit	563.92
Total construction contract cost	$6,203.21
Appliances (range, refrigerator)	186.00
Total replacement cost	$6,389.21

COST ANALYSIS LAND AND DEVELOPMENT 714 FAMILY PROJECT

76.37 acres raw land at 1,000.00/acre		$ 76,370.00
Streets, curbs, electric, water gas and sewer distribution systems, 76.37 at $3,000.00/acre		229,110.00
Total Land Cost		$305,480.00
Land cost per dwelling unit (including land cost for central facilities and open spaces)		420.71
Land used for central facilities, commercial, parks and open spaces	24.66 acres	
Land used for dwelling units Cost at $4,000.00/acre	51.71 "	$206,840.00
Land cost charged to dwelling unit		289.69

It is proposed to finance the PCMFW demonstration project by linking together the provisions of Section 221 (d) (3) and Section 221 (d) (2) of the National Housing Act. The sponsor of the PCMFW demonstration would borrow the replacement cost of the project at 3-1/8% interest rate for a 40-year term. As part of the demonstration, the sponsor would be allowed to sell the dwelling units, without profit, to the migrant family at a 5-1/4% interest rate for a 40-year term.

120 FAMILY DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

Replacement cost of dwelling units 120 at $6,389.21	$766,705.20
Cost of all land including central facilities and open spaces 120 at $420.71	50,485.20
Replacement cost of central facilities, no commercial included	95,298.00
	$912,488.40

ANALYSIS OF SALES FIGURES

Cost of land, not including central facilities or open spaces	$ 289.69	
Cost of house	6,389.21	
T o t a l		$ 6,678.90
Mortgage payment P&I/mo. (5-1/4%, 40 yr.)	$ 33.33	
Insurance	.61	
Taxes	6.69	
Total servicing		$40.63
Probable utilities		6.00
Total monthly cost		$46.63

ECONOMIC ANALYSIS DURING RENTAL AND SUBSIDY PERIOD
PLANNED COMMUNITY FOR MIGRATORY FARM WORKERS - 120 FAMILIES

1. OPERATING EXPENSES PER DWELLING UNIT PER MONTH

Management	$ 4.00
Operating service	.50
Utilities	6.00
Maintenance	4.00
Insurance	.61
Vacancy and collection loss	.25
Taxes	-0-
	15.36

2. DEBT RETIREMENT

3-1/8% forty-year loan on principal of $7,604.07. Per d.u. per month (includes pro rata share of all facilities)	27.77
Total cost per dwelling unit per month	43.13

3. INCOME

Initial guaranteed income per head of family per month $130.00 20% of income for shelter rent	26.00

4. GAP 17.13

5. SUBSIDY REQUIREMENT

60 months required to guarantee the income per head of family of $1.24 per hour; $215.65 per month. 20% of income for shelter rent	43.13

60 + 2x17.13 equals $513.90 per family
120 x $513.90 equals -- $61,668.00
TOTAL SUBSIDY REQUIRED- - -

New Jersey Affiliates of the

NATIONAL COUNCIL on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE and LABOR

cordially invite you to join us as

NCALL honors

Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

of New Jersey

at a dinner in Newark

On Friday evening, July 10, 1964

at the Essex House
1050 Broad Street
Newark, New Jersey

$ 7.50 per person
$14.00 per couple

The Elizabeth Herring Award
was created and is annually
awarded by the
Board of Directors of NCALL
in recognition of work with and
on behalf of agricultural workers.

It is named for its first recipient,
Miss Elizabeth Herring,
on the occasion of her retirement as
Executive Secretary of NCALL.

As Chairman of the Senate
Subcommittee on Migratory Labor,
"Pete" Williams has led the fight for
reform of the agricultural labor market
through legislation, in the process
arousing the conscience and
voice of the Nation,
thus creating the possibility of
significant action now.

Essex House

In the Elizabethan Ballroom

6:30 p.m.	**Reception**
8:00 p.m.	**Dinner**

Invocation

Introductions

Rev. Alexander H. Shaw

General Secretary, New Jersey Council of Churches

Presentation of

the Elizabeth Herring Award to

The Honorable HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.

Chairman of the
Administrative Committee of NCALL

Remarks by Senator Williams

Benediction

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is the clearing house for national organizations concerned about the economic, social and cultural problems of rural America.

Officers

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James P. Mitchell

CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
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- Department of Rural Education

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United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Church of Christ
- Department of the Church in Town and Country
- Council for Christian Social Action

United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO
United Presbyterian Church in the USA
- Office of Church and Society
- Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work

United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint US-Mexico Trade Union Committee

ASSOCIATED GROUPS

National Housing Conference

DINNER RESERVATION CARD

I plan to attend the dinner on Friday, July 10, 1964 at the Essex House, Newark, New Jersey, (Reception at 7 p.m., dinner at 8)

honoring

Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

I enclose $_____ for _____ tickets at $7.50

$_____ for _____ couples at $14.00

$_____ for _____ tables for 10 at $70.00

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

Please make your check payable to NCALL and mail it in the enclosed envelope to NCALL c/o the Ridgewood YWCA, 112 Oak Street, Ridgewood, New Jersey, by July 6. Tickets will be mailed to you while time permits delivery.

Please specify MEAT ☐ or FISH ☐ dinner.

NATIONAL
COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

a c t i o N C A L L # 10 17 August 1964

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell
CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

To: NCALL Directors and Associates

Subject: Tax Exempt Status

This statement was prepared by the United Community Funds and Councils of America (USFCA), distributed by the National Social Welfare Assembly, with which we are associated, and copied with the consent of the author.

Its message may be summarized "secure competent tax counsel".

The Internal Revenue Service has mailed a questionnaire to some 300,00 exempt organizations seeking information to be set up on the Service's automatic data processing equipment. Additional organizations will receive these questionnaires shortly. They are accompanied by a request that they be returned within 15 days of receipt.

As soon as UCFCA saw a copy, it telephoned the Exempt Organizations Branch of IRS in Washington and pointed out how a great deal of misleading information might be filed by agency executives who are not knowledgeable about the Internal Revenue Code and some of its technicalities. We asked if the questionnaire could be withdrawn and redesigned but learned that it had such widespread distribution that this was impossible.

Consequently United Funds and Councils are urged to secure competent tax counsel in filling out this form and to warn their affiliated agencies immediately to do the same.

Questions #7 and #11 are of particular concern. They relate to the classification, purposes and activities of tax exempt organizations are are to be answered by selecting descriptive terminology from two tables printed on the form. Only so-called 501 (c) (3) organizations are eligible to receive contributions which are deductible by the donor for income tax purposes. All agencies which are supported by United Funds are supposed to have this classification and in answering question #7 should limit their selections to eight catgories that the table shows have such a classification if they can possibly and legitimately do so. Becuase the term "social welfare organization" is used differently in the Internal Revenue Code than it is commonly used in the health and welfare field, agencies that select "social welfare organization" from this list may invite further inquiry from the Internal Revenue Service about their correct classification for income tax purposes. Agencies should be warned that "social welfare organizations" are classified as 501 (c) (4) exempt organizations which means that contributions to them are not deductible for income tax purposes.

Included in the list of 90 purposes, activities and operations from which answers to question #11 may be drawn are several which if used unwittingly, could cause trouble for agencies. These include "civic welfare," "humanitarian activities" "services to members" and Revenue Regulations relating to tax exempt organizations, frequently are used to describe 501 (c) (4) organizations. Since despite the wide choice provided in the questionnaire, it will prove extremely difficult for many agencies to find appropriate descriptive terms, agencies should be warned to be very discriminating in their selections from this list lest they jeopardize their exemption as 501 (c) (3) organizations contributions to which are deductible for income tax purposes.

A special word to Councils. 501 (c) (3) organizations are not forbidden by the Internal Revenue Code from engaging in legislative activity so long as they do not devote more than an insubstantial part of their time, effort

and budget to this purpose. Yet in a number of recent cases, the mere mention of legislative activity has resulted in exemption applications of clearly qualified organizations being rejected by IRS. This fact should be kept in mind in answering the questionnaire. Also, Councils will find it difficult to find suitable selections from Table 2 of the questionnaire to describe themselves accurately. Consequently it may be advisable for them to append an explanation of their activities to the questionnaire rather than to attempt to select an appropriate word from this table. Some might find it advisable to choose "educational (other)" as being most nearly descriptive. This will not adversely affect their 501 (c) (3) status but, if as a result they are subsequently reclassified as "educational" rather than "charitable", they will henceforth be required to file annual information returns with the Internal Revenue Service. Such returns are not presently required of 501 (c) (3) charitable organizations supported primarily by contributions of the general public.

Poverty Program Projects

In what projects are you engaged under the Anti-Poverty Act?

I know you do not have money for projects, but we are all vitally interested in your preparations to take advantage of the Economic Opportunities now available.

Would you please let me know immediately. All information along these lines will be helpful to me in talking to the Poverty Task Force here in Washington and to the Crusade Against Poverty initiated by the UAW.

Will you please respond to this request immediately; as soon as I hear from you, I will prepare a summary of your activities and circulate it to all of you.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20036

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

Rec'd 10/12/64

TO : NCALL Directors

SUBJECT: Meetings, Conferences, etc.

FROM : Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

Talking with a number of people who were in town for various meetings last week, I learned that a great variety of meetings is going on around the country on rural poverty. Conferences on the Poverty Package held here in Washington, with the exception of those sponsored by the NEA's Department of Rural Education, almost completely ignored rural problems.

Not having been aware of the rural meetings, I have been unable to tell you about them for your own planning.

Furthermore, I have been exploring the possibility of grant funds for a major conference of our own: a national conference on Developing Rural Opportunities through Private Organizations, to bring together people who have programs, people wishing to start programs, people who want to know what programs can do, and government program specialists. The effort would try to make up for rural areas' lack of organization, which contrasts with the well-organized metropolitan regions. Now I find that some of this work is already being done.

In order to avoid duplication and identify resource participants, I need to know what conferences on this general subject you have given, are planning to hold or have participated in. Could you let me know what you have scheduled?

In particular, I would appreciate knowing whether any of your forthcoming conferences are so constructed as to permit the devotion of some time to this subject, my thought being that we might do as well or better with a series of regional meetings rather than a single one here in Washington.

Please, give this request your prompt consideration.

October 5, 1964

Pls check with Wasserman. Are there any meetings I should report, or is the Shaw group doing it?

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell

CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

MEMBERS
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization
American Friends Service Committee
American Humane Association
American Veterans Committee
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism
Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Methodist Church
Women's Division of Christian Service
General Board of Christian Social Concerns
National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Public School Adult Educators
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
The National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children
National Consumers League
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA
Division of Home Missions
General Department of United Church Women
Department of the Church and Economic Life
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church
National Education Association
Department of Rural Education
National Farmers Union
National Lutheran Council
Division of American Missions
National Sharecroppers Fund
Office of the Lay Apostolate
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Church of Christ
Department of the Church in Town and Country
Council for Christian Social Action
United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO
United Presbyterian Church in the USA
Office of Church and Society
Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
United States Section, Joint US-Mexico Trade Union Committee

ASSOCIATED GROUPS
National Housing Conference

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Rev. E. Russell Carter Ethlyn Christensen Marion A. Clawson Clay L. Cochran Rev. Louis Colonnese Vincent DeFrancis Leslie W. Dunbar Rev. Eldon E. Ehrhart
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A. J. Hayes Elizabeth B. Herring Very Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins Herbert Hill Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch Robert W. Hudgens Dr. Robert M. Isenberg
Lewis W. Jones Robert E. Jones Leah Lochenbruch Dr. Benson Y. Landis Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman Edith E. Lowry Dr. Robert A. Luke Elizabeth Magee
Rev. Howard C. Maxwell Arnold Mayer Dr. Henry A. McConna Barbara Moffett Dr. Herman N. Morse Rev. E. W. Mueller Frank Noakes Rev. Herman Page
Beatrice Personnat James O. Patton Very Rev. Msgr. William J. Quinn Peggy Roach Howard D. Samuel Dr. George Sanchez Francis Shane Rev. Rodney Shaw
Shirley Sonosky Thelma Stevens Cassandra Stockburger Dr. Paul Taylor Rev. John A. Wagner Dr. Ernest F. Witte Gertrude Folks Zimand

Memo from **VERNON E. JORDON, JR.**

Les — ✓

The Sharecroppers

are doing it.

MJ. file

Rec'd 11/12/64

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

9 November 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SW — Check me about this around 12/1

To Directors and Alternates

From Fay Bennett, Acting President

The 1964 Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors will be held at Washington, D. C. on 7 December, from 9:30 am to 4:30 pm.

Enclosed is a tentative AGENDA.

Your suggestions about the agenda are invited; your participation in the meeting is urged.

Please complete and return the enclosed post card indicating whether you will attend, and what additional items should be placed upon the agenda.

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell

CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

1964 Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors

Washington, D. C. on Monday, 7 December 1964

Tentative Agenda

Minutes of the 1963 Annual Meeting, and the Spring, 1964, Administrative Committee Meeting

Report of the Membership Committee, action on its recommendations

Review of 1964 activities

Plans for 1965

Need to supply information to the Council for dissemination
Report of the Finance Committee
Set date for Spring meeting

Lunch - Either a speaker with a message or we report briefly on our own activities

Legislative Workshop for interested members and directors at large

To bring together those of you with legislative programs to consider mutual goals and joint action on such items as:

Remaining Williams bills: child labor, advisory council, voluntary employment service, collective bargaining, minimum wage

Foreign worker recruitment

Strengthening Title III and other provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act

Action on rural housing and housing credit legislation

Reducing residence requirement for voting in Presidential elections

Securing additional health and welfare programs

Report of the Nominating Committee, election of officers, appointment of committees

A special meeting of the Research Fund Board of Directors will follow this meeting

9 Nov. 64

Rec'd 11/30/64

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

File

24 November 1964

To NCALL Directors and Alternates

From Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

The 1964 Annual Meeting will be held, as previously announced,

Monday, 7 December 1964, opening at 9:30 AM

at the

Burlington Hotel in Washington
1120 Vermont avenue NW, just off Thomas Circle

We hope you will be able to stay for the full day's business.

Two discussion items have so far been suggested for addition to the agenda:

The purpose or function of NCALL

The probable effects on rural people of reapportionment

I am sorry that I cannot offer our help in arranging transportation or reservations. Also, may I add that I am sending this letter to all of you, including those who indicated they could not make the meeting.

However, I hope to see all of you or your representatives on the 7th.

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell

CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

14 December 1964

file

To Directors representing Members

Subject National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest

From Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

At the Annual Meeting last week, the Directors voted to join as a co-sponsor of the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest and to urge all of our members to do the same.

The enclosed documents from the Conference organization - a progress report on Conference preparations, the most recent revision of the tentative program and preliminary list of sponsors, and a model news story for the sponsors' own newspapers - are due you as NCALL members in any event.

Additionally, those of you who are already sponsors will want to know the latest about what you are sponsoring; those of you who are unable to join as national sponsors will want to know what is happening as it may affect your activities in the future; those of you who are still considering sponsorship will have more information on which to act now. If you are in the last of these categories, we hope to hear from you soon.

All of you are reminded that your local units or affiliates in the Southwest may be regional sponsors. Because of the emphasis on participation by the people of the region and the consequent assignment of program planning to the Phoenix office, I am unable to define the role you might play. However, I would suggest you have your people in the region discuss participation with the Conference Coordinator, Robert B Choate, or the Executive Secretary, Mrs Grace Gil Olivarez, at the Conference office

603 Security Building
234 North Central, Phoenix
Phone 602 258 3476

Draft of suggested press release to be used by national organizations sponsoring the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest.

(Name of organization) has joined with several other organizations in sponsoring a National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest to be held in Tucson, Arizona, Jan. 25-26, 1965, it was announced today by (name of responsible officer of organization).

The conference is aimed at arousing national concern over the poverty found in a major region of the United States which blights the lives of many thousands of Americans (name of officer) said.

The Conference developed in response to efforts by several organizations which succeeded in gaining the support of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Efforts by the groups resulted in a letter to President Johnson Oct. 22 by three nationally prominent citizens setting forth the proposal for the conference.

The letter was signed by James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union and Chairman, National Policy Committee on Pockets of Poverty; UAW President, Walter P. Reuther in his capacity as Chairman of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty; and the Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., Chairman, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

Purpose of the conference, the letter to the President pointed out, would be "to concentrate national attention on the unique problems of this area and particularly those of the ethnic minority groups in what is otherwise a great and prosperous part of our country."

In his reply Nov. 2, President Johnson said, "This undertaking by the many private groups you represent can be very helpful in focusing attention on the special problems of poverty in this region of the country.

"I have asked Mr. Sargent Shriver, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to provide you with whatever assistance you may need. The war against poverty depends upon the kind of citizen effort in which you are engaged, and we want to help in every possible way."

National Co-chairmen of the Conference are Patton, Reuther, and Father Vizzard.

-30-

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST
TUCSON, ARIZONA
JANUARY 25-26, 1965

PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE

1. TO BROADCAST EXISTENCE AND NATURE OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AND RELATED FEDERAL ACTS WHICH ARE USEFUL IN TACKLING ROOTS OF POVERTY;

2. TO INSTIGATE INTEREST IN AND APPLICATIONS TO THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY BY CITIZENS OF THE SOUTHWEST;

3. TO REVEAL TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC THE NATURE, EXTENT, AND IMPLICATIONS OF POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST;

4. TO ADVOCATE AND URGE GREATER COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTHWEST;

5. TO AWAKEN NATIONAL INTEREST AND CONCERN FOR THE IMPOVERISHED OF THE SOUTHWEST;

6. TO IMPROVE INTER-GROUP COMMUNICATION IN FACING THE PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTHWEST;

7. TO AWAKEN PRIVATE PHILANTHROPIC INTEREST IN SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL ISSUES.

MONDAY - JANUARY 25, 1965

9:00 .....PLENARY SESSION

9:00 - 9:10...Welcome (Governor Samuel P. Goddard, Jr. of Arizona)

9:10 - 9:30...Introduction (Conference chairman outlining purpose and method of conference)

9:30 - 10:15..Speech #1 Sargent Shriver

10:15 - 12:00..Panel (Description and discussion of poverty in the Southwest by regional experts.)

12:30 .....MIXER LUNCHEON

Speech #2 (Motivational: The moral reasons why we must make a major effort, working together, to eradicate the causes of poverty in this region)

Speaker: Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio

2:30 - 5:00...Workshop #1: "Citizens Hearings" with articulate and representative spokesmen for the poor being heard on their own problems by a group of knowledgeable and representative citizens.

7:00 .....DINNER

Speech #3 (A Republican leader looks at poverty in the Southwest)

Speaker:

TUESDAY - JANUARY 26, 1965

9:30 - 12:00 ... Workshop #2 "Citizens Hearings" with representatives of private agencies - churches, unions, ethnic groups, civic agencies, foundations, etc. - explaining what they are now doing and what further they are immediately planning to do with proper cooperation and assistance.

NOTE: Hearings #2 and #3 may be broken into small audiences.

12:00 ..... SPECIAL PURPOSE LUNCHEONS

1:30 - 4:00 ... Workshop #3: "Citizens Hearings" with representatives of municipal, state and governmental agencies - Labor, Agriculture, Interior, HEW, Commerce, Bureau of Indian Affairs, MDTA, Housing, Office of Economic Opportunity, etc. - to explain under questioning by panel what they are doing and can do.

4:00 - 5:30 ... PLENARY WINDUP

Reports from hearings using the four Shriver panelists as reporters.

7:00 ..... DINNER

Speech #4 Speaker: Vice-President Elect Hubert H. Humphrey

* * *

The conference's National Office is located at 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C., Telephone: 483-4700.

The Regional Office for the Conference is under the direction of the Conference Coordinator, Mr. Robert B. Choate, Jr., The Choate Foundation, Security Building, P. O. Box 784, Phoenix, Arizona, 85001 or Grace Gil Olivaraz, Executive Secretary, at the same address.

* * *

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

as of 17 December 1964

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO
American G. I. Forum
The American Humane Association - Children's Division
American Veterans Committee
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking
Church of the Brethren - General Brotherhood Board
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
Community Service Organization
Credit Union National Association, Inc.
League of United Latin American Citizens
Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, Dept. of Economic Life
Mexican American Political Association
National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
National Association for Public School Adult Education
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Catholic Community Services
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Catholic Welfare Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children
National Conference of Catholic Charities
National Consumers League
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches
    Department of the Church in Town and Country
    Department of Migrant and Indian Work
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Senior Citizens
National Education Association - Department of Rural Education
National Farmers Union
National Lutheran Council, Division of American Missions
National Organization for Mexican American Services
National Policy Committee on Pockets of Poverty
Office of the Lay Apostolate
Union of American Hebrew Congregations - Commission on Social Action
United Church - Board for Homeland Ministries
    Department of the Church in Town and Country
Unitarian - Universalist Department of Social Responsibility
Unitarian - Universalist Service Committee, Inc.
United Packinghouse Workers, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO
United Presbyterian Church, Board of National Missions
United Presbyterian Church, Office of Church and Society

Rec'd 1/7/65

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

2027 Massachusetts avenue N W Washington, D C 20036

24 December 1964

TO NCALL Directors

Subject Annual Meeting Reading List

From Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

Most of the enclosed documents derive from the 1964 Annual Meeting. They are, in order,

Minutes of the Meeting (White pages)
Summaries of member activities (Blue)
Amended By-laws (Canary)
Reminders that we need your help in knowing what is going on (Green and yellow sheets)
Minutes of a special meeting of the Research Fund Board (White)
Roster of the Directors (Buff) -- please let me know about any errors in title, address, etc. See Minutes - Plans for 1965.

Other Meeting-oriented materials will be or have already been sent to you:

Questionnaire about dates for the Spring meeting, with an enclosed reply card
Progress report, etc, on the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest

Letter on the review of the statement of NCALL's Objectives and Program

Letter on the subscription fee increase proposal

Description of the proposed James P. Mitchell Seminars on Agricultural Life and Labor

In addition, a USDA publication is enclosed in this packet:

Poverty in Rural Areas, which arrived too late to be distributed at the meeting.

Please, too, watch for actioNCALL #16, on the Rules of the House of Representatives so that you may take appropriate action at an appropriate time.

With this reading and action assignment I offer my best wishes for a good year.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors

7 December 1964

MINUTES

The 1964 Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of NCALL was called to order by Acting President Fay Bennett at 9:40 am on 7 December 1964 at the Burlington Hotel in Washington, DC. Present at the meeting were Dan Bedell, Fay Bennett, Howard A. Dawson, John Fryer, Elizabeth Herring, Robert M. Isenberg, Mrs. John Bayley Jones representing the Methodist Woman's Division of Christian Service, Robert E. Jones, Edith E. Lowry, Lewis Maddox, Howard C. Maxwell, Arnold Mayer, Mary Moran, Henry A. McCanna, Sarah Newman, Theodore Norman, Msgr. William J. Quinn, Helen Shettle, Shirley Sonosky, Cassandra Stockburger, Cleonice Tavani, Rev James L. Vizzard, SJ and Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary.

Proposed agenda was modified and adopted and the Minutes of the 1963 Annual Meeting and the 1964 Spring Meeting of the Administrative Committee were approved.

Membership Committee report was made by Ted Norman, recommending approval of membership for the National Association of Social Workers and the Social Action Secretariat of the National Federation of Catholic College Students.

Review of 1964 activities included:

Report by Father Vizzard on the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and their plan for a conference in Washington in February. In view of Father Vizzard's report that Walter Reuther, Chairman of CCAP was being operated on that day, it was unanimously agreed to send Mr. Reuther a telegram of cheer.

Father Vizzard also reported on the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest being scheduled for January 25 and 26 in Tucson, Arizona. James Patton, Walter Reuther and Father Vizzard had acted as co-chairmen of a committee to convene the conference, planning for which is being carried out by a Steering Committee in the Southwest jointly with a Washington-based Steering Committee. The Conference is to be financed largely by grants from UAW, CCAP, Farmers Union, and OEO, plus contributions from sponsoring organizations and registration fees. At the core of the Conference will be three sets of Citizen Hearings - one to hear the citizens themselves, the second for private and local public agencies, and the third for Federal agencies.

After much discussion, it was moved (Norman), seconded (Dawson), and passed unanimously that NCALL join in co-sponsoring the Southwest Conference and that NCALL urge its member organizations to do likewise. A letter is to be sent as soon as possible to all member organizations of NCALL on this matter.

Ben Neufeld then reported briefly on passage of the Crew Leader Bill, postponing until the afternoon session the report on PL 414 and the Poverty Bill.

Review of Member Activities

At this point, it was agreed to change the adopted Agenda to have brief reports on activities of each organization before taking up the item on "Purpose and Function of NCALL". Fifteen members present reported; summaries are enclosed (blue paper).

By-laws After a recess for lunch, the first order of business was the motion (Dawson) that the Board ratify and adopt By-laws amendments proposed by Administrative Committee at its April meeting. It was seconded (Norman) and passed unanimously (enclosed - see canary paper).

Discussion on Purpose and Function of NCALL

The June 6, 1951, Statement of Objectives and Program was distributed. Miss Bennett and Miss Eaton had both asked for clarification of functions of NCALL in responding to the call of the meeting. A motion (Vizzard) that a special committee be set up to study the 1951 statement and bring in recommendations for updating it was seconded (Shettle) and passed unanimously.

Miss Herring was appointed Chairman of the Special Committee whose members include Bennett, Dawson, Eaton, Maxwell, Mayer, Neufeld and Vizzard.

A motion (Mrs. Jones) that the Board be circularized to inform them of the projected study and including a copy of the 1951 Statement, and asking for recommendations, was seconded (Shettle) and passed unanimously (A letter will be sent out immediately after the holidays).

Plans for 1965

It was agreed that the Executive Secretary was to provide each Board member with a list of names and addresses of all Board members to facilitate flow of relevant information among members (the list is enclosed, on white paper).

Finance Committee report was given by Edith Lowry, with two recommendations:

1. that the new Finance Committee Chairman be chosen in consultation with organized labor, and

2. that the members' basic subscription fee be increased to $100 to help support our expanded activities.

Recommendation No 1 was agreed to unanimously. After much discussion on Recommendation No 2, it was moved (Lowry) and seconded (Shettle) that the Bylaws be amended to increase annual subscription to $50 per year except for student organizations which were to remain at $25. Passed unanimously.

It was moved (Lowry) and seconded (Norman) that certain member organizations be approached by the Finance Committee for larger contributions. Passed unanimously.

Legislative Workshop

Public Law 414 was discussed, with a review of the Labor Department's position on foreign workers. The discussion was interrupted to permit Mr. Nat Keith, president of the National Housing Conference, to speak on plans for Housing legislation (particularly in rural areas) prospects in the 89th Congress. Mr. Keith outlined the Conference's tentative plans and welcomed suggestions from NCALL and its members for changes or inclusions. He agreed to try to get mailings out to NCALL members when organization action on rural housing legislation was required.

Arnold Mayer suggested that legislation providing aid to farmers to build family housing for migrants might be a point on which NCALL members and the growers could cooperate. Father Vizzard promised to get in touch with Stewart Boswell, DC representative of the National Council of Agricultural Employers.

Spring meeting dates and plans were left to the Administrative Committee with suggested dates for a one and one-half or two day meeting being May 25 and 26, 4 and 5, or 11 and 12. The Executive Secretary was instructed to prepare a description of his proposed Annual James P. Mitchell Seminars for consideration as an adjunct to the meeting.

The date for the next annual meeting was set for 7 December 1965.

Legislative Workshop then continued with discussion of PL 414, the need for a separate bill on a minimum wage for farm workers, and the need to strengthen Title III of the Economic Opportunity Act. Member organizations should be writing President Johnson on the latter point.

Nominating Committee report, made by Ted Norman, recommended re-election of present officers, with exception of shifting of Secretary-Treasurer and Assistant Secretary Treasurer names, and re-election of those members of the Board whose terms expire in 1964. Recommendations for President still are under consideration. It was moved (Dawson) and seconded (Norman) that the report be accepted and the Secretary be instructed to cast a unanimous ballot. Passed unanimously.

It was moved (Norman) and seconded (Vizzard) that the Nominating and Membership Committees be increased in size. Carried unanimously.

It was moved (Shettle) and seconded (Vizzard) that the Annual Meeting be recessed until May at which time a President will be elected. Passed unanimously, and the meeting stood in recess at 4:30 pm.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors

7 December 1964

ADDENDUM TO THE MINUTES

Reports from Directors on their recent activities

In the order presented, being from right to left around the meeting room

Father Vizzard - National Catholic Rural Life Conference

Fought, with other organizations, the U S Department of the Interior's abuse of the 160-acre limitation and won a major victory; is now planning to organize a National Committee on Natural Resources.

Participating in the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (CCAP) as a member of the Executive Committee.

A co-chairman of the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest (see Minutes).

Worked to oppose use of PL 414 as a new bracero program.

(Ben Neufeld added that Msgr O'Rourke had taken part in USDA's Co-op Month activities and is working on a co-op sugar project with a Louisiana farm worker community.)

Miss Moran - Chairman, Social Action Secretariat, National Federation of Catholic College Students

Interested in both legislation and student action; a participant in U S Youth Council, works with Newman Clubs and the National Student Christian Federation.

Staffed student migrant projects in New Jersey and Michigan in 1964, plans to staff 4 or 5 next summer, working with State Employment and other agencies.

Dr. Maxwell - Office of Church and Society, United Presbyterian Church

Purpose of the Office is to establish guide lines for church action.

Conducts study projects, such as one on Problems of Poverty.

Works in the legislative field, is working on VISTA recruitment.

Mrs. Sonosky - National Council of Jewish Women

Activity is mainly legislative.

New Jersey groups have active migrant committees and community service programs.

National organization is working on Job Corps recruitment of girls for OEO with National Council of Catholic Women, United Church Women of the National Council of Churches and the National Council of Negro Women.

Miss Tavani - National Association of Social Workers

Works for Federal legislation and its implementation locally through a Division of Social Policy and Action.

Monsignor Quinn - Bishops' Committee on Migrant Workers, now absorbed by the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking

Is helping set up local Migrant Councils in the counties, has some working with NCC Migrant Ministries, with interfaith cooperation expanding.

Working against PL 414 foreign recruitment.

Preparing a directory of Catholic local operations.

Dr. Isenberg - Department of Rural Education, National Education Association

Getting rural school people involved in Economic Opportunity Act activities.

Emphasized education of the rural disadvantaged at recent national conference.

Dr. McCanna - Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches

Developing ties between NCC and state and local councils, including for poverty programs, alerting ministers to opportunities.

Sponsoring OMAT training programs in Arizona and California.

Encouraging Rural Area Development committees.

Delta Ministry - working on total area rehabilitation.

Issues book, pamphlets, movies (notably The Captive).

Mr. Jones - Unitarian-Universalist Department of Social Responsibility

A new department, it will work on the Williams bills here, support for OEO and the Delta Ministry.

Mrs. Shettle - National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor

Held "Citizens Hearing" on Farm Labor here in May.

Gathers and disseminates literature.

Makes statements to legislative and administrative hearings.

Miss Stockburger - National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children

Stimulates new and improved education, working with state departments of education, teachers, administrators, etc.

Acts as a clearing house of education materials.

Mrs. Jones - Methodist Woman's Division of Christian Service (Mrs. Jones is not the regular representative and so is not intimately acquainted with program in our field)

Cooperates with United Church Women.

Disseminates information, works on legislation.

Dr. Dawson - Currently a consultant in Florida to Governor's cabinet and state education agency

Meets with community leaders, etc.

Mrs. Newman - National Consumers League

Research and legislative programs.

Dissemination of printed information.

Miss Bennett - National Sharecroppers Fund

Makes grants to certain Southern groups for their programs.

Has its own 5-man staff working in the South on rural economic programs, including co-ops, organization, OEO, VISTA

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

By-Laws

(As amended at Administrative Committee meeting, 7 April 1964, and ratified by the Board at the Annual Meeting, 7 December 1964)

Article I - Name

Section I The corporate name of this organization shall be the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor.

Article II - Purposes

Section I The purpose of this organization shall be to improve the living and working conditions of the low-income farm and rural populations of the United States of America. It shall collect and disseminate to organizations and individuals information of scientific, economic, social, literary and educational character. The objects of this corporation are exclusively scientific, educational and literary. No part of the earnings of this corporation shall inure to the benefit of any private individual and no substantial part of its activities shall be the carrying on of propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

Section 2 The NCALL as an organization will limit its action on pending national, state or local legislation to providing information on such legislation to its membership.

Article III - Members, Associates and Associated Groups

Section 1 Only organizations as herein defined shall be eligible to become Members of NCALL.

(a) Membership shall be open to national and regional organizations interested in the social, economic and cultural problems of agricultural life.

(b) Such organization may become a Member by majority vote of the Board of Directors, following application by such organization or nomination by a majority of the Membership Committee.

(c) Each Member shall name its own representative to NCALL who shall serve as a member of the Board of Directors. Substitute representation is permitted when it is so authorized by the Member organization.

(d) Members shall pay a $25.00 annual subscription for NCALL publications and other informational communications.

(e) The Membership Committee shall review annually the list of organizational members and shall bring to the attention of the Board of Directors any organization which has failed to pay its annual subscription or whose purpose or methods of work, in the judgment of the Membership Committee, have changed and are no longer in accord with the policy of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. The Board of Directors may authorize the dropping of such Members.

Section 2 Individuals may become NCALL Associates.

(a) Students in secondary schools or institutions of higher learning may become Associates upon payment of an annual subscription of $1.00.

(b) All other persons may become Associates upon payment of an annual subscription of $5.00.

Section 3 Organizations which are interested in the social, economic or cultural problems of rural life and whose membership is exclusively or primarily organizational may become NCALL Associated Groups by majority vote of the Board of Directors following application by such organization or nomination by a majority of the Membership Committee.

(a) Associated Groups shall not be required to pay a subscription fee but shall agree to exchange publications with NCALL and to exchange observers when appropriate.

Article IV - Board of Directors

Section 1 The control and management of the affairs and funds of NCALL shall be vested in a Board of Directors.

Section 2 The Board of Directors shall consist of:
(a) One designated representative from each organizational member as provided in Article III, Section 2 (c); and
(b) Not more than 21 directors-at-large. One third of the members-at-large shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting for a term of three years. No members-at-large shall serve more than two three-year terms in succession. At the time this provision is adopted, one, two, and three year terms shall be assigned by lot.

Article V - Meetings

Section 1 The Board of Directors shall hold two regular meetings annually at such time and place as may be designated by the Board with ten days written notice thereof.

Notice of intention to propose an organization for approval by the Board of Directors must be given to all directors at least ten days in advance of the meeting at which approval is proposed.

Section 2 Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Administrative Committee or by the President at the request of five members of the Board. Actions at special meetings may be taken only on matters specifically on the agenda as announced in the call for the meeting. 10 days advance notice shall be required for a special meeting.

Section 3 A quorum of the Board of Directors shall consist of 10 members of the Board.

Section 4 One of the two regular meetings of the Board of Directors in each calendar year shall be designated as the Annual Meeting of NCALL. At this Annual Meeting, the officers shall render a summary report of the activities and finances of NCALL.

Section 5 The fiscal year of NCALL shall be the calendar year.

Article VI - Committees

Section 1 The Standing Committees of NCALL shall be Administrative Committee, Finance Committee, Membership Committee, Nominating Committee, and Personnel Committee.

Section 2 (a) The Administrative Committee shall consist of the elected officers of NCALL; Honorary President, President, First, Second and Third Vice Presidents, Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Administrative Committee, Secretary-Treasurer and Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, and ten members designated by the Board from its membership, at least four of whom shall be representatives of member organizations. The ten members shall be residents of the Washington area or persons who have indicated that they will be able to attend meetings of the committee.
(b) The Administrative Committee shall have the power to act for the Board of Directors in the interim between meetings of the Board. All actions of the Committee shall be reported to the Board at the next meeting of the Board following such action.
(c) A quorum of the Administrative Committee shall consist of five members.
(d) Vacancies in the Administrative Committee shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

Section 3 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Finance Committee responsible for securing the necessary support for NCALL.

Section 4 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Membership Committee through which shall be recommended all new organizational members of NCALL.

Section 5 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Nominating Committee whose responsibility shall be to present at each annual meeting a proposed slate of officers and standing committee personnel for the ensuing year. The Nominating Committee may bring in recommendations for members-at-large at any meeting of the Board provided that the proposed names are submitted to board members in writing in advance of the meeting at which they are to be elected. In the case of vacancies occurring between annual meetings the Board may request nominations from the Nominating Committee.

Section 6 The Board of Directors shall appoint a Personnel Committee which shall recommend to the Board conditions of employment for NCALL staff members and recommend persons to fill staff vacancies.

Section 7 The Board of Directors shall appoint such other committees as may be necessary to conduct the work of NCALL.

Section 8 The President and Chairman of the Administrative Committee shall be ex-officio members of all committees.

Article VII - Advisory Committee

Section 1 The Board of Directors may appoint an Advisory Committee of not more than 50 persons.

Article VIII - Voting

Section 1 Voting privileges in NCALL shall be limited to the Board of Directors.

Section 2 Membership on the Advisory Committee is non-voting.

Article IX - Officers

Section 1 The officers of NCALL shall be Honorary President, President; First, Second and Third Vice Presidents; Chairman, Vice Chairman of the Administrative Committee; Secretary-Treasurer and Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2 The officers shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting from nominations of the Nominating Committee, or from nominations made from the floor. The term of office shall be for two years or until the successor of the officer has been elected. No officer shall serve for more than two terms in succession.

Section 3 The President shall preside at all meetings of the Council and Board of Directors. In the absence of the President, his office shall be exercised by a Vice President in order. The Chairman of the Administrative Committee shall preside at all meetings of the Committee. In the absence of the Chairman his office shall be exercised by the Vice Chairman.

Section 4 The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep the minutes of the Board of Directors and of the Administrative Committee.

Section 5 The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit all money and securities of the NCALL in depositories approved by the Board of Directors. He shall have the power to withdraw funds and make disbursements in the name of the NCALL. He shall cause the accounts of the organization to be audited periodically by a certified public accountant, which audit shall be submitted to the Board of Directors. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be a signatory to all contracts executed in behalf of NCALL. The Secretary-Treasurer shall provide such bond as may be required by the Board of Directors. The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer shall act in the absence of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Article X - Employees

Section 1 The Board of Directors may authorize the employment of an Executive Secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to conduct the work of the NCALL.

Section 2 Employees of NCALL shall perform such duties as shall be assigned to them by the Board of Directors or the Administrative Committee.

Section 3 The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for initiating and implementing such programs and activities as may be authorized by the Board of Directors or its Administrative Committee.

Article XI - Amendments

Section 1 Except as otherwise required by the laws of the District of Columbia, Certificate of Incorporation and these By-Laws may be amended by a majority of those present at a regular meeting of the Board of Directors, provided that the proposed amendment or amendments have been submitted in writing to the Directors at least one month in advance of the meeting at which the action is taken.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 Massachusetts avenue, N W
Washington, D C 20036

Date

From

To Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary, NCALL

We would appreciate your passing this inquiry / information along to our other members:

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N W
Washington, D C 20036

Date

From

To Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary, NCALL

( ) Old activity, new report ( ) Brand new

We are doing:

We will keep you posted

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 Massachusetts avenue, N W
Washington, D C 20036

Date

From

To

I just read a ( ) book ( ) article ( ) report ( ) _____
that will be of interest to NCALL members. It is

Author
Title
Publisher
Issue or date

( ) A copy is enclosed

Briefly, it says that

It is ( ) good ( ) bad because

(Continued on attached sheet or reverse side)

NCALL RESEARCH

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND, INC.

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036

TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
President

Daniel S. Bedell
Vice-President

Sarah H. Newman
Secretary

Clay L. Cochran
Treasurer

Fay Bennett
Ethlyn Christensen
Howard A. Dawson
Rev. Cameron P. Hall
Elizabeth B. Herring
Edith E. Lowry
James P. Mitchell
Theodore Norman
James G. Patton
Cassandra Stockburger
Marian F. Weller

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Ben Neufeld

Special Meeting of the Board of Directors

7 December 1964

A special meeting of the Board of Directors of the NCALL Research Fund was called to order by Father Vizzard at 4:30 pm 7 December 1964, at the Burlington Hotel.

Present were President James L. Vizzard, SJ; Dan Bedell, Fay Bennett, Howard Dawson, Elizabeth Herring, Edith Lowry, Sarah Newman, Ted Norman and Cassandra Stockburger, and Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary.

Mr. Neufeld reported the lack of progress on the Mobile Services Project. Father Vizzard indicated the need for a full-time project director before the Research Fund could pursue the project.

It was moved (Dawson) and seconded (Norman) that the NCALL Research Fund ask for a program development grant from OEO to enable the hiring of a project development director and supportive staff and services. Approved unanimously.

Meeting adjourned at 5:00 pm.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Board of Directors as of 7 December 1964

Member Representatives

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO 15 Union Square New York, New York 10003	Howard D. Samuel Assistant President	Jane O'Grady 815 - 16th st N W Washington, D C 20036	
Amalgamated Meat Cutters-and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, Illinois 60614	Arnold Mayer Legislative Representative 100 Indiana av N W Washington, D C 20001		Thomas J. Lloyd President Patrick E. Gorman Secy-Treas
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations 815 Sixteenth St N W Washington, D C 20036			
American Friends Service Committee 160 North Fifteenth street Philadelphia, Pa.	Barbara Moffett	Eleanor Eaton	Edward Snyder, Legislative Secy Friends Committee on Nat'l Legislation 245 Second street, N E Washington, D C 20002
American Humane Association 896 Pennsylvania Denver, Colorado 80203	Vincent De Francis Director Childrens Division		
American Veterans Committee 1830 Jefferson Place, N W Washington, D C 20036	J. Arnold Feldman Executive Director		
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers 1300 S. Wabash ave Chicago, Illinois 60605	Msgr William J. Quinn Executive Secretary	Rev Ralph J. Duggan Executive Assistant	

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking Suite 205 5511 San Pedro av San Antonio, Texas 78212	Rev John Wagner Executive Secretary		
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism Religious Action Center 2027 Massachusetts av N W Washington, D C 20036	Rabbi Richard Hirsch Director		
Girl Scouts of the USA 830 Third avenue New York, New York 10022	Marian Weller Program Specialist	Mrs C. E. Cortner Washington Representative	
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO 815 Sixteenth street, N W Washington, D C 20036	Clay Cochran Legislative Representative		Jacob Clayman, Administrative Director
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO 1300 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036	A. J. Hayes President	George Nelson	
Jewish Agricultural Society 386 Park avenue South New York, New York 10016	Theodore Norman, General Manager		
Methodist Church Woman's Division of Christian Service 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027	Thelma Stevens Executive Secretary		
General Board of Christian Social Concerns 100 Maryland avenue, N E Washington, D C 20002	Rev Rodney Shaw Executive Secretary		

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor 112 East 19th street New York, New York 10003	Msgr George G. Higgins, Director Nat'l Catholic Welfare Conf 1312 Massachusetts av N W		Dr. Frank P. Graham Secretariat Building United Nations New York, New York 10017
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 20 West 40th street New York, New York 10018	Herbert Hill Labor Secretary	Francis Polhaus 100 Massachusetts av, N W Washington, D C	
National Association of Public School Adult Educators 1201 Sixteenth st N W Washington, D C 20036	Robert Luke Executive Secretary		
National Association of Social Workers 2 Park avenue New York, New York 10016	Rudolph T. Danstedt, Director Washington Office 1346 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036	Cleonice Tavani Washington Office 1346 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036	
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association 600 Lexington avenue New York, New York 10022	Ethlyn Christensen, Director Bureau of Research and Program Resources	Mrs Arnold S. Zander 2512 Que street N W Washington, D C 20037	
National Catholic Rural Life Conference 381 Grand av Des Moines, Iowa	Rev James L. Vizzard, S J Director, Washington Office 1312 Massachusetts ave N W Washington, D C 20005		Very Rev Edward W O'Rourke Director
National Child Labor Committee National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children 145 East 32nd street New York, New York 10016	Cassandra Stockburger Executive Secretary		Eli E. Cohen
National Consumers League 1029 Vermont avenue, N W Washington, D C 20005	Sarah H. Newman Executive Manager		

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
National Council of Catholic Men 1312 Massachusetts avenue, N W Washington, D C 20005	Donald Farrell Executive Secretary		Martin H. Work
National Council of Catholic Women 1312 Massachusetts avenue, N W Washington, D C 20005	Peggy Roach		Margaret Mealy Executive Secretary
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA			
Division of Home Missions 475 Riverside drive New York, New York 10027	Rev E. Russell Carter Director of Migrant and Indian Work		Rev Jon Ragier Executive Secretary
General Department of United Church Women 475 Riverside drive New York, New York 10027	Eleanor French Executive Secretary	Claire Randall	Mrs. Murdoch MacLeod
Department of the Church and Economic Life 475 Riverside drive New York, New York 10027	Rev Cameron Hall Executive Director	Elma Greenwood	
National Council of Jewish Women 1 West 47th street New York, New York 10036	Beatrice S. Parsonnet President	Olya Margolin 1637 Massachusetts av N W Washington, D C 20036	Miss Helen Raebeck Executive Secretary
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church	Rev Herman Page Rural Route 28 Kansas City, Missouri		
National Education Association Department of Rural Education 1201 Sixteenth street N W Washington. D C 20036	Robert M. Isenberg Director		Mrs Mary Condon Gereon Dept of Federal Relations

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
National Farmers Union 1575 Sherman street Denver, Colorado 80203	James G. Patton President		Reuben Johnson, Legislative Director John Ecklund, Education Director 1404 New York avenue N W Washington, D C 20005
National Federation of Catholic College Students Social Action Secretariat Manhattanville College Purchase, New York	Mary Moran Chairman		
National Lutheran Council Division of American Missions 327 So. LaSalle street Chicago, Illinois 60604	Rev E. W. Mueller	Robert Van Deusen 2633 Sixteenth street N W Washington, D C 20009	Intercultural Outreach Dept
National Sharecroppers Fund 112 East 19th street New York, New York 10003	Fay Bennett Executive Secretary		Jac Wasserman Project Director 5 Forsyth street, N W, Room 201 Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Office of the Lay Apostolate 410 Brady street Davenport, Iowa	Rev Louis M. Colonnese Director		
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice 245 Second street N E Washington, D C 20002	Robert E. Jones		
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO 1126 Sixteenth street N W Washington, D C 20036	Daniel S. Bedell Legislative Representative		
United Church of Christ Department of the Church in Town and Country Box 21 McClure, Pennsylvania	Rev Eldon E. Ehrhart Box 21 McClure, Pennsylvania	Rev Huber Klemme 289 Park av South New York, New York 10010	
Council for Christian Social Action 289 Park avenue South New York, New York 10010	Rev Ray Gibbons Director	Rev Lewis I. Maddocks 110 Maryland av N E Washington, D C 20002	

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO 608 S Dearborn street Chicago, Illinois 60605	John Fryer Research Director		
United Presbyterian Church in the USA Office of Church and Society Witherspoon Building Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Howard C. Maxwell	Dr H. B. Sissel 110 Maryland avenue,NE Washington, D C 20002	
Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work 475 Riverside drive New York, New York 10027	Rev G. Schubert Frye	Rev Richard O. Comfort	Rev Richard K. Smith Board of National Missions
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO 1500 Commonwealth Building Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Francis Shane Executive Secretary, Committee on Civil Rights		
United States Section, Joint US-Mexico Trade Union Committee Room 504 815 Sixteenth street, N W Washington, D C 20036	Frank Noakes	Andrew McClellan	

Associated Group

National Housing Conference 1025 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036	Nat Keith President

Non-member Affiliate

National Social Welfare Assembly 345 East 46th street New York, New York 10017	Robert E Bondy Director

Directors at Large

"Not more than 21"

Terms expire 1965

Howard A. Dawson
5628 Massachusetts ave N W
Washington, D C 20016

Leah M. Lachenbruch
348 Waverley street
Menlo Park, California

Benson Y. Landis
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman
3100 Military road, N W
Washington, D C

Rev Henry A. McCanna
Executive Secretary
Dept of Town & Country Church
Division of Home Missions
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside drive
New York, New York 10027

George Sanchez
School of Education
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Gertrude Folks Zimand
242 East 19th street
New York, New York 10003

Terms expire 1966

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rev Shirley Greene
Board of National Missions
1720 Chouteau avenue
St. Louis 4, Missouri

Robert W. Hudgens
414 Pittsboro street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Lewis W. Jones
Race Relations Department
Fisk Institute
Nashville, Tennessee

Elizabeth Magee
Ohio Consumers League
940 Engineers Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Shirley Sonosky
604 Janney's lane
Alexandria, Virginia

Paul S. Taylor
1163 Euclid avenue
Berkeley, California

Terms expire 1967

Marion A. Clawson
Rural Route 1
Eaton, Indiana

Elizabeth B. Herring
1824 Belmont Road, N W
Washington, D C 20009

Edith Lowry
The Kennedy Warren
3133 Connecticut avenue, N W
Washington, D.C 20008

Rev Hermann N. Morse
Room 1042
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Ernest F. Witte
Coordinator of Social Welfare Education
California State Colleges
Chancellor's Office
San Diego State College
San Diego, California 92115

Administrative Committee

Officers (All second terms, expiring December 1966)

Honorary President	Howard A. Dawson
President	
1st Vice President	Fay Bennett
2nd Vice President	Theodore Norman
3rd Vice President	Daniel S. Bedell
Secretary-Treasurer	Marian F. Weller
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer	Sarah H. Newman
Chairman, Administrative Committee	Rev. James L. Vizzard, SJ
Vice Chairman	Daniel S. Bedell

Members at Large

Ethlyn Christensen, National Board of the YWCA

Clay L. Cochran, IUD - AFL-CIO

Rev. Cameron P. Hall, Dept of Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Arnold Mayer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters

Rev. Henry McCanna, At Large

James G. Patton, National Farmers Union

Thelma Stevens, Woman's Div. of Christian Service, Methodist Church

Cassandra Stockburger, National Committee on the Employment of Migrant Children

Vacancy

December 31, 1964

Mr. Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Neufeld:

I am returning enclosed the card asking for date preferences for the 1965 Board and annual meeting; about all I can do is indicate the one date questionable at this time.

I have reviewed also your memo of December 28, on the proposed James P. Mitchell seminar. It is an attractive idea, and I would be for it if funds are not a problem.

I cannot be with you on January 7, because of a conference with the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Your memo of December 14 notes that at the Spring meeting of the Board some vacancies on the Board will be filled. This is an appropriate time for me to bring up my own status. I sincerely regard my membership on the Board as an honor. On the other hand, I have been of absolutely no use to you and have yet to attend even my first meeting. Our budget does not permit travel on non-SRC business and I am already stretching the criteria as far as one reasonably can by attending a couple board meetings of NAIRO each year.

As an agency head myself, I have very strong opinions about non-working board or executive committees members. On my own standards, I am a dismal failure.

I am interested in NCALL and, as I said, feel honored at being on the board. Meetings have never yet coincided with my SRC travel; if they ever do, I shall attend. But under these circumstances, I wonder if you don't want my resignation?

All the best wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 12/28/64

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell
CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

28 December 1964

TO NCALL Directors

FROM Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

SUBJECT The James P. Mitchell Seminars on Agricultural Life and Labor: a program proposal

Just a few days before the 1964 Annual Meeting, the idea came to me of an annual NCALL function to which I gave the name "The James P. Mitchell Seminars on Agricultural Life and Labor". Because I had not had time to prepare a comprehensive discussion of this notion, the Board instructed that I do so as soon as practicable and circulate it to you for your reaction so that the Administrative Committee might reach a decision on whether or not to undertake this activity.

What the Seminar Would Be

The Seminar itself would be a luncheon-and-afternoon or dinner-and-evening meeting with an invited attendance at which one major speaker or a small panel of outstanding specialists would discuss a topic of current importance within NCALL's area of interest.

Farm labor is only one subject which might be included; others might be the new role of the Department of Agriculture, Family Farm policy, the future of mechanization and automation, American agriculture in the world picture and the findings of the National Commission on Food Marketing.

Combined with the Seminar should be the Spring Meeting of our Board of Directors and the presentation of the Elizabeth B. Herring Award. The Board meeting would take essentially a full day, and those present at the Annual Meeting therefor suggested the Seminar might well be held the preceding evening.

For discussion only, here is a proposal for a sample schedule:

5:30-6:30 - Reception for the Awardee and the principal speaker(s)

6:30-8:00 - Dinner, including presentation of the EBH Award and remarks by the Awardee

8:00-10:30 - Seminar: A Labor Policy for Organized Farmers

Herschel Newsome, Master
The National Grange

James G. Patton, President
National Farmers Union

Charles Shuman, President
American Farm Bureau Federation

Oren Lee Staley, President
National Farmers Organization

A 20-minute statement by each panelist

A 10-minute rebuttal by each panelist

Questions from the floor

Why NCALL Should Take on this Activity

Four positive values would seem to stem from such a series.

First, the series would be a memorial to our late president, calling attention specifically to this area of his interest.

Second, it would serve as a vehicle for publicizing the particular subject under discussion. While this might be a chronic problem, it might also have immediate legislative implications.

Third, it would bring together people working in this area who normally would not meet over this subject. Secretary Wirtz feels there is no need to revive the President's Committee on Migratory Labor, and there is no progress toward a National Advisory Commission; perhaps this kind of get-together will help promote action.

Fourth, it would encourage attendance at the mid-year meeting of the Board.

We would appreciate your comments as soon as possible. A lot of work needs to be done if we are to hold the first Seminar this year.

Rec'd 12/31/64

NATIONAL
COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell
CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

22 December 1964

TO Members with legislative interest or positive programs

Subject Labor legislation in the 89th Congress

From Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

Because of lack of time during the Annual Meeting, the Legislative Workshop was confined to a too-brief discussion of foreign workers and minimum wage strategy.

We did not discuss such important items as

the relative priority of collective bargaining and minimum wage

what constitutes an adequate minimum wage law

voluntary recruitment proposals

child labor

In order that our legislation-oriented members may get together to reach a concensus on these points and possibly create a labor legislation committee, there will be a meeting with this agenda

on Thursday, 7 January 1965

from 10 to 11 am

in our Conference Room

Please let me know if you will attend.

NATIONAL
COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

14 December 1964

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell
CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

To NCALL Directors

Subject Mid-year Board Meeting - When?

From Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary

At the Annual Meeting last week, the Board selected tentative dates for its mid-year and annual meetings for 1965 but asked for a poll of the entire Board before the Administrative Committee makes a definite choice.

May I urge your prompt but serious consideration of this matter because of the importance of the business coming before the Board in the Spring:

Electing a President
Amending the By-laws to reflect the Board's intention of raising the basic subscription fee
Filling At-large vacancies on the Board
Considering the recommendations of the select committee studying the functions of NCALL

You will receive more information about these and other actions of the Board in and with the Minutes within a few days.

Spring date proposals are all 2-day possibilities in May. It is possible that the Administrative Committee will adopt a proposal for a "James P Mitchell Seminar on Agricultural Life and Labor", this event to take place the evening of the first day with the second devoted entirely to NCALL business. A separate memo describing the Seminar proposal is being prepared for the Administrative Committee and will be sent out with the minutes.

Please use the enclosed postal card to reply at your earliest convenience.

Proposed dates:

May 25 - 6 (Several Directors will be in Washington for a meeting of USDA's Rural Area Development Advisory Committee on May 24 - 5)
May 11 - 12
May 4 - 5

December 7

after the BRACERO, the widely damned and acclaimed report on the availability of domestic agricultural workers is being reproduced for the UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations, its corporate author.

Briefly stated, it says that workers would be available in response to adequate terms of employment.

Single copies are available, probably for a limited time, at no charge from

Institute of Industrial Relations
University of California
Los Angeles, California 90024

Rec'd 1/7/65

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W WASHINGTON, D C 20036
TELEPHONE 202 - NORTH 7-3979

5 January 1965

file

PRESIDENT
James P. Mitchell
CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

You may recognize the enclosed pink document as the statement we adopted in 1951 of our Objectives and Program. It has served us for a long time.

However, taking into account the fact that it is now thirteen years old, the Board has asked that it be reviewed to see what improvements might be made in the light of our experience. At the Annual Meeting, it appointed a committee to conduct this review and make recommendations to itself. This committee consists of Elizabeth Herring, Chairman; Fay Bennett, Howard Dawson, Eleanor Eaton, Howard Maxwell, Arnold Mayer, Ben Neufeld and Father Vizzard.

In order to do justice to this assignment, we need to know where your own experiences indicate shortcomings of our present policy and how these shortcomings might be overcome. It is to help you be specific that we are enclosing the copy of our present statement.

Although it is not under discussion, we are also enclosing our formal "Legislative Policy" to set a frame of reference.

It would be helpful if you could let us have your reactions by February 15th so that we can digest your comments for the full committee and plan to hold a meeting early in March.

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Chairman,
Committee to Review the
Statement of Objectives and Program

Ben Neufeld

Ben Neufeld
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

LEGISLATIVE POLICY

(A Statement adopted by the Board of Directors - June 6, 1951)
With Amendment adopted at Annual Meeting, May 8, 1959

The legislative policy of the NCALL is stated both positively and negatively in the Constitution:

(1) "It shall facilitate action by cooperating agencies and members; providing information on and promoting discussion of the issues involved." (In the discussion at the organizational meeting, it was agreed that the word "facilitate" should be broadly construed and the importance of preliminary work on strategy, drafting, etc., was recognized.)

(2) "It will limit its action on pending national, state or local legislation to providing information on such legislation to its membership."

(3) "A legislative committee may be formed upon approval of the Board or Executive Committee when five or more member organizations are interested in similar action on particular legislation.

"Each legislative committee shall choose officers from its members and shall be free to plan direct legislative action provided it does not speak for NCALL as a whole. The strategy decided upon by legislative committees shall be reported to all member organizations of NCALL for their information. Legislative Committees shall be open to all member organizations wishing to be represented. The life of any committee shall not exceed one year without specific re-approval by the Board or Executive Committee." (Amendment adopted May 8, 1959)

The following statement is a clarification of this policy:

(1) The Executive Secretary of the Council is authorized to confer with agencies and individuals and to participate in groups discussing strategy, bill drafting, etc., on any subject in line with the NCALL's statement of Program and Objectives. It should be made clear, both to the groups with which the Executive Secretary works in that capacity and to the member agencies of the NCALL, that the Secretary does not "represent" the Council in these discussions nor does such participation imply the support of its member agencies for the legislation concerned. Participation is for the purpose of helping to shape and inform member agencies about legislation which some of them wish to support, and thereby facilitate their action.

(2) The Council shall not assume that member agencies will, or urge them to, take action on any specific legislation, but shall inform all members about the legislation, stressing the importance of suggested action by those who wish to be active on the specific subject at issue. This can be done in two ways:

(a) Directly by the Executive Secretary in communcations to members.

(b) Indirectly by the Executive Secretary by transmitting to members a communication from an agency member which as a special interest in that legislation. The member agency's letter can be as "urgent" as it wishes.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Its Objectives and Program

(Statement Adopted by the Board of Directors - June 6, 1951)

The purpose of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor as stated in its Constitution is "to serve as a non-profit, non-affiliated council of national and regional agencies, and of individuals, dedicated to working for the amelioration and/or elimination of those conditions in our nation's economy which adversely affect our farm and rural population."

To accomplish this aim, the Council focuses its attention on the welfare of individuals and families - migrants, sharecroppers, tenants and family farmers - who earn their living through agricultural pursuits. Because the problems of farm workers and operators are closely related to the welfare of agriculture and our economy generally, the Council is also concerned with questions of economic and social import affecting rural areas.

The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor pursues its aim by 1) disseminating information to cooperating organizations and interested individuals; 2) consulting with and supplying appropriate information to agencies and officials in the executive and legislative branches of the government; 3) informing the public of developments in agriculture through the press, radio and other channels; 4) facilitating legislative action by cooperating organizations; 5) sponsoring conferences on problems of agricultural life and labor.

Illustrative of the specific areas of interest and concern of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor are the following:

I. General Economic Factors Affecting Agricultural Labor

The development of a national agricultural policy favorable to: 1) stabilization of farm prices with maximum resource utilization and sufficient flexibility to meet changing levels of productivity and consumption; 2) establishment of the efficiently managed, adequately capitalized family-type farm as the predominant form of agricultural production; 3) utilization of farm surpluses to benefit school lunch programs and the unemployed, especially in times of depression; and 4) promotion of satisfactory employment opportunities for the under-employed in rural areas.

Encouragement of constructive efforts to strengthen the agricultural economy by resource development, utilization and conservation in conformity with the public interest and the welfare of family-type farms. Included would be watershed protection, river valley development, conservation programs using methods to promote genuinely social objectives through democratic participation, economically and politically.

Resistance to monopolistic trends in agriculture and encouragement of regulation and land monopolies through stricter tax enforcement, application of acreage limitations and other methods.

Aiding less developed rural areas to utilize their resources through electrification, rural telephone service, improved roads, better schools; industrial development in such areas so as to augment income and provide full or part-time employment for surplus agricultural workers.

II. Social Welfare of Agricultural Workers and Their Families

Inclusion of all agricultural workers under Social Security laws including unemployment, old-age and survivors' insurance and public assistance. Removal by the States of residence requirements for relief benefits.

Inclusion of housing for agricultural workers in public housing programs. Transferral of old Farm Security Administration migrant camps to responsible agencies of government. An effective housing program, including rural non-farm housing, designed to assist migrants to secure adequate home base housing.

Development and maintenance of minimum standards for private labor camps with licensing, regulation and inspection.

State and Federal aid to make available equal educational opportunities to rural children.

Required school attendance for the full school term for children under 16 years, resident or migrant.

Extension of public health services to all rural counties. Removal by States of residence requirements for medical care.

Development of child care, youth recreation and parent education programs in rural areas.

III. Improvement of Working Conditions of Agricultural Labor

Extension of the minimum wage law principle to agricultural workers.

Elimination of the use of scrip and other devices which reduce or restrict the use of wages,

Provision of safety and health standards for agricultural workers similar to those applicable to industrial employees.

Extension of workmen's compensation laws to cover workers in agriculture.

Regulations providing for safety and comfort in transportation of agricultural workers, both interstate and intrastate.

Effective recruitment and placement programs for agricultural labor conducted by cooperative agencies of Federal and State government.

Regulation of private employment agencies, including labor contractors.

Prevention of child labor in industrialized agriculture through extension and enforcement of child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and of State child labor laws.

Restriction of importation of foreign workers to cases where a labor shortage has been demonstrated beyond the availability of domestic labor. This would not bar bona fide immigrants or displaced persons taking up agricultural pursuits under satisfactory conditions. Strict enforcement of immigration laws to prevent illegal entry of foreign agricultural laborers.

IV. Organization of Agricultural Workers

Legislative protection of the rights of agricultural labor to organize and bargain collectively with at least as adequate safeguards as are given industrial workers.

Efforts aimed at organization of agricultural workers on large commercial farms.

Encouragement of genuinely cooperative enterprises.

V. Civil Liberties

Protection of free speech and civil liberties for agricultural workers and in rural areas generally.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Board of Directors as of 15 April, 1965

Member Representatives

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO 15 Union Square New York, New York 10003	Jane O'Grady 815 - 16th st N W Washington, D C 20006		
Amalgamated Meat Cutters-and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, Illinois 60614	Arnold Mayer Legislative Representative 100 Indiana av N W Washington, D C 20001		Thomas J. Lloyd President Patrick E. Gorman Secy-Treas
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations 815 Sixteenth St N W Washington, D C 20036			
American Friends Service Committee 160 North Fifteenth street Philadelphia, Pa. 19102	Barbara Moffett	Eleanor Eaton	Edward Snyder, Legislative Secy Friends Committee on Nat'l Legislation 245 Second street, N E Washington, D C 20002
American G I Forum 621 Gabaldon road N W Albuquerque, N M	Rodolfo L. Ramos Washington Representative 921 17th st N W Washington, D C 20006		Luis Tellez Executive Secretary
American Humane Association 896 Pennsylvania Denver, Colorado 80203	Vincent De Francis Director Childrens Division		
American Veterans Committee 1830 Jefferson Place, N W Washington, D C 20036	Rudolf Sobernheim 4200 Cathedral av N W Washington, D C		

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking Suite 205 5511 San Pedro av San Antonio, Texas 78212	Rev John Wagner Executive Secretary		Rev Ralph J Duggar Executive Assistant 1300 S Wabash ave Chicago, Illinois 60605
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism Religious Action Center 2027 Massachusetts av N W Washington, D C 20036	Rabbi Richard Hirsch Director		
Congress of Racial Equality 38 Park row New York, N Y 10038	Dr. George Wiley		
Executive Council of the Episcopal Church	Rev Herman Page Associate Secretary Home Department Rural Route 28 Kansas City, Missouri		
Girl Scouts of the USA 830 Third avenue New York, New York 10022	Marian Weller Program Specialist	Mrs. C. E. Cortner Washington Representative	
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO 815 Sixteenth street, N W Washington, D C 20036	Clay Cochran Legislative Representative		Jacob Clayman, Administrative Director
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO 1300 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036	A. J. Hayes President	George Nelson Legislative Representative	
Jewish Agricultural Society 386 Park avenue South New York, New York 10016	Theodore Norman, General Manager		

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
Methodist Church Woman's Division of Christian Service 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027	Thelma Stevens Executive Secretary	Miss Theressa Hoover	
General Board of Christian Social Concerns 100 Maryland avenue, N E Washington, D C 20002	Rev Rodney Shaw, Director		
National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor 112 East 19th street New York, New York 10003	Msgr George G.Higgins Director Nat'l Catholic Welfare Conf 1312 Massachusetts av N W	Mrs. Helen Shettle Program Secretary	Dr. Frank P. Graham Secretariat Building United Nations New York, New York 10017
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 20 West 40th street New York, New York 10018	Herbert Hill Labor Secretary	Francis Polhaus 100 Massachusetts av, N W Washington, D C	
National Association of Public School Adult Educators 1201 Sixteenth st N W Washington, D C 20036	Robert Luke Executive Secretary		
National Association of Social Workers 2 Park avenue New York, New York 10016	Rudolph T Danstedt, Director Washington Office 1346 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036	Cleonice Tavani Washington Office 1346 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036	
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association 600 Lexington avenue New York, New York 10022	Ethlyn Christensen, Director Bureau of Research and Program Resources	Mrs. Arnold S. Zander 2512 Que street, N W Washington, D C 20037	
National Catholic Rural Life Conference 381 Grand av Des Moines, Iowa	Rev James L. Vizzard, S J Director, Washington Office 1312 Massachusetts ave N W Washington, D C 20005		Very Rev Edward W O'Rourke Director

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
National Child Labor Committee National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children 145 East 32nd street New York, New York 10016	Cassandra Stockburger Executive Secretary		Eli E. Cohen Executive Secretary National Child Labor Committee
National Consumers League 1029 Vermont avenue, N W Washington, D C 20005	Sarah H. Newman Executive Manager		
National Council of Catholic Men 1312 Massachusetts avenue, N W Washington, D C 20005	Donald Ferrell Executive Secretary		Martin H. Work
National Council of Catholic Women 1312 Massachusetts avenue, N W Washington, D C 20005	Peggy Roach		Margaret Mealy Executive Secretary
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA			
Division of Christian Life & Mission 475 Riverside drive New York, New York 10027	Rev E. Russell Carter Director of Migrant and Indian Work	Miss Elma Greenwood	Rev Jon Regier Executive Secretary
Department of United Church Women 475 Riverside drive New York, New York 10027	Eleanor French Executive Secretary	Claire Randall	Mrs. Murdoch MacLeod
National Council of Jewish Women 1 West 47th street New York, New York 10036	Beatrice S. Parsonnet President	Olya Margolin Washington Representative 1637 Massachusetts av N W Washington, D.C. 20036	Miss Helen Raebeck Executive Secretary
National Education Association Department of Rural Education 1201 Sixteenth street N W. Washington, D C 20036	Robert M. Isenberg Director		Mrs. Mary Condon Gereau Dept of Federal Relations

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
National Farmers Union 1575 Sherman street Denver, Colorado 80203	James G. Patton President		Reuben Johnson, Legislative Director John Ecklund, Education Director 1404 New York avenue N W Washington, D C 20005
National Federation of Catholic College Students Social Action Secretariat Manhattanville College Purchase, New York	Mary Moran Chairman		Miss Glorianne Scorsone Executive Secretary, NFCCS 1312 Massachusetts av N W Washington, D C 20005
National Lutheran Council Division of American Missions 327 So. LaSalle street Chicago, Illinois 60604	Rev E. W. Mueller	Robert Van Deusen 2633 Sixteenth street N W Washington, D C 20009	Intercultural Outreach Dept
National Sharecroppers Fund 112 East 19th street New York, New York 10003	Fay Bennett Executive Secretary		Jac Wasserman Project Director 5 Forsyth street, N W, Room 201 Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Office of the Lay Apostolate 410 Brady street Davenport, Iowa	Rev Louis M. Colonnese Director		
Unitarian Universalist Association Department of Social Responsibility 25 Beacon street Boston, Massachusetts 02108	Robert E. Jones Director Washington Office 245 Second street N E Washington, D C 20002		Homer A. Jack, Director
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO Solidarity House Detroit, Michigan 48214	Daniel S. Bedell Legislative Representative 1126 Sixteenth street N W Washington, D C 20036		

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
United Church of Christ Department of the Church in Town and Country 276 Park av South New York, N Y 10010	Rev Eldon E. Ehrhart Box 21 McClure, Pennsylvania	Rev Huber Klemme	
Council for Christian Social Action 289 Park avenue South New York, New York 10010	Rev Ray Gibbons Director	Rev Lewis I. Maddocks 110 Maryland av N E Washington, D C 20002	
United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO 608 S Dearborn street Chicago, Illinois 60605	John Fryer Research Director		
United Presbyterian Church in the USA Office of Church and Society Witherspoon Building Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Howard C. Maxwell	Dr H. B. Sissel 110 Maryland avenue, N E Washington, D C 20002	
Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work 475 Riverside drive New York, New York 10027	Rev G Schubert Frye	Rev Richard O Comfort	Rev Richard K. Smith Board of National Missions
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO 1500 Commonwealth Building Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Francis Shane Executive Secretary Committee on Civil Rights		Alec Christie Legislative Rep. 1001 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036
United States Section, Joint US-Mexico Trade Union Committee Room 504 815 Sixteenth street, N W Washington, D C 20036	Frank Noakes	Andrew McClellan	

Associated Group

National Housing Conference 1025 Connecticut av N W Washington, D C 20036			Nat Keith President
United States Youth Council 236 East 46th street New York, N Y 10017			Miss Nancy Sherwood Executive Secretary

Member	Designated Representative	Alternate	Mail also to:
Non-member Affiliate			
National Social Welfare Assembly 345 East 46th street New York, New York 10017			Robert E Bondy Director
Directors at Large			
"Not more than 21"			
Terms expire 1965	**Terms expire 1966**	**Terms expire 1967**	
Howard A. Dawson 5628 Massachusetts ave N W Washington, D C 20016	Leslie W. Dunbar Executive Director Southern Regional Council 5 Forsyth street, N W Atlanta, Georgia 30303	Marion A. Clawson Rural Route 1 Eaton, Indiana	
Leah M. Lachenbruch 348 Waverley street Menlo Park, California	Rev Shirley Greene Commission on the Church and Economic Life National Council of Churches 475 Riverside drive New York, N Y 10027	Elizabeth B. Herring 1824 Belmont Road, N. W. Washington, D C 20009	
Benson Y. Landis National Council of Churches 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027	Robert W. Hudgens 414 Pittsboro street Chapel Hill, North Carolina	Edith Lowry The Kennedy Warren 3133 Connecticut avenue, N W Washington, D C 20008	
Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman 3100 Military road, N W Washington, D C	Lewis W. Jones Race Relations Department Fisk Institute Nashville, Tennessee	Rev. Hermann N. Morse Room 1042 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027	
Rev Henry A. McCanna Executive Secretary Commission on Church in Town and Country National Council of Churches 475 Riverside Drive New York, New York 10027	Elizabeth Magee Ohio Consumers League 940 Engineers Building Cleveland 14, Ohio	Ernest F. Witte Coordinator of Social Welfare Education California State Colleges Chancellor's Office San Diego State College San Diego, California 92115	

Directors at Large (Continued)

Terms expire 1965

George Sanchez
School of Education
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Gertrude Folks Zimand
242 East 19th street
New York, New York 10003

Msgr William J Quinn
Bishops' Committee for the
Spanish Speaking
1300 South Wabash avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Terms expire 1966

Shirley Sonosky
604 Janney's Lane
Alexandria, Virginia

Paul S. Taylor
1163 Euclid avenue
Berkeley, California

Terms expire 1967

Rev Cameron Hall
Executive Director
Commission on the Church and Economic Life
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside drive
New York, N Y 10027

Administrative Committee

Officers (All second terms, expiring December 1966)

Honorary President	Howard A. Dawson
President	
1st Vice President	Fay Bennett
2nd Vice President	Theodore Norman
3rd Vice President	
Secretary-Treasurer	Sarah H. Newman
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer	Marian F. Weller
Chairman, Administrative Committee	Rev. James L. Vizzard, SJ
Vice Chairman	Daniel S. Bedell

Members at Large

Ethlyn Christensen, National Board of the YWCA

Clay L. Cochran, IUD - AFL-CIO

Rev. Cameron P. Hall, At Large

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Arnold Mayer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters

Rev. Henry McCanna, At Large

James G. Patton, National Farmers Union

Thelma Stevens, Woman's Div. of Christian Service, Methodist Church

Cassandra Stockburger, National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children

Vacancy

The James P. Mitchell Seminar on Agricultural Life and Labor

Seminarian for 1965 William M. Seabron
Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture
for Civil Rights

Rec'd 5/7/65

Topic — Creating equal opportunity in farm programs.

Presentation of the Elizabeth Herring Award to

The Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor
(The Secretary probably will not be present)

The Elizabeth Herring Award is given annually by the Board of Directors of NCALL in recognition of work with or on behalf of farm workers.

It was named for its first recipient, Miss Elizabeth Herring, on the occasion of her retirement as Executive Secretary of NCALL.

As Secretary of Labor at the time of the expiration of PL 78, which had authorized the bracero program, Willard Wirtz actively opposed the law's extension and personally led the fight to prevent mass importation of temporary foreign workers under other legislation. He has stated and demonstrated his conviction that there is no work in agriculture that cannot be done well by American workers when they are motivated to do it.

in the State Room, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D C

Tuesday Evening, 25 May 1965

6 pm Reception for the Awardee and Seminarian
6:45 Dinner
Presentation of the Elizabeth Herring Award
8 James P. Mitchell Seminar on Agricultural Life and Labor
Talk by Mr. Seabron
Questions and discussion from the floor

NATIONAL
COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20036

Please reserve_____ seat(s) at $8 for the First Annual James P. Mitchell Seminar on Agricultural Life and Labor.
Enclosed is my check for $_____ payable to NCALL.

Name_____

Address_____
ZIP CODE

_____

PROGRAM

MEMBERS

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization
American Friends Service Committee
American GI Forum
American Humane Association
American Veterans Committee
Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism
Congress of Racial Equality
Executive Council of The Episcopal Church
Girl Scouts of the USA
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO
Jewish Agricultural Society
Methodist Church
Woman's Division of Christian Service
General Board of Christian Social Concerns
National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Public School Adult Educators
National Association of Social Workers
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Child Labor Committee
National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children
National Consumers League
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA
Department of United Church Women
Division of Christian Life and Mission
National Council of Jewish Women
National Education Association
Department of Rural Education
National Farmers Union
National Federation of Catholic College Students
Social Action Secretariat
National Lutheran Council
Division of American Missions
National Sharecroppers Fund
Office of the Lay Apostolate
Unitarian Universalist Association
Department of Social Responsibility
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
United Church of Christ
Department of the Church in Town and Country
Council for Christian Social Action
United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO
United Presbyterian Church in the USA
Office of Church and Society
Department of Town and Country Church and Indian Work
United States Section, Joint US-Mexico Trade Union Committee
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO

ASSOCIATED GROUPS

National Housing Conference
United States Youth Council

Announcing the First Annual

James P. Mitchell Seminar

on Agricultural Life and Labor

Sponsored by the

NATIONAL
COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20036

ACTING PRESIDENT
Miss Fay Bennett

CHAIRMAN, ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Ben Neufeld

28

James P. Mitchell, at the time of his death last October, was nearing the end of his first term as President of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. This seminar series was instituted by the Council in his honor as a means of bringing to public notice this area of his interest, to which he devoted so much of his attention while serving as Secretary of Labor.

Through this vehicle, we hope to encourage broad discussion of the social, economic and cultural concommitants of agricultural policy.

File

July 13, 1965

Mr. Ben Neufeld
Executive Secretary
~~National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor~~
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Neufeld:

Because I am leaving the Southern Regional Council, and will be engaged in foundation work, I feel that I should resign from the Board of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. I wish the Council continued success with its program.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

December 30, 1968

Mr. Daniel S. Bedell
President
National Council on Agricultural Life
and Labor Research Fund, Inc.
c/o United Auto Workers
1126 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Bedell:

I shall be happy to do what I can to see that Dr. Mays and Dr. Dunbar accept your award, Although I cannot imagine that either would not do so. Certainly, you have chosen most appropriate recipients.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NCALL RESEARCH

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR RESEARCH FUND, INC.

c/o United Auto Workers 1126 16th street NW Washington, D C 20036

12 December 1968

Mr Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr Anthony,

When our Board of Directors met last month and voted to present our Elizabeth B Herring Award to Benjamin Mays and Leslie Dunbar, it was suggested that I send you a copy of our letter informing them of our intention. That copy is enclosed.

The reason for the suggestion was some question about whether those two gentlemen would agree to accept an award. We felt the choice was a realistic one, in terms of our purpose of recognizing work which has an impact upon rural poverty. We were not sure they would agree from their own points of view.

But, as my letter points out, the presentation offers an opportunity to call the hunger problem once again to the public's attention. The opportunity should be used.

And so we would appreciate your encouraging Dr Mays and Mr Dunbar to give favorable consideration to our award.

Sincerely,

Daniel S Bedell

Daniel S Bedell
President

bn

Directors: Daniel S Bedell, President • Clay L Cochran, Vice President • Sarah H Newman Secretary • Ben Neufeld, Treasurer • Fay Bennett • Howard A Dawson • Eleanor Eaton • Vivian W Henderson • Elizabeth B Herring • Rev A J McKnight • Theodore Norman • James G Patton • Julian Samora • Cassandra Stockburger • Rev James L Vizzard SJ • Richard Wenner

c/o United Auto Workers 1126 16th street NW Washington, D C 20036

12 December 1968

Mr Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr Dunbar,

Our Board of Directors, meeting in Washington recently, voted to award jointly to you and Benjamin Mays our Elizabeth B Herring Award in recognition of work against rural poverty. I am writing both to inform you of our action and our next steps, and to urge that you accept the award and help us arrange an appropriate presentation.

The nomination was made on the strength of your efforts, as co-chairmen of the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States. It is our belief that this campaign was the most significant work undertaken for the benefit of the rural poor within the last two years. What has already been done was at great cost in energy and commitment; what has already been accomplished is proof of the great deal that still needs to be begun and carried through to obvious conclusions, as you both know from the recent Washington Conference to End Hunger in America as well as from your own experience. And just this week the newspapers have reported that the hunger investigators are themselves being investigated.

Uncompleted work is one of the reasons why we should like to hold an imposing presentation. In the past, the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor presented this award at a dinner or luncheon meeting at which the awardee gave an address on the work which inspired the award. We would like to continue this tradition, and do it in a way which will give new visibility to the hunger problem and the steps that still remain ahead if we are to eliminate it.

If you are agreeable, we will work with the Citizens Crusade against Poverty, the Conference to End Hunger and other groups here in Washington and elsewhere to ensure that our efforts will produce a useful result in terms of renewed visibility.

You may be interested in knowing that the previous recipients of the award were Miss Herring, on her retirement as Executive Secretary of the National Council; Senator Harrison Williams; Secretary Wirtz, for laying the groundwork for the end of the bracero program, which occurred only this year; and the California Migrant Ministry.

Because we hope to be able to make the presentation this winter or early spring, I hope we will have your favorable response soon.

Sincerely,

Daniel S Bedell
President

cc: Dr Vivian Henderson
Paul Anthony

bn

c/o United Auto Workers 1126 16th street NW Washington, D C 20036

12 December 1968

Dr Benjamin Mays
President Emeritus
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr Mays,

Our Board of Directors, meeting in Washington recently, voted to award jointly to you and Leslie Dunbar our Elizabeth B Herring award in recognition of work against rural poverty. I am writing both to inform you of our action and our next steps, and to urge that you accept the award and help us arrange an appropriate presentation.

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12 December 1968 Dr Benjamin Mays

Sincerely,

Daniel S Bedell
President

cc: Dr Vivian Henderson
Paul Anthony

bn

LAND REFORM AND DEMOCRACY

By Clarence Senior $6.75

About the Book.--Land Reform and Democracy is a case study of a large-scale agrarian experiment--the distribution of land to about 30,000 peasant families in the Laguna region of Mexico. This gift from the Mexican government was made on October 6, 1936, and represents the greatest single agrarian move in the history of the Mexican Revolution.

The significance of this experiment is international in scope, for about two-thirds of the present world population are involved in an attempt to throw off the yoke of agrarian feudalism and achieve democracy. Most of the problems and the usual aim--democracy--are common to the other areas in South America and Africa which today are in the forefront of such reform movements.

Land Reform and Democracy, then, may be a pilot study for land-reform movements throughout the world for the author has attempted to view agrarianism, democracy, and social change scientifically. As a frame of reference, he applies sociological concepts to three major issues of land reform, with emphasis on the second:

(1) How are those who want the reform going to secure the power to carry it into effect?

(2) How is democracy going to be achieved during and after the land reform?

(3) What kinds of technical problems must be solved?

Employing as experimental criteria the "eight goal values of democracy"--power, wealth, well-being, skill, enlightenment, affection, rectitude, and respect--the main body of the study examines the geographic, economic, and historical factors in the development of Mexico as a whole and the Laguna region in particular. Land Reform and Democracy relates these factors to the process of building democracies following land distribution. The concluding chapter consists of a critical appraisal of the extent to which a democratic society has developed in the Laguna region in terms of the aforesaid criteria.

About the Author.--A native of Clinton, Missouri, Clarence Senior is a specialist in the study of underdeveloped areas. Since 1945 he has specialized in migration and immigration research and administrative action. At the request of the United Nations he undertook, during the latter part of 1949 and 1950, a study of immigration possibilities related to development programs in South America. In 1955, under the aegis of the Jamaican government, he prepared a study of West Indian migration to Great Britain. Presently Chief of the Migration Division, Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and lecturer in demography at Columbia University, Dr. Senior has also served as Director of the Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, Consultant to the Twentieth Century Fund study of economic development in Costa Rica, and Director of the Inter-American Institute of the University of Kansas City. In addition to the present volume, he has written numerous reports and articles on agrarian reform, industrialization, population and migration problems, and is the author of a standard study of the Puerto Rican migrant entitled Puerto Rican Journey: New York's Newest Migrants.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA PRESS Gainesville, Florida

MEMORANDUM October 24, 1966

File

To: Al Ulmer

From: Paul Anthony

— : —

You may recall that I have been invited to testify before the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber. For such testimony as I choose to give must be in their hands by November 7th. Would you be good enough to jot down for me anything that you think should be included in such a statement.

Make file Hearings of the

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

1321 H ST. N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 1, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR

PARTICIPANTS IN THE ATLANTA HEARING

Subj: AGENDA - NOVEMBER 9, 1966

I am enclosing a copy of the agenda for the public hearing to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 9, 1966.

Please note the changes from the tentative agenda sent to you earlier.

The hearing will be held in Grand Ballroom "S" of the Marriott Motor Hotel beginning at 8:30 a.m.

Please bring the extra copies of you statement with you to the hearing. We are looking forward to hearing your presentation.

Robert E. Olson, Director
Division of Commercial Agriculture

Enclosure

PUBLIC HEARING OF THE
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER
MARRIOTT MOTOR HOTEL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
NOVEMBER 9, 1966

7:30 Breakfast Meeting of Southeastern Regional Committee - Tara II

MORNING - 8:30 - 12:00 - GRAND BALLROOM "S"

8:30 Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

9:00 George Esser, Executive Director, North Carolina Fund

9:30 Billie Fleming, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

10:00 L. S. James, Field Representative for the Rural Advancement Project, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

10:30 Carroll Lamb, Chief, Market Promotion-Expansion Section, Division of Marketing, Florida Department of Agriculture

11:00 F. H. Heidelberg, Executive Vice President, Uplands Cotton Growers Association

11:45 - 2:00 Lunch - Ballroom Center

Luncheon Panel

William L. Lanier, President, Georgia Farm Bureau Federation
A. C. Lawrence, Representing the North Carolina State Grange
Maynard Layman, Circulation Manager, The Decatur Daily

AFTERNOON - 2:00 - 5:30

2:00 Alexander Nunn, Executive Vice President and Executive Editor, The Progressive Farmer Company

2:30 Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College

3:00 D. W. Brooks, Executive Vice President and General Manager, Cotton Producers Association

3:30 Charles R. Sayre, President-General Manager, Staple Cotton Cooperative Association

4:00 John Palmer, President, Tobacco Associates, Inc.

4:30 W. D. Toussaint, Professor of Economics, North Carolina State Univ.

5:00 Roy C. Munson, Executive Secretary, Minnesota Turkey Growers Association, Incorporated

file

REMARKS BEFORE THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

Atlanta, Georgia
November 9, 1966

by

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Commission:

I am grateful for this opportunity to share several thoughts with this Commission as you engage in these important deliberations. These thoughts shall be limited to several major points which we believe to be basic. In presenting them, please realize that our experience is limited to the Southern region, and while we believe they are applicable to the nation, they never-the-less are developed from regional experience only.

(1) The rural areas of this country continue to be important as a total part of the nation. There is a real danger in the trend of national opinion and national policy which subscribes to the idea that rural areas are becoming insignificant in terms of where people live and earn a living. The assumption of the inevitability of larger and larger cities with a deserted countryside is a dangerous one and correct only if we insist on making it so. We should not.

There is, as a matter of fact, every need to slow the migration of persons from rural to urban areas and to plan,

on a longer range basis, to reverse this trend.

(2) The concept that there is no role for the small farm in future agricultural production should be thoroughly re-examined. A number of countries, including several of the most developed nations of Europe, have a stable and profitable rural economy which includes a large number of successful small farms.

In the past months we have seen a significant shift in national policy toward providing, for at least the next decade, food and fiber for millions of people in the underdeveloped nations. Our concept of surplus vs. need has changed drastically. Further, it is anticipated that within the next thirty years there will be an additional hundred million persons in the eastern part of this country to be supplied. In light of the new concept of increased need we must reevaluate the role of the small farmer - engaged in the proper agriculture, using the proper methods in helping to fill this need.

(3) If we are to rebuild the rural areas of the country, we must to a considerably higher degree than at present, approach the problem with regional planning. We cannot isolate the problems of the people of the Mississippi Delta from those of Appalachia, nor from those of the oyster fishermen of South Carolina. Consideration of industrial expansion into rural areas cannot be separated from plans for developing recreational facilities.

(4) In developing rural areas particular attention must be given to the situation of minority groups. These include especially Negroes, Indians, and the Mexican-Americans. An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the paucity of land owned by members of minority groups and the unavailability of low interest, long-term financing to correct this. For instance, in the South, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres; the average for Negroes is 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long-term, low interest loans available to all persons in the region, but particularly to Negroes for the ownership of land.

Relative to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures, and the like. This is due in part to USDA policies for the small farmer generally and Negro farmers specifically. Entirely new and imaginative programs need to be developed.

(For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, N. C., has conducted a successful experiment in which they acquired a large plot of land and settled six farm families on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years these families were assisted in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has now been made whereby each of these farmers is purchasing the

land which he works, and, while small, the results of the project are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management.

(5) Perhaps the greatest need in the rural areas is that of adequate housing. This may also be one of the simplest problems to meet. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a cost of from three to five thousand dollars per unit.

As with any other area of concern, programs of housing cannot, of course, be approached in a vacuum. It is absurd to provide housing for people without planning at the same time for adequate income. No housing programs should be undertaken without companion programs in overall economic development.

(6) Quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provider of income in rural areas. Programs must be encouraged that will assure that industry - of the appropriate nature - goes to the rural areas where people are now. Public funds will be needed to encourage such moves. Likely this should include on a short range basis a subsidy for the industry in recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities.

(The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against. There is no magic formula in industrialization. For instance, making rural areas more livable does not necessarily mean making them urban, industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But, beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.)

(7) Employment opportunities and substantial economic growth can be realized from rural reclamation, the sound development of recreational facilities, and from promotion of arts and crafts. Time does not allow development of these ideas here but it should be noted that a large and affluent population creates a potential here-to-fore unknown in this country.

(8) Finally, our greatest need is to think in terms of developing our human resources. It is in keeping with our national policies to subsidize industry and agriculture and we should be prepared to continue this as we develop programs for rural development. So too, we should develop programs to subsidize people. There are millions of persons living in the rural areas of this country who can be trained and assisted for a decent life where they now live far more easily and far more cheaply than they can be trained, assisted, and subsidized in a foreign urban society where they are neither wanted nor needed.

To encourage ideas of a stable rural society, the small farm, the intact, producing family unit, is not to engage in superficial dreams or to call on sentimental memories of childhood. It is rather to realistically recognize where our people are, where they should be, and how they can most sensibly become a comfortable, producing part of this nation. It is especially to recognize that the stability and wholesomeness of a rural people living productive lives in dignity has been an asset to this society which should not be abandoned casually.

The Southern Regional Council, as a private agency, has a strong interest in this important area. We offer our support and assistance to the Commission.

File

December 13, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Olson
Director
Division of Commercial Agriculture
National Advisory Commission on Food
and Fiber
1321 "H" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Olson:

The copy of the draft transcript of my statement at the Atlanta hearing seems to me correct.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

1321 H ST. N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 30, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am enclosing a copy of a draft transcript of your statement and the related discussion at the Atlanta hearing of the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber on November 9, 1966. Please review the record of your statement and your answers to questions and let me know what corrections are necessary.

In the interest of getting out the transcript for the information of all concerned, as soon as possible, please reply by December 16.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Olson

Robert E. Olson, Director
Division of Commercial Agriculture

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

and potato. If you would like to attend luncheon with this menu, there will be a table outside the door of this hearing room and you may purchase a ticket. You will need to get the ticket to get luncheon in this room, and may I say again, everyone is invited.

With those preliminary remarks, we are now glad to hear from our first witness, Mr. Paul Anthony.

MR. ANTHONY:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Members of the Commission, I am Paul Antoony, Director of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. I am ~~greatful~~ grateful for this opportunity to share several thoughts with the Commission. As you engage in these important deliberations, these thoughts shall be limited to several major points which we believe to be basic. In presenting them please realize our experience is limited to the southern region but we believe the points hereafter are applicable to the nation.

One, the rural areas of this country continue to be important as a total part of the nation. There is real danger in the trend of national opinion and national policies which subscribe to the idea that rural areas are becoming insignificant in terms of where people live and earn a living. The assumption of the inevitability of larger and larger cities with a deserted countryside is a dangerous one and correct only if we insist upon making

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it so. We should not. There is, as a matter of fact, every need to slow the migration of persons from rural to urban areas and to plan on a longer range basis to reverse this trend. The concept that there is no role for the small farmer in the future agricultural production should be thoroughly re-examined.

A number of countries including several of the most developed nations of Europe have a stable and profitable rural economy which includes a large number of successful small farms.

In the past months we have seen a significant shift in national policy towards providing for at least the next decade, food and fiber for millions of people in the underdeveloped nations. Our concept of the surplus versus need has changed drastically. Further, it is anticipated that within the next 30 years there will be an additional hundred million persons in the eastern part of this country to be supplied. In light of the new concept of increased need, we must reevaluate the role of the small farmer engaged in the proper agriculture, using the proper methods in helping to fill this need.

Three, if we are to rebuild the rural areas of the country, we must to a considerable higher degree than at present approach the problem of at least regional planning. We cannot isolate the problems of the people

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of the Mississippi delta from those of Appalachia, nor from those of the oyster fishermen of South Carolina.

Consideration of industrial expansion into rurual areas cannot be separated from plans for developing recreational facilities.

Four, in developing rurual areas, particular attention must be given to the situation of minority groups. These include especially Negroes, Indians and the Mexican-Americans, and an obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the paucity of land owned by members of minority groups and the unavailability of low interest, long term financing to correct this.

For instance, in the South, the averag e farm size for whites is 249 acres. The average for Negroes is 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370, and that for Negroes is $6,240. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long term low interest loans available to all persons in the region but particularly to minorities, relative to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures and the like.

This is due in part to USDA policies for the small farmer generally and Negroe farmers specifically. Entirely new and imaginative programs need to be developed. For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, North Carolina,

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has conducted a successful experiment in which they acquired a large plot of land and settled six farm families on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years these families were assisted in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has now been made whereby each of these farmers is purchasing the land he works, and while small, the results of the project are that six former tenant farms have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management.

Five, perhaps the greatest need in the rurual areas is that of adequate housing. This may also be one of the simplest problems to meet. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a cost of from three to five thousand dollars per unit.

As with any other area of concern, programs of housing cannot, of course, be approached in a vacuum. It is absurd to provide housing for people without planning at the same time for adequate income. No housing programs should be undertaken without companion programs in overall economic development.

Six, quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provider of income in rural areas. Programs must be encouraged that will assure that

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industry of the appropriate nature goes to the rural areas where people are now.

Public funds will be needed to encourage such moves. Likely this should include on a short range basis a subsidy for the industry in recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities.

The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against and avoided. There is no magic formula in industrialization. For instance, making rural areas more livable does not necessarily mean making them urban, industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community, but beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.

Seven, Employment opportunities and substantial economic growth can be realized from rural reclamation, the sound development of recreational facilities, and from promotion of arts and crafts. Time does not allow development of these ideas here but it should be noted that a large and affluent population creates a potential heretofore unknown in this country.

Eight. Finally, our greatest need is to think in

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terms of developing our human resources. It is in keeping with our national policies to subsidize industry and agriculture and we should be prepared to continue this as we develop programs for rural development.

So, too, we should develop programs to subsidize people. There are millions of persons living in the rural areas of this country who can be trained and assisted for a decent life where they now live far more easily and far more cheaply than they can be trained, assisted and subsidized in a foreign urban society where they are neither wanted nor needed.

To encourage ideas of a stable rural society, the small farm, the intact, producing family unit, is not to engage in superficial dreams or to call on sentimental memories of childhood. It is rather to realistically recognize where our people are, where they should be, and how they can most sensibly become a comfortable, producing part of this nation. It is especially to recognize that the stability and wholesomeness of a rural people living productive lives in dignity has been an asset to this society which should not be abandoned casually.

The Southern Regional Council, as a private agency, has a strong interest in this important area. We offer our support and assistance to the Commission.

MR. MAULDIN:

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1 Thank you very much for that fine statement, Mr.
2 Anthony.
3 Before we begin, now, begin our questions, if you will
4 indulge me, I would like to introduce to you and the other
5 people present our Commissioner present, seated in the
6 audience is Mr. Ed Fallon, the General Manager of Agway,
7 Incorporated, New York.
8 Mr. Fallon.
9 Mr. Carl C. Farrington, Vice President, Agricultural
10 Development Group, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
11 Mr. Jay Taylor, President, Texas Livestock Marketing
12 Association, from Amarillo, Texas.
13 Mr. Roscoe G. Haynie, President, Wilson & Company
14 from Chicago.
15 Mr. Woodrow W. Diehl from Iowa, a farmer.
16 We also have Mr. L. L. Males, farmer from Oklahoma,
17 Mr. Males.
18 And our lady Commissioner, Mrs. Janice Smith, Dean
19 of the School of Home Economics, University of Illinois.
20 We have a new Commissioner with us today for the first
21 time, Vice President of the University of West Virginia,
22 Mr. Ernest J. Nesius. Dr. Nesius, we are glad to have
23 you with us.
24 Now, we have two other Commissioners, I believe, in
25 the back, Mr. Hughes from Nebraska and Mr. Hister, President

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of the National Wool Growers Association. Excuse me, I was looking at my list, and rather than the people in the audience.

Dr. Wheeler, do you have a question of Mr. Anthony?

DR. WHEELER:

Mr. Anthony, do you expect -- How do you expect that some of these programs may be put into operation? In other words, where will they get the impetus? Where do you envisage the impetus coming from?

MR. ANTHONY:

I would hope that the Federal Government through USDA the Universities, and also those industries who have a particular interest in the rural areas and in food and fiber would all encourage considerable research into the whole concept of the future of the small farmer in this country on an entirely different basis than in the past, where presumeably we have simply assumed that nothing can be done, that the small farmer is disappearing and is uneconomical. I would also hope that those Federal policies now in operation particularly in USDA could continue to be closely observed, and particularly that within USDA every effort would be made to prevent discrimination, and equal importance that every effort would be made to assist the small farmer in loans and better agricultural techniques.

MR. MAULDIN:

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Mr. Berg.

MR. BERG:

Mr. Anthony, in looking at your proposals here and concepts, and there are a number of them, I would like to probe a little bit further with you what some of the concrete proposals might lead to in terms of an envisioned level of income for these people from the type of farm you are describing, what income level are you aiming at? What income level do you hope to achieve of these units and this would be supported then by what type of agriculture, what type of agricultural methods or techniques that might be different from those that we usually think of?

MR. ANTHONY:

Well, first, of course, as quite obviously, we have a number of factors in a rural society. We can think in terms of the small farm units that in themselves provides adequate income as I think we should, we can think also in terms as we now have in a large number of instances the small family unit living in a rural setting, and supplementing its income with an agricultural situation. I would hope this Commission would be particularly concerned with all of the low income groups that ~~is~~ are rural, as identified by our regular standards now of inadequate incomes and poverty, and that certainly in terms of an income level we would seek that level which the nation

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1 accepts and a minimum adequate income. I believe at that
2 point that is being debated between three thousand and
3 four thousand dollars, but certainly the same standards
4 are to apply to rural life.
5 MR. MAULDIN:
6 All right, thank you.
7 Dr. Cochrane.
8 DR. COCHRANE:
9 Mr. Anthony, I am not familiar with your organization.
10 It would be helpful to me if I knew who -- what is the
11 constituentcy of your organization?
12 MR. ANTHONY:
13 The Southern Regional Council was formed in 1944 as
14 an outgrowth of the Commission on InterRacial Cooperation
15 formed in 1918 here in Atlanta. It is concerned with the
16 southern region, Virgina through Texas. It has a member-
17 ship, that is, the council as a legal entity, of 100
18 persons from throughout the South, Negro and white,
19 interfaith and representing various professions. A
20 member of this Commission, Mr. John Wheeler, is President
21 of the Council.
22 MR. COCHRANE:
23 Thank you.
24 MR. ANTHONY:
25 We are particularly concerned with regional development

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1 and with race relations.

2 MR. MAULDIN:

3 Mr. Fernbach.

4 MR. FERNBACH:

5 Well, I have to be more friendly than I expected to

6 be if John Wheeler is your Chairman.

7 (Laughter).

8 MR. FERNBACH:

9 I am a little disappointed with this testimony because

10 I don't think you get us down to brass tacks, and if there

11 is anything this Commission has had, it has had a little

12 too much over-generalization.

13 Now, on page three you seem to get closer to your

14 water but you don't quite get into it. You say the second

15 paragraph, "Relative to this is the poor use of land

16 presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures,

17 and the like. This is due in part to USDA policies for

18 the small farmer generally and Negro farmers specifically."

19 Now, what in effect you seem to me to be saying is

20 that either policy or farm legislation or both as it has

21 recently existed and programs still exists is prejudicial

22 to the welfare of the smaller farmers and to minority

23 group farmers specifically.

24 Where does one go as an ignorant city boy to find

25 out what you are talking about?

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1 MR. ANTHONY:

2 Well, let me say first, Mr. Fernbach, we are in
3 complete agreement in being unhappy over the general nature
4 of this testimony. It was simply felt that with the time
5 limitation we could not be more specific or take more of
6 your time.

7 I think first of all we have to recognize and again
8 I am speaking primarily from the Southern Region, that the
9 small farmer has been under several handicaps, one has
10 been the tradition of poor management, and poor crops.
11 For instance, Alabama corn production does not begin at
12 this point to compete with Mid-Western corn production,
13 though there is no reason why it should not, with proper
14 methods and techniques. I think generally all of our
15 national policies of accepted inevitability, there is no
16 place for the small farmer, and I think primarily we have
17 looked at that only in the narrow limits of past production
18 and trends, and I was recommending this Commission re-
19 evaluate that, the USDA policy has very clearly in the past
20 discriminated against the small farmer and against minority
21 groups, and I think a great deal could be done purely
22 within the internal structure of USDA under the laws and
23 regulations which now exist, and I believe USDA is making
24 some effort towards that itself.

25 MR. FERNBACH:

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1 Well, would it be within the realm of possibility,
2 since we have some time yet to weight our ultimate judg-
3 ment, to provide this Commission with some kind of a docu-
4 mentation with respect to the specific policies?
5 MR. ANTHONY:
6 We would be very pleased to.
7 MR. FERNBACH:
8 For example, under our commodities law s involving
9 crop curtailment, what happens to the smaller farmer,
10 particularly if he is a tenant, or a sharecropper, what
11 has been the extent of displacement, state by state, with
12 respect to particulars of these commodites? What happens
13 when the Federal Government, the Congress enacts a law
14 and the Department of Agriculture administrates it and
15 let's assume reducing acreage by X percent of the total,
16 how many Negro independent farm operators a re there in the
17 United States now, how many were there 20 years ago, what
18 is the trend, what are the specific actions of those that
19 administer the policy of the Department of Agriculture
20 that you are alluding to?
21 Now, we have got to have the facts in order to
22 adress ourselves to policy and we count on this hearing at
23 this place and this time to produce them.
24 MR. ANTHONY:
25 We would be very pleased to submit such a document to

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you.

MR. FERNBACH:

It doesn't matter how lengthy it is, I will read every word of it.

MR. MAULDIN:

Mr. Soth.

MR. SOTH:

Mr. Anthony --

MR. ANTHONY:

Yes, sir.

MR. SOTH:

Your point eight was our greatest need is to think in terms of developing our human resources.

Has your organization made any apprais al or study of vocational education throughout your reg ion, both agricultural and non-agricultural vocationa l education, and could you make any general comments on that situation?

MR. ANTHONY:

We have not made a thorough study that would allow me to make such comments except there are s everal things that we have done which imply, one, it is extremely difficult in the urban setting to take the rur al person who is poorly educated, at best, illequipped for city life, it is extremely difficult and very costly to train that individual to become an independent wage ea rner, head of

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1 a household, it is considerably, it seems from such
2 instances, such as the one I cited at Bricks, North
3 Carolina, it seems that there is considerably more hope
4 that persons now living in rural areas with agricultural
5 experience can be retrained for agricultural pursuits, at
6 considerably shorter periods and considerably cheaper.
7 MR. SOTH:
8 I was thinking more of an appraisal of the institutional
9 educatin system that you now have, vocational, agricultural,
10 public school, trade schools, and that sort of thing.
11 I know a good deal about North Carolina, but I am
12 ignorant about much of the rest of the South.
13 MR. ANTHONY:
14 The only studies we have done of that nature would
15 be in the overall amount and quality and expenditures de-
16 voted to public education. We have not done so with
17 specific interest in vocational education.
18 MR. MAULDIN:
19 Mr. Anthony, we thank you very much for visiting
20 with us this morning, and we will appreicate your supple-
21 mental statement if you have time to submit it.
22 MR. TAYLOR:
23 May I ask Mr. Anthony a question?
24 MR. MAULDIN:
25 Mr. Taylor.

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1 Inasmuch as he seems quite willing to write some
2 more papers for us, the thing that confuses us in the
3 West where I come from is the large amount of government
4 land, forest service, Bureau of Land Management, every
5 agency has millions of acres of land and we have started
6 in out there about three years ago on land exchange pro-
7 grams, and the Department of Agriculture has been very
8 aggresive and very intellegent about disposing and
9 exchanging some of their lands that were not fit for
10 forest, grazing and trees, over into private hands.
11 Now, in this I don't know how much land you have,
12 government land you have in the South, but it seems to me
13 that if we do need some more land, I wish you would think
14 about making a surveyof it and see if the same thing could
15 be done here in the South that we are doing so well in
16 the West.
17 MR. ANTHONY:
18 I shall. Thank you.
19 MR. MAULDIN:
20 Beforewe introduce our next witness, I would like to
21 present two additional Commissioners who have arrived,
22 Mr. Leon Schachter.
23 Leon, would you stand, please.
24 Thank you, and Mr. Bill Hewitt.
25 Bill, would you stand?

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File

July 25, 1967

Mr. Jimmye S. Hillman
Executive Director
National Advisory Commission on Food
And Fiber
1321 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Hillman:

Thank you very much for the bound copy of your excellent report.

May we have a soft cover copy for our Research Department? If there is a charge please have us billed.

Again you and the Commission are to be commended on an excellent piece of work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

1321 H ST. N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 18, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The report to the President of the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber has been completed.

On behalf of Chairman Berg and the staff (Avery, Chryst, Goodman, Haggerty, Olson and others) I want to thank each of you for your part in this effort.

As a token of our appreciation we enclose a hard bound copy of the report, which was bound in limited numbers for this type of use.

We have other soft bound copies. We shall have several volumes of technical papers and a volume of the hearings available at a later date.

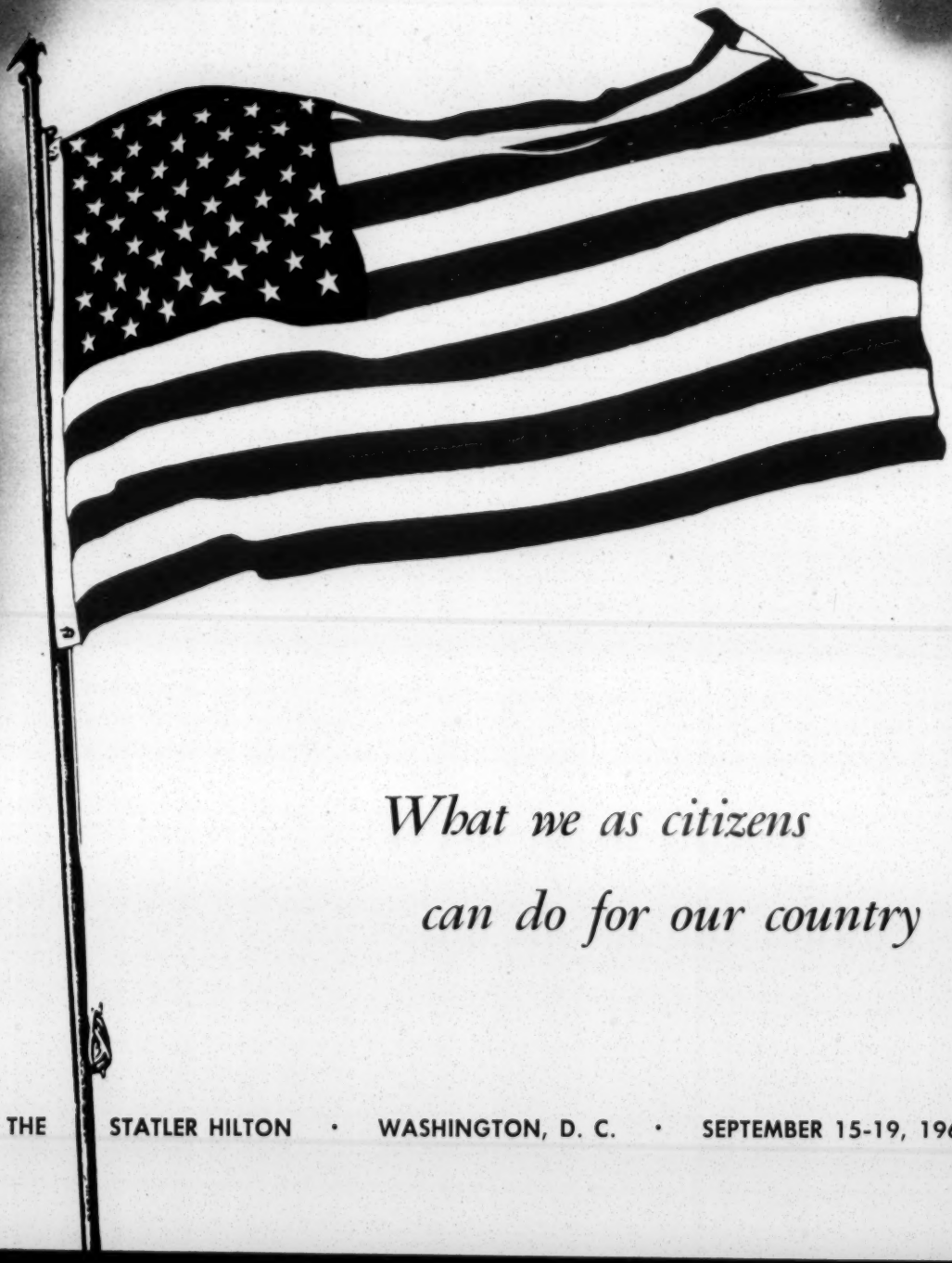
Sincerely,

Jimmye S. Hillman
Executive Director

JSH:lrb

Encl.

THE 16TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP



What we as citizens can do for our country

THE STATLER HILTON · WASHINGTON, D. C. · SEPTEMBER 15-19, 1961

E I G H T E E N T H N A T I O N A L C O N F E R E N C E O N C I T I Z E N S H I P

September 15-18, 1963
The Statler Hilton, Washington, D. C.

Conference Theme

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP-SHOWCASE FOR FREEDOM

DESIGNATION OF REPRESENTATIVES - Each organization may name three, preferably the President or ranking officer and/or Chairman of the Citizenship (or similar) Committee. Organizations with youth programs or affiliated youth groups may also name three youth representatives. Senior high and college students are especially desired. (If you wish to send more representatives, please contact the Executive Director.)

VOTING DELEGATE - Each organization is entitled to have one voting delegate attend the Business Meeting. Please indicate in the Designation Form who this will be.

CONFERENCE EXPENSES

Registration (included coffee hour)	$17.00
Luncheon (September 16)	5.00
Dinner (September 17)	8.00
or	
SPECIAL (Includes all of the above)	29.00

PUBLICITY - Please send local press clippings about your representatives or the Conference to the National Conference on Citizenship, P. O. Box 172, Rockville, Md.

EXHIBITS - To exhibit citizenship materials, contact immediately Exhibits Chairman, Mr. Thomas F. Clear, Katherine T. Murphy School, Stamford, Conn. Space is limited.

OUTLINE OF CONFERENCE PROGRAM

September 15 (Sunday)	all day . . .	Meeting of Group Leaders and Reporters ONLY
September 16 (Monday)	morning . . .	Coffee Hour
		Opening Session - Keynote Address on Conference Theme
	noon	Luncheon - Table Discussions
	afternoon . .	First Group Discussions
	evening . . .	Youth Winner National "Voice of Democracy" Contest
		Special Concert, U.S.Military Band
September 17 (Tuesday)	morning . . .	Second Group Discussions
	afternoon . .	Naturalization Proceeding
		Citizenship Day Celebration
	evening . . .	Annual Dinner
September 18 (Wednesday)	morning . . .	Business Session for Voting Delegates
		Closing Session - Summarization

ATTACHED IS FORM FOR DESIGNATING REPRESENTATIVES AND INDICATING VOTING DELEGATE.

E I G H T E E N T H N A T I O N A L C O N F E R E N C E O N C I T I Z E N S H I P

September 15-18, 1963
The Statler Hilton, Washington, D. C.

Conference Theme

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP-SHOWCASE FOR FREEDOM

FORM FOR DESIGNATION OF REPRESENTATIVES AND VOTING DELEGATE

The following persons are designated as representatives of:

_____
(Name of Organization)

Name (Please print)	Position in Organization	Mailing Address
ADULT REPRESENTATIVES		
1.		
2.		
3.		
YOUTH REPRESENTATIVES		
1.		
2.		
3.		

VOTING DELEGATE -
(Please Name one of above)- - - - - - - _____

OFFICIAL MAKING DESIGNATIONS: Name:

Title:

Address:

PLEASE MAIL THIS FORM TO:

National Conference on Citizenship
P. O. Box 172
Rockville, Maryland

National Conference on Citizenship

CHARTERED BY ACT OF CONGRESS—APPROVED AUGUST 13, 1953

OFFICERS

TOM C. CLARK
PRESIDENT

EARLE T. HAWKINS
1ST VICE PRESIDENT

SAMUEL I. PARKER
2ND VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN
3RD VICE PRESIDENT

LAWRENCE A. OXLEY
SECRETARY

MRS. YVETTE HEBBARD
TREASURER

CARL B. HYATT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

P. O. BOX 172

ROCKVILLE, MARYLAND

GARDEN 4-7747

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

ROBERT N. ANDERSON
MRS. DEXTER OTIS ARNOLD
WALTER M. BASTIAN
ALVIN M. BENTLEY
MAURICE BISGYER
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HARRY A. BULLIS
BRENDAN BYRNE
ERWIN D. CANHAM
THOMAS F. CLEAR
WILLARD E. GIVENS
BROOKS HAYS
RICHARD B. KENNAN
SIDNEY G. KUSWORM, SR.
LEE R. PENNINGTON, JR.
J. ALBERT WOLL

JUN 4 1963

Dear Executive Officer:

The Directors of the National Conference on Citizenship are pleased to invite your organization to participate in its Eighteenth Annual Meeting to be held at the Statler Hilton, Washington, D. C., September 15-18, 1963.

The National Conference on Citizenship operates under a charter granted by unanimous vote of the Congress of the United States. This year's meeting will again bring together delegates from several hundred organizations representing all levels of government; religious faiths; professional, veteran, farm, civic, and youth organizations; labor, business, industry, and finance; and other groups. The enclosed brochure will give you information about the objectives, history and management of the Conference.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP-SHOWCASE FOR FREEDOM is the challenging theme of this year's meeting. We are observed by freedom loving peoples around the globe. Our country is not perfect. Sometimes we fall short of the ideal. But we stand for democracy and should, by inspiring example, show what responsible citizens can accomplish in a free country. With outstanding speakers and leaders, the theme will be emphasized throughout the Conference--in the keynote address at the opening session, in the luncheon discussions, in the group discussions and at the dinner.

The enclosed form is for your use in designating representatives. If your organization has youth members, or a youth program, you may designate both youth and adults. Immediately upon receipt of the names and addresses of your representatives, the Executive Director will send them information and forms for registration.

We are looking forward to the participation of your organization in what promises to be another inspirational and effective Conference.

Sincerely,

Tom Clark

Tom C. Clark
President

Enclosures:

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

FOUNDED 1946

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS 1953

P. O. Box 172, Rockville, Maryland

"Liberty is not necessarily our permanent possession. Both external and internal pressures constantly assail it. Every generation, to keep its freedom, must earn it through understanding of the past, vigilance in the present and determination for the future."

EARL WARREN

Chief Justice of the United States
Honorary Chairman of the
National Conference on Citizenship
(From Address, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., February 19, 1955.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

PURPOSES To Support and Streng
ing the Blessings of Freedom and Justice
Principles and Ideals upon which this
Thorough Knowledge of Citizenship Righ
er Devotion to Citizenship Obligations;
pation in Citizenship Activities and to P
of all Citizens—to these High Purposes,
Dedicated.

ORIGIN

The National Conference on Citizenship was founded in 1946, when a small group of men, women and youth met in Philadelphia to consider how the spirit of cooperation that had bound together all citizens of the United States during World War II could be conserved for the future. They sought a means to maintain this spirit so that, in peacetime as in wartime, all citizens might dedicate themselves to upholding continuously our concept of government and the democratic way of life.

★ GROWTH

The Conference is unique in that it brings together the most comprehensive cross-section of organizations and agencies to be found in any single National meeting. Since 1946, more than 1,200 organizations and agencies have participated. Through their memberships and activities these touch nearly every wholesome aspect of our life and reach most of the population of our Nation.

Included are all levels of government—national,

then the Efforts of the People in Maintain-
and in Protecting and Perpetuating the
Nation is Founded; to Develop a More
ts and Responsibilities; to Inspire a Deep-
o Encourage Ever More Effective Partici-
romote a Spirit of Cooperation on the Part
he National Conference on Citizenship is

state and local; schools, colleges and universities; major religious faiths; professional associations; veterans' and related organizations; labor, business, industry and finance; farm and civic groups; and youth organizations.

The Honorary Chairmen of the Conference have been the late Harlan F. Stone and the late Charles Evans Hughes, former Chief Justices of the United States; the late Alben W. Barkley, former Vice President of the United States; and Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, who is the present Honorary Chairman.

★ CONGRESSIONAL CHARTER

The National Conference on Citizenship now has the distinction of operating under a Federal Charter. From 1946 to 1954, the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association sponsored the Conference. The two agencies lent their support until the Conference could function as an independent entity.

A Bill to incorporate the Conference passed both Houses of the Congress by unanimous consent and was signed by the President on August 13, 1953. Under the provisions of the Charter, the officers and Board of Directors are elected by the delegates at the annual meeting of the Conference.

★ ACTIVITIES AND PLANS

The Congressional Charter empowers the Nati
ideals and objectives into realities. Planning i
and activities, some initiated and conducted b
organizations and agencies with the encourage
and activities already under way or proposed

1. **Annual Meetings of the National Conference** at which participants consider the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, discuss major problems facing the Nation, and ways in which the ideas inspired by the National Meeting can be carried out in their home States and communities.

2. **Regional, State, and Local Conferences on Citizenship** which have purposes similar to those of the National Conference, with organization and procedures adapted to State and local situations.

3. **"Citizenship Day and Constitution Week" Observances** which commemorate the signing of the Constitution, recognize the native youth reaching voting age and the foreign born receiving citizenship through naturalization, and afford all citizens opportunity for rededication to the ideals and principles of the Constitution.

4. **A "Voter" Program** which, carried on through cooperating groups, organizations and agencies, urges responsible exercise of suffrage by all citizens, with emphasis upon the greater participation of youth in civic affairs and their better preparation for the assumption of citizenship responsibilities.

5. **Naturalization Ceremonies** in which the Conference, through its participating organizations and agencies, will assist Federal and State courts

onal Conference on Citizen
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y the Conference itself, ot
ment and assistance of the
include the following:

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stimulate in new citizens
can traditions and ways

6. **Integration of Foreign-b**
and local programs whic
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working together and t
become more effective c

7. **A Magazine and Ot**
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citizenship, and for th
and patriotic observanc

8. **Citizenship Programs i**
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educational authorities,
available information a
ments in methods and
education.

9. **Information on Legal**
which will be assemble
Conference members a
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10. **An Information Center**
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zenship.

enship to translate its
and immediate projects
others by cooperating
e Conference. Projects

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ys of living.

-born Citizens through State
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those of foreign birth to
citizens.

Other Publicity Materials
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programs to promote good
those planning conferences
nces.

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s, will assemble and make
about significant develop-
d materials for citizenship

al Aspects of Citizenship
led and made available to
and other participating or-
cies.

r which will collect, com-
e and disseminate informa-
n matters relating to citi-

OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

TOM C. CLARK, President

Associate Justice, Supreme Court of the United States, 1949—; Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, 1943-45; Attorney General of the United States, 1945-49; Past President, Federal Bar Association; Chairman, Section of Judicial Administration, American Bar Association, 1957-58, Chairman, Joint Committee for Effective Administration of Justice, 1961—; Fellow, Institute of Judicial Administration; Member at large, National Council, Boy Scouts of America. While Attorney General, Justice Clark co-sponsored the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

EARLE T. HAWKINS, First Vice President

President, Maryland State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland; Chairman, National Education Association Citizenship Committee, 1944-49; helped to initiate the National Conference on Citizenship in 1946, Conference Chairman, 1946-49; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; former Chairman, Maryland Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Towson, Maryland.

SAMUEL I. PARKER, Second Vice President

Lieutenant Colonel, USA, Ret. Has held various positions in business, 1919-56, including Assistant Superintendent, Cone Mills, Greensboro, N. C. and Vice President, Ciba Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.; Secretary-Treasurer, Congressional Medal of Honor Society of the United States of America, 1956—; appointed by Governor Luther H. Hodges, North Carolina, to State Committee for Improved Courts, 1958.

Residence, Concord, North Carolina.

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN, Third Vice President

A manager, New York State Reformatory for Women, 1906-18; only woman Member, Federal Industrial Relations Commission, 1913-16; Chairman, Committee on Women in Industry of Council for National Defense; Colonel, Red Cross Motor Corps, 1917-18; U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Norway, 1937-41; Member, National Institute of Social Sciences; Co-Chairman, Washington Home Rule Committee, Inc.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

LAWRENCE A. OXLEY, Secretary

Former Organization and Methods Examiner, Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor; has held various positions in Department of Labor for 25 years; after World War I, served as special investigator for War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities; teacher Social Sciences, St. Augustine College, Raleigh, N. C.; 10 years State Director, Division of Negro Welfare, N. C. State Board of Public Welfare. Residence, Washington, D. C.

MRS. YVETTE HEBBARD, Treasurer

Eighteen years as Head of the Accounting Division of B'nai B'rith; consultant on budgetary matters; develops accounting systems and techniques for B'nai B'rith programs; auditor, B'nai B'rith Women of Montgomery County; Treasurer, B'nai B'rith Executive Staff Association; as a volunteer, has prepared financial reports and records of the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

CARL B. HYATT, Executive Director

Former Assistant Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service; planned and initiated Nationwide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; Chairman, Federal Bar Association Citizenship Committee, 1942—; Director, Attorney General's Citizenship Program, 1946-55; helped to initiate and direct the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Rockville, Maryland.

ROBERT N. ANDERSON, General Counsel

Past President, Federal Bar Association; Chairman, Organizing Committee of the International Bar Association; helped to initiate Nationwide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; President of the Arlington (Va.) Historical Society.

Residence, Arlington, Virginia.

MRS. DEXTER OTIS ARNOLD

President, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Board of Directors, CARE, Inc., National Conference and International Economic and Social Development; Director, New York World's Fair 1964-65 Corp.; President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped; Advisory Committee on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Member, National Committee for Support of Public Schools; Past President, New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

WALTER M. BASTIAN

Circuit Judge, U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia; Judge, U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, 1950-54; Past President and Treasurer, D. C. Bar Association; American Bar Association, Member, House of Delegates, 1936-53, 56—, Board of Governors 1950-53, Treasurer 1945-50, Chairman, Committee on American Citizenship 1956; Trustee, George Washington University; Past President, National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

ALVIN M. BENTLEY

Member, U. S. Congress 1953-60, House Foreign Affairs Committee and House Select Committee on Communist Aggression; U. S. Foreign Service, 1941-50; seriously wounded in House Chamber when shot by Puerto Rico Nationalist fanatics on March 1, 1954. Later made a good will trip to Puerto Rico which strengthened relations between Puerto Rico and the mainland.

Residence, Owosso, Michigan.

MAURICE BISGYER

Executive Vice President, B'nai B'rith; former Member, Attorney General's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency; former President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers; Member, National Advisory Committee on Education, appointed by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt; Secretary-General, Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations—Consultant to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH A. BRUNTON, JR.

Chief Scout Executive, administrative head of the Boy Scouts of America whose 5,322,167 Scouts and leaders are related to 135,389 units. A native of Pittsburgh, he became an Eagle Scout and served as a volunteer leader. He is interested in youth around the world and active in world Scouting affairs.

Residence, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

HARRY A. BULLIS

Past Chairman, Board of General Mills; Trustee, Committee on Economic Development, National Planning Association, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Simpson College, Hamline University, Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation; Member Board of Directors, University of Wisconsin Foundation, Fund for Adult Education, National Committee for Free Europe, Crusade for Freedom (regional chairman), National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.

Residence, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

BRENDAN BYRNE

Executive Director, The American Heritage Foundation 1957—; Editor, Facts Magazine, Read Magazine, New Books Digest, 1946; Vice President, Valley Forge Foundation, 1951-52; Executive Vice President, Goldby and Byrne, Inc., Philanthropic Consultants, New York City, 1954-55; Director, Nationwide Campaign Contribute to Your Political Party, 1958; Director, Non-partisan program to modernize archaic election laws, 1957-59; Member Board of Education, New York City, 1961-.

Residence, Kew Gardens, N. Y.

ERWIN D. CANHAM

Editor, Christian Science Monitor; Deputy Chairman, U. S. Delegation, United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information, 1948; U. S. Alternate Delegate, United Nations General Assembly, 1949; Member, U. S. Commission for Information, U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, 1948-51; President, Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1959; Member (executive committee), President's National Committee, Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Residence, Boston, Massachusetts.

THOMAS F. CLEAR

Principal, Katherine T. Murphy School, Stamford, Connecticut; Vice President, National Education Association, 1949-50, and Member, Citizenship Committee, 1950-53; President, Connecticut State Teachers Association, Classroom Teachers 1949-50; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Director of Exhibits for the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Springdale, Connecticut.

WILLARD E. GIVENS

Director of Education, Scottish Rite Masons, Southern and Western States; former Executive Secretary, National Education Association; Past President, California Teachers Association; Member, American Youth Commission of American Council on Education; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Senior Citizens of America; helped to initiate the National Conference on Citizenship; as Secretary of National Education Association, approved Bill introduced in Congress to charter the Conference and give it independent status.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

BROOKS HAYS

Special Assistant to the President, 1961—; Assistant Attorney General of Arkansas, 1925-27; President, Arkansas Conference of Social Work, 1932-34; Member, U. S. Congress, 1942-58, House Foreign Affairs Committee; Member, U.S. Delegation to General Assembly, United Nations, 1955; Member, Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1959-61; Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, 1961; Trustee, George Peabody College and George Washington University.

Residence, Little Rock, Arkansas.

RICHARD B. KENNAN

Executive Secretary, National Education Association Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities; Executive Secretary, Maine Teachers Association, 1940-45; Consultant, National Education Association Committee on Citizenship; helped initiate and direct the National Conference on Citizenship; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Vice President, National Education Association, 1943-46.

Residence, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

SIDNEY G. KUSWORM, SR.

Executive Committee, Jewish Boy Scouts of America; Member Board of Governors, World Committee for Employment of Handicapped; Trustee, National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, Denver; Chairman, Americanism Committee, Ohio State Bar Association; Member, American Bar Standing Committee on Citizenship; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Honorary Chairman, Commission on Citizenship, Veterans and Community Affairs for B'nai B'rith.

Residence, Dayton, Ohio.

LEE R. PENNINGTON, JR.

Approximately 25 years with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, retiring 1953 to become Director, National Americanism Commission of the American Legion; Member for 20 years, Board of Directors, Metropolitan Y.M.C.A.; President for five years, G.A.R. Memorial Day Corporation, which has charge of Memorial Day Service and decoration of graves of veterans in Arlington, Virginia.

Residence, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

J. ALBERT WOLL

General Counsel, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Special Assistant to Attorney General of the United States, 1934; Head, Fraud Section, U. S. Department of Justice, 1939-40; United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois, 1940-47; Member, Executive Board, Chicago Council, Boy Scouts of America, and Member, National Council.

Residence, Chicago, Illinois.

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The strength of the National Conference on Citizenship comes from the combined strength of all the agencies represented in its make-up. Group participation is its cornerstone. It is a broad cross section of American thought, action, and life—as broad as the land itself. The Conference is patriotic citizens, coming together in a spirit of unity and striving to bring the ideals of democracy to full fruition.

Like the little band of men in 1787, who laid the foundation for our great Nation, the Conference is working to help build a Nation "where the least shall be heard and considered, side by side, with the greatest." A creation of the spirit, nurtured by good citizens, it belongs to no one organization, no one individual. An agency of good will and understanding, needed now more than ever before, the National Conference on Citizenship is dedicated to helping build freedom, security, peace, and happiness for peoples here and everywhere.

"TO END HUNGER IN AMERICA"

A Meeting to Devise Strategy to Attack Problems of Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

Conveners:
Rev. Ralph David Abernathy
Leslie W. Dunbar
Jean Fairfax
John Gardner
M. Alfred Haynes, M.D.
Jean Mayer
Benjamin E. Mays
Hon. Albert A. Pena, Jr.
Walter P. Reuther
Cato Valandra

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 293-1220

October 9, 1968

TO: HUNGER CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

FROM: JUDITH NEIGH

We are glad you will be able to attend the October 16th TO END HUNGER IN AMERICA meeting at 1:00 PM in the Mayflower Hotel here in Washington, D.C.

As you know, this is an invitational meeting to develop legislative and administrative strategies to combat hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

As an invitee we are sending the enclosed packet of materials published since the appearance of HUNGER, USA and THEIR DAILY BREAD. The report of the Senate Subcommittee, Hunger In America, contains a chronological review and background information on the legislative level with recently published articles appearing at the end of the Committee Report. You may wish to review particularly the following documents printed in the subcommittee report:

June 1967. "Children in Mississippi," a Report to the Field Foundation

July 12, 1967. Excerpt from hearings on "Hunger and Malnutrition in America" before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty. Dr. William H. Stewart, Surgeon General of the United States

April 1968 "Hunger U.S.A." A summary

June 1968. Institute for Defense Analyses Science and Technology Division-"Hunger U.S.A. 1968 - A Critical Review" by Herbert Pollack, M.D.

In the Mayflower Hotel Ballroom, Washington, D. C., at 1 p.m., October 16, 1968

April 1968. Excerpts from "Their Daily Bread," a study of the school lunch program

May 21, 1968. Transcript, CBS Reports "Hunger in America"

April 29, 1968. The Poor People's Campaign Speaks to U.S. Department of Agriculture

June 1968 and August 1968. Excerpts from "Hunger Study" by the House Committee on Agriculture, W.R. Poage, of Tex., as chairman

August 1968. University of Iowa Paper on the House Agriculture Committee "Hunger Study"

August 1968. Democratic and Republican National Convention platform planks on hunger

June 1968. "Let Us Now Praise Dr. Gatch," from Esquire magazine

August 11-September 4, 1968. Series of five articles from the Coshocton Tribune, Coshocton, Ohio

October 1968. "American's Hungry Families," from Good Housekeeping magazine

Further, we are enclosing a draft statement of principles and resolutions to be used as a beginning point for discussion at the meeting.

The strategy meeting will start promptly at 1:00 PM. We look forward to seeing you there.

DRAFT DRAFT

DRAFT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, RESOLUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS & GOALS

TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE MEETING

TO END HUNGER IN AMERICA - 10/16/68

MAYFLOWER HOTEL - WASHINGTON, D. C.

I. PRINCIPLES

This nation is confronted by the fact that, in spite of its prosperity and its abundance of nutritious food, a substantial number of its people suffer from hunger and malnutrition because they are without adequate nutritious food. It has also been demonstrated, by surveys conducted by Government agencies and responsible private groups, that Federal food programs fail to reach many citizens who lack sufficient food, medical assistance and other related necessities essential to life and health. This may result in the lifetime mental and physical impairment of children and in unnecessary disease, suffering and premature deaths among both children and adults.

Confronted by these facts, we, as representatives of business, labor, religious, civil rights and other private organizations, and as concerned individuals, have joined in this meeting, to create a sense of national urgency and a national commitment to end hunger and malnutrition in America.

In support of these objectives, we are united in the following convictions:

--Every American family has the <u>right</u> to an adequate diet and must have the means to obtain an adequate diet. To this end, both the public and private sectors must accept responsibility to assure that this Nation's resources are devoted to the task of assuring that no American, whatever his social or

economic circumstances, is without nutritious food.

--That task requires that the Federal government enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of appropriate private industry and other groups to undertake bold and immediate action and to develop long term policies and programs which will end hunger and malnutrition in America.

--Such policies and programs must be designed and carried out in a manner which fosters human dignity and promotes economic self-sufficiency rather dependency.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION

Accordingly, we call upon the Federal government, and particularly the United States Department of Agriculture and other Federal Agencies which are responsible for the administration of existing Federal food assistance programs, immediately to use to the fullest possible extent their authorities under existing laws to:

--make available all funds which are received by USDA each year under Section 32 of the Agricultural Act of August 24,1935 and which would otherwise be unspent and returned to the United States Treasury, forthe expansion of the Commodity Distribution Program so that persons not now served by food assistance programs will receive Federally donated food and so that present commodity program participants receive a nutritionally adequate

diet;

--in accordance with Section 4(b) of the Food Stamp Act, declare the existence of an emergency situation in those areas where a food stamp program is in effect and distribute Federally owned and acquired foods to persons in such areas who are not fully benefiting from the food stamp program;

--provide free food stamps to persons without income or available cash; revise, completely, the schedule of food stamp charges to reflect accurately eligible families' normal pattern of expenditures for food; raise the food stamp bonus to provide the purchasing power necessary to acquire minimally adequate diets; simplify the eligibility procedures for participation in the food stamp program; and provide convenient and ready access to both stamps and food purchased with stamps.

--improve the School Lunch Program by setting price ceilings on school lunches so that more school children will be able to receive food at school; by establishing regulations guaranteeing free and reduced price lunches to children from poor families; and by bringing school lunches to city and rural schools which do not now participate;

--provide the funds and other resources necessary to complete the nationwide study of the incidence and location of serious hunger and malnutrion and related health problems under the Partnership for Health Act of 1967;

--assure that nutrition education is provided both in and out of school to children and adults who lack the knowledge or need the skills necessary to acquire and prepare a balanced, nutritious diet for themselves and their families through the employment and educating of food stamp recipients and of sub-professionals from among the poor as well as by other means;

--develop and immediately undertake, with the cooperation of both private groups and persons including sub-professionals, drawn from among the ranks of the poor, a program to monitor and evaluate the Federal, State and local administration of food programs and analyze the effectiveness of existing machinery for the delivery of food and related services to persons in need.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF LONGER RANGE APPROACHES

Beyond these requirements for immediate administrative action, we believe the documented existence of substantial hunger and malnutrition as well as the demonstrated failure of existing Federal food assistance efforts make it essential that further study and the development of long range solutions be undertaken with respect to the following matters as part of a national commitment to end hunger in the United States:

--the reorientation of the school lunch, school breakfast school milk, commodity distribution, food stamp and other Federal food assistance programs away from their dependence on agriculture

policy, so that all such programs are carried out from the standpoint of human needs rather than from the standpoint of the economic needs of one segment of the American economy;

--the establishment of a universal free school lunch program;

--the reorganization of Federal, executive and legislative responsibilities and the need for concentrating responsibility for food assistance efforts in those units in the Executive Branch and in those committees of the Congress which are responsive to the needs of those who suffer from hunger and malnutrition rather than to political, bureaucratic, economic and racial factors;

--the cooperation between and relationships among Federal, state and local government agencies in the administration of food assistance and related programs;

--the establishment of nationwide uniform eligibility criteria for all persons in need of food assistance and of Federal minimum standards of food program administrative performance at the state and local levels;

--the means by which the cooperation and resources of the private food industry can be enlisted in efforts to bring nutritious food to the malnourished poor; and

--the means by which members of social agencies can be

educated to recognize presumption of malnutrition and physicians to diagnose it, and the improvement of the methods by which the social armamentorium to combat malnutrition can be put at the disposal of social agencies and physicians.

IV. IMPLEMENTAION

We believe that the implementation of our recommendations for immediate action and for the development of long range policies and programs must be undertaken both within and outside the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal government. We, therefore, urge that the next administration develop such solutions in the fulfillment of the commitments contained in the respective Party platforms. We also commend the recent establishment of a Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs by the United States Senate and urge that a similar body be established in the House of Representatives. The fulfillment of the Senate Committee's mandate can go a long way toward implementing the objective of ending hunger in the United States.

We also believe that the implementation of our recommendations for immediate action and the development of long range plans and recommended changes in existing efforts requires the cooperative efforts of private groups and individuals such as those represented at this strategy meeting.

file

"TO END HUNGER IN AMERICA"

A Meeting to Devise Strategy to Attack Problems of Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

Conveners:
Rev. Ralph David Abernathy
Leslie W. Dunbar
Jean Fairfax
John Gardner
M. Alfred Haynes, M.D.
Jean Mayer
Benjamin E. Mays
Hon. Albert A. Pena, Jr.
Walter P. Reuther
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2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 293-1220

October 29, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Our registration records indicate that your schedule did not permit your attendance at the October 16th meeting, TO END HUNGER IN AMERICA. However, we should like to inform you of the work done there.

A drafting committee was appointed to revise a Statement of Goals, Principles and Resolutions, incorporating the recommendations of the delegates. A Draft Statement of Goals, Principles and Resolutions was the working document around which the meeting's General Session focused.

We have enclosed for your review the position statements of Vice President Humphrey and Richard Nixon which their representatives presented to the delegates. Also included are the news releases which appeared Thursday, October 17th in the New York Times, The Washington Post and the Washington Evening Star.

At the strategy meeting of October 16th, Carl Holman was appointed from among the conveners to coordinate the next steps necessary to implement the recommendations made during the General Session. Since, in any strategy meeting, the desired effects are only achieved through post-meeting efforts, we hope you will continue to work with us on this most important issue of Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States.

Towards that end we shall be in further communication with you.

Sincerely,

M. Alfred Haynes

M. Alfred Haynes
For The Conveners

In the Mayflower Hotel Ballroom, Washington, D. C., at 1 p.m., October 16, 1968

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1968

Goodell Delivers Nixon's Pledge on Food for Poor

By RICHARD L. MADDEN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16 — Senator Charles E. Goodell, who has displeased some New York Republicans by his criticism of the Nixon-Agnew ticket, delivered a Nixon policy statement today pledging "total reform" of the nation's food programs for the poor.

The New York Senator, speaking for Richard M. Nixon, the Republican Presidential candidate, told a Conference to End Hunger in America:

"There may be no area where the gap between promise and performance is so glaringly evident as in this Administration's conduct of the programs of food for the poor."

A position paper from Vice President Humphrey, the Democratic Presidential candidate, which was read at the same conference by William Welsh, Mr. Humphrey's administrative assistant, said:

"I pledge that no child will be hungry at home or at school because his parents are poor."

Mr. Humphrey's statement said that he would ask Congress to "bring the food stamp program to every county in America," expand the program with liberal national eligibility standards, provide free food stamps for those in greatest need and "operate a program directly where the local government will not act."

Among the organizers of the conference at the Mayflower Hotel were the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John W. Gardner, head of the Urban Coalition, and Dr. Jean Mayer, professor of nutrition at Harvard University.

Senator Goodell, who has publicly differed with Mr. Nixon on such issues as Vietnam and civil rights, suggested during a recent joint campaign appearance in New York that the former Vice President make a policy statement on hunger. Mr. Nixon agreed and later asked Mr. Goodell to deliver it for him.

When it appeared that conflicts in Mr. Goodell's speaking schedule might prevent him from appearing at the conference today, Nixon aides arranged for a private plane to fly the Senator to Washington and back to New York.

The Nixon statement said that only 6 million of the nation's estimated 27 million poor received family food help from existing Government programs.

With administration of the programs by the Departments of Agriculture and Health, Education and Welfare, the statement said, "the nation's food programs leave final decision-making to welfare investigators who have produced a pat-
making to welfare investigators who have produced a pat-
tern of disinterest, hostility and red tape for families faced with daily crises. Total reform of these programs is vitally necessary."

Among other things, the Nixon statement said that a new national administration could develop a plan under which families with food needs would be registered in a "national food-stamp data bank." Such a certification process would enable the participant to receive food stamps by mail, based on the family needs and income. Under thee xisting food stamp program, needy families buy stamps at reduced rates and exchange the stamps for food at local stores.

Mr. Humphrey's statement said that programs to provide free or reduced-price meals to school were reaching 2.5 million children. "We need to reach an estimated 7 million," the statement added.

A 22 Thursday, Oct. 17, 1968 THE WASHINGTON POST

Hunger Fight Mapped by U.S.

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman told a conference on hunger yesterday that his Department is seeking a $400-million boost to $1.6 billion next year in Federal outlays to feed the poor.

Freeman, speaking against a background of complaints from conference participants that Federal programs for the poor don't give enough people enough good food, said "the next presidential budget will see a more than $400-million" increase for aid to the hungry in the United States.

The increase will allow food stamps and direct food distribution to go up from $550 million to $875 million, with beneficiaries increasing from 7 million to 9 million persons. Child nutrition programs—school lunches, breakfasts and milk, chiefly—will rise from $600 million to $700 million with 20 million beneficiaries.

Earlier, spokesmen for Vice President Humphrey and Republican presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon read program statements pledging both men to end hunger in this country.

The Nixon statement, read by Sen. Charles E. Goodell (R-N.J.), said "Every American, regardless of economic status, must have an adequate diet for himself and his children."

The commitments by Humphrey and Nixon were in keeping with the theme of the conference, which was organized by the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, to plot a war against hunger. Speaker after speaker, and they included such figures as the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and spokesmen for Walter Reuther and John Gardner, who heads the Urban Coalition, attacked existing food programs for not going to all the needy and said that America has the means to end hunger.

Freeman said that to do an adequate job of reaching 10 million hungry people and children would cost $2.1 billion to $3 billion a year for food stamps and another $1 billion for child feeding.

The conference, attended by spokesmen for 200 welfare, labor and public organizations, appointed a special committee to draft an action program. A permanent organization to work on the hunger issue probably will be set up later.

Mr. Abernathy, speaking last, summed up the goal as follows: "We have got to apply pressure on Congress . . . and to make it clear to this country that while man does not live by bread alone, he does need bread."

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C., Thursday, October 17, 1968 ★★

Humphrey, Nixon Back Food Stamps

By JUDITH RANDAL
Star Staff Writer

The two major presidential candidates, Hubert H. Humphrey and Richard M. Nixon, say they would beef up the federal food stamp program as one way to help end hunger and malnutrition in America.

A Humphrey-Muskie administration would seek a five-point program stressing a more liberal policy on food stamps, plus other federal aid.

The program would include an obligatory food stamp program for every county, free food stamps for those who cannot afford to buy them and an expansion of present federal food programs through the establishment of liberal national eligibility standards instead of the present variable standards that now prevail.

A Nixon-Agnew administration would pursue the same objectives by setting up a food stamp data bank similar to those now being operated for Social Security and Madicare and by accelerating the development and distribution of nutritionally fortified foods.

The two major candidates made their positions clear yesterday at an "End Hunger in America" conference held at the Mayflower Hotel. The Democrats were represented by Humphrey's administrative assistant, William Welsh, and the Republicans by Sen. Charles E. Goodell of New York.

Welsh proposed:

- Continuing study of the location, nature and proportions of hunger and malnutrition throughout the United States.
- Strengthening the school lunch and breakfast programs to assure those children who need them free or reduced-price meals.
- Expanding the number of families covered by the food stamp program and direct federal government operation of it were local government is unprepared to do so.
- Providing special programs for those particularly vulnerable to malnutrition—the elderly, infants, and pregnant women.
- Educational programs to encourage better selection of foods among all population groups.

In his statement Nixon placed much of the blame for the nutritional problems of the poor at the doorstep of the Department of Agriculture which, he said, is not showing enough interest in helping the hungry.

His statement was particularly critical of the food stamp program.

There are, he said, more than 700 counties which have no food stamp programs. Furthermore, the program requires families to pay for the stamps in advance each month and thus "was not designed for those with irregular income, nor for those who travel in search of employment, he said.

To remedy this situation Nixon's proposals recommended:

Interim direct food distribution programs in every county where they do not now exist.

- Application procedures for food aid which would trigger referrals to local employment services, job training programs and public and private medical facilities.
- More attention to the medical aspects of malnutrition which in turn would assure immediate access to needed basic foods and free entrance into the school lunch program.
- A data bank system for the food stamp program which would enable participants according to their family needs to receive food stamps by mail according to national eligibility standards instead of having to wrestle with local authorities for the privilege.

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

ACTION REPORT

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Volume 1, Number 5* December, 1969

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE:

A CIRCUS IN THREE ACTS WITHOUT BREAD

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*A special edition of Number 5 entitled "BREAD NOW!" was produced for the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, Dec. 2-4.

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SCENARIO: Brief Overview

2,000 years ago, Emperor Nero kept the Roman plebs content with a surfeit of bread and circuses. Two weeks ago, President Richard Nixon tried to appease the 25 to 30 million poor, hence hungry or malnourished Americans, with the same diet. There was one difference -- he omitted the bread. The political consequences of that omission are still unfolding.

The President staged a carnival in Washington, D. C. from December 2nd through 4th under the label of the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health. He invited 100 poor people and 300 "representatives of the poor" to join with 2,800 food industry executives, dieticians, doctors, and academics on 26 panels in charting a national nutrition policy. But he delivered only a repeat of earlier, unimplemented pledges to end hunger in America, some retreaded food program changes advertised as new, and jokes about living to be 92 on catsup and cottage cheese. He did not provide any of the "Bread Now!" the majority of the delegates agreed the poor must have. The President didn't even offer to foot the entire bill for his own party, but took advantage of the pending tax reform legislation to dun private foundations for half the cost.

The President's failure to replace promises with food means that, essentially, the Conference was a waste of $900,000 that could have been put to better use buying school lunch for one full month for 196,000 needy children or a month's supply of bonus food stamps for 135,000 individuals. But, the President's Conference may have unwittingly triggered an avalanche of public pressure that will force him to act more swiftly and meaningfully than he had planned to put food in the hands or food purchasing power in the pockets of the poor. The seed of that $900,000 may yet bear fruit 4,000-fold.

The President had no such outcome in mind when, in May he announced that the Conference would involve only "executives from the nation's leading food processing and food distribution companies and trade unions." By the time the Conference was called to order the spectrum of invitees had expanded well beyond the business sector. Indeed, the leading food industrialist, Donald Kendall of Pepsico, Inc., chairman of the panel on food safety and a close friend and financial supporter of the President, quit abruptly on the eve of the Conference. He departed in protest over an article in Life in which the President's special consultant in charge of the Conference, Dr. Jean Mayer, had harshly attacked snack manufacturers as well as over the surprising muscle in the recommendations of his own panel.

The final Conference invitation list was the product of political winnowing. The White House imposed strict and ludicrous clearance procedures. The father of one of the

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persons in charge of clearance took three weeks to be approved, and Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco was deemed questionable at one point. Potential troublemakers were eliminated: Senator George McGovern, Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, who had dramatized the urgency of providing food for the needy, had his invitation to make a major speech recalled; the Black Panthers, who operate the largest private breakfast program in the nation, were entirely excluded; 12 former felons, who were discovered in the "community action" category, were disinvited. Dr. Mayer struggled constantly with members of his own staff to stress the participation of middle-class professionals in the field of nutrition at the expense of the poor.

In the end, although thin in number, it was the poor and their allies who dominated the Conference. Unlike the others, they were organized through ad hoc racial and regional caucuses and a handful of Conference-appointed social action task forces. They used the various panel sessions and an evening people's plenary conducted by the National Welfare Rights Organization to convince most of the conferees to treat hunger and malnutrition as priority concerns.

Their success in capturing the conscience of the 3,200 conferees was unexpected and striking, although the depth of the commitment they extracted remains unclear. They were able to persuade the Conference to go on record in support of their action program, including immediate declaration by the President of the existence of hunger as a major disaster that would enable him to go beyond existing programs to feed hungry Americans during the winter and ultimate provision of a guaranteed adequate income to all at a floor of $5,500 per year for a family of four. They also called upon the President to support the Senate-passed food stamp bill and a package of school lunch reforms.

Their triumph was, however, as short-lived as it was unprecedented at an official White House function. When the Conference was over, Dr. Mayer selected a sextet of harmless liberal ladies and less liberal priests, together with a Mexican-American leader weakened by a 48-hour fast, to visit the President. He excluded from participation any representative of the student groups whom he had lavishly praised the week before, because they might demand too much. They went; they saw; they were conquered. At Dr. Mayer's instance, they purposefully declined to present to the President the very action program that was the only measure the entire Conference had approved. They apologized for the behavior of the poor. One lady wept and pledged the President the support of her volunteer efforts. They expressed the hope that the President might consider acting on an emergency basis.

The meeting was a total loss. As the President's Counsellor, Daniel Moynihan, later reported, the President met with them as he meets with all groups, said thanks, and promised nothing. On December 8 in a press conference, the President expressly opposed his own Conference's proposals on the expansion of the food stamp and school lunch programs and went out of his way inaccurately to attack the Conference's reference to guaranteed adequate income.

The Conference may nonetheless prove to have an uncontrollable life of its own that could compel the President to change his posture. The issuance of a Presidential declaration that some parts of the nation face a hunger disaster remains sensitive. Republican supervisors in Stanislaus County, California acted on December 9 to declare their county a disaster area because of extreme hunger and poverty. The problem of what to do with that declaration now confronts Governor Reagon and may reach the President.

12 Republican Senators, impelled by the Conference's conclusions, prompted high White House officials on December 10 to be more responsive and liberal in the area of food policy. The food businessmen who were persuaded that hunger is serious and urgent and that their industry could use some favorable public relations may become a potent lobby in behalf of Federal food assistance and welfare programs. The several thousand professionals who attended the Conference may seek to push their home counties and cities to do more and their Congressmen and Senators to take action.

As Senator Walter Mondale told the conferees in the closing address, unrelenting public pressure is the key to ending malnutrition. There is clear and convincing evidence that where hunger is concerned the Administration's policy is reacting to pressure. In May Nixon announced his hunger package only when the rejected March proposals of his Urban Affairs Council were made public and Senator McGovern called Secretaries Hardin and Finch to testify. The public outcry in August against the Nixon proposal to terminate food stamps for families in return for a less valuable welfare grant caused its retraction in September. If the pressure mounts sufficiently, the President may be compelled to give in January, February, or March what his White House Conference demanded in December.

Note: A future issue of the Washington Monthly will contain a detailed account by Nicholas Kotz of the political maneuvering within and without the White House that resulted in the emasculation of the Conference by Dr. Moynihan and certain food industrialists as well as of the seesaw behavior of Dr. Mayer, who, alternately believing in the Administration and realizing that he had no enduring support from it, ultimately ran the Conference in a smooth fashion that perhaps no other hunger fighter could have achieved.

PROLOGUE: The Invocation at the People's Plenary Session

At the opening of the December 3rd People's Plenary Session on the grounds of the White House Conference the Reverend Joseph M. Clark, vicar of St. Christopher's Episcopal Church, Linthicum, Maryland, delivered the following invocation:

> Almighty God, we who have been attending a conference at which we receive $18.30 a day for food, while our Government gives poor and needy children 15 cents for breakfast and 23 cents for lunch. We give thee no thanks.
>
> We who place our priorities on the War, ABM's, S.S.T.'s and moon trips, while the poor of our nation go hungry, we give thee no thanks.
>
> We who can live among the nation's 175,000,000 healthy Americans, while turning our backs on the 25,000,000 hungry, we give thee no thanks.
>
> Oh Lord, we have failed Thee, we have failed our country, we have failed our communities and have failed ourselves. We ask thy forgiveness.
>
> Oh Lord, give us the strength to fulfill our commitment to feed the hungry of our nation now.
>
> All of this we ask in thy Son's Name, Amen.

ACT I: Challenge

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

December 1, 1969

Mr. President:

Last May 6th you informed the nation that "the moment [is] at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time...It is a moment to act with vigor."

Since that day, we have awaited with eagerness your actions to implement that promise. You did request in early June that the Congress consider your revised food stamp plan. That plan would serve all families of four or the equivalent whose incomes did not exceed $4,000 a year and would furnish up to $1,200 annually in stamps to such families against a maximum down payment of 30% of their income and a minimum of nothing, if their monthly income was less than $30. That was a commendable step forward.

You did act to revise your April decision to hold the Federal budget for a food assistance to the poor at the level requested by President Johnson by adding $270 million for food stamps. This enabled that budget to double from 1969 to 1970. That paid a small part of your pledge.

You also appointed Dr. Jean Mayer of Harvard University early in June as your Special Consultant on Nutrition and charged him with organizing this week's White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health. While that smacked more of delay than action, it evinced some progress.

Since then, we have waited for you to fulfill your commitment. And we have waited and waited and waited. We have complied with your request to watch what you do rather than what you say. Here are the results:

We waited at the end of June while your Administration returned to the Treasury $36 million that had been appropriated by Congress for the specific purpose of supplying bonus food stamps to the poor. That constituted a wastage of nearly 15% of all food stamp monies obtained from Congress after a tough floor fight. You did this after informing nearly 150 counties who wanted to start the program that no money was available. That was no way to eliminate hunger.

You waited at the end of June while your Administration returned to the Treasury $111 million that had been appropriated by Congress from Section 32 customs receipts for the purpose of donating agricultural produce to persons in low-income groups. That $111 million went unspent even though, at that time, over 400 counties and nearly 1,000 townships had no Federal food aid programs of any variety. That was no way to eliminate hunger.

We waited in August while your Administration announced its decision to eliminate the food stamp program rather than hunger and malnutrition as part of its welfare reform package. And we waited until September while public disclosure and criticism of your move to delete

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food stamps for families compelled you to revive them once again. That was no way to eliminate hunger.

We waited in September while your Administration sought unsuccessfully to lobby in the Senate against the McGovern-Javits substitute food stamp bill, which met food needs more effectively than yours by setting eligibility at a $4,000 minimum, supplying $1,530 worth of stamps against no more than 25% of income, and delivering stamps free to families of four with monthly incomes less than $65. That was no way to eliminate hunger.

We waited in October and November while your Administration circulated a memorandum in the Cabinet condemning the Senate-enacted food stamp reform bill as unacceptable to you and excessive,1/got only three House Agriculture Committee Republicans to line up behind your food stamp measure, 2/and threatened to veto any food stamp legislation that went beyond your budgeted figures.3/ That was no way to eliminate hunger.

1/ On October 23rd, Philip C. Olsson, Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Marketing and Consumer Services, circulated a memorandum among members of a Subcabinet Working Committee severely criticizing the Senate food stamp bill, S.2547, as "inflexible" because of its provision of large allotments of stamps, its extension of products covered to include non-food hygiene items and meals by the elderly, its expansion of eligibility beyond the poverty level, and its requirement of certification by affidavit.

2/ Only three Republicans on the Committee supported the Nixon food stamp bill, H.R.12222: Catherine May of Washington, Martin McKneally of New York, and John Zwach of Minnesota

3/ At a press conference on October 16th, Dr. Arthur Burns, Counsellor to the President, referred to a list of vetoable items that Budget Director Robert Mayo and the President had drawn up. Included among them was the Senate food stamp legislation.

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We waited in September while your Administration refused to support a 352 to 5 vote in the House in favor of appropriating an additional $100 million to supply free and reduced price meals to needy children. You recommended to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry that it not accept the House bill. 4/ You declared your opposition to Senator Herman Talmadge's school lunch bill, the most far-reaching and liberal reform measure relating to child nutrition ever introduced.5/ That was no way to eliminate hunger.

We waited in October while your Administration persuaded the House Agriculture Committee to seek an authorization level of only $610 million for the food stamp program in fiscal year 1970 as opposed to the $750 million authorized and appropriated by the Senate, because your Secretary of Agriculture claimed he could not efficiently spend any more.6/ Even now your Bureau of the Budget plans to hold spending back to no more than $450 million. That is no way to eliminate hunger.

We waited in October while your Administration supported Senator Javit's efforts in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and Senator Dominick's efforts on the Senate floor to combat any move to increase the $25 million authorization for the Emergency Food and Medical Services program conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity. You beat it down from $300 to $100 million in the first instance and finally cut it to $25 million in the latter, 7/because you contended you could not fruitfully spend any more this year. That is no way to eliminate hunger.

We waited in October while your Administration informed Congress that a 10% increase in social security benefits was all that it would request and further that it would seek to delay the start of new benefit levels by three months, until primary time. That is no way to eliminate hunger.

We waited in November while your Administration sought to divert $400,000 of OEO money from its express statutory purpose of providing food on an emergency basis to the poor to paying for the general expenses of your own White House Conference that you never cared enough about to finance yourself, except at the expense of the needy. You even implored the foundations to pick up part of the bill for your own image-building. That was no way to eliminate hunger.

4/ On September 29, J. Phil Campbell, Under Secretary of Agriculture, wrote to Committee Chairman, Senator Allen Ellender of Louisiana, to inform him that USDA, while "in agreement with the objectives of H.R.11651," "recommends that the bill not be passed."

5/ On September 29, in another letter to Senator Ellender, Under Secretary Campbell notified him that "the Department does not favor enactment of this bill in its present form."

6/ In Senate Report No. 91-292 on the Food Stamp Program, filed on July 7, p. 11, the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, which had reported a resolution to the Senate in June requesting a $750 million authorization for food stamps in fiscal 1970, noted that "the Department has advised the committee that only about $610 million can be used in an orderly manner in fiscal 1970."

7/ The floor vote to curtail the authorization took place on October 14. The Dominick Amendments to reduce the authorization to the President's budget request prevailed 47 to 38 with only one Republican, Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland, voting against.

We waited in May, October, and November, while your Administration opposed members of your own party who were leading the unsuccessful struggle to impose a $20,000 limitation on the payment of subsidies to large individual and corporate farmers for not producing crops.8/ You have not even suggested any limitation for your new farm program that may govern us for years to come. That is no way to eliminate hunger.

We have waited all year long while your Administration made no meaningful effort to appoint members of racial minorities to positions of authority over the administration of consumer food programs or generally to prevent discrimination in the programs, as Attorney General Mitchell commanded Secretary Hardin to do in a letter dated April 16. But, as of the latest tabulations, there were no more than 3 Negroes and 1 Spanish-speaking-American who had attained GS-12 ranking or better out of the 123 headquarters and district level personnel above that rank and no more than 9 minority group individuals out of the 269 top-level officers-in-charge of the food stamp program in county areas. A 97% white operation is not acceptable, since your own figures reveal that at least one-third of the individuals reached by your food programs are non-white. That is no way to eliminate hunger.

We have waited all year long while your Administration has expended thousands of dollars not to fight hunger, but to fight lawsuits requiring you to install food programs in every county, to make food stamps less costly, to provide free lunches to the poor. You are devoted to law and order, yet Secretary Hardin and his deputies were in contempt of a Federal court in California for six months while they refused to provide commodities throughout the state.9/ That was no way to eliminate hunger.

We have waited for nearly seven months while your Administration has taken actions that negated your explicit commitment. The record, Mr. President, speaks far louder than your words. We are distressed at your relentless efforts to curtail any further expansion of food aid, despite the advice of your personal nutrition consultant that $3 to $5 billion is the minimum sum that is acceptable. We anticipate that you may make more promises this week, Mr. President, but after seven months of having our hopes alternately raised and dashed, we are skeptical and distrustful.

We have waited long enough, Mr. President. "Something very like the honor or American democracy is at issue" - or so you once said. Now we would like to express our demands for action in the immediate future:

1. <u>We request, Mr. President, that, this week, you declare that a major disaster exists in the United States because of what you once termed the "intolerable" existence of hunger and malnutrition that affect millions of Americans. We request that you further determine that, as a result of this disaster, low-income households throughout the United States are unable to purchase adequate amounts of nutritious food so that you may use</u>

8/ On May 27, the House voted to impose such a limitation by 224 to 142, with Representative Gerald Ford of Michigan and most Republicans opposed. On October 9, this vote was reversed 181 to 177 and cofirmed on November 19 by a vote of 214 to 172. On each of the latter two occasions, the Republicans generally supported no limitation.

9/ On December 30, 1968, in a case styled Hernandez v. Hardin, Judge Stanley Weigel of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California issued a temporary restraining order restraining the Secretary of Agriculture and other USDA officials from refusing to put into effect in the shortest time feasible either a food stamp or commodity program in every California county. Although facing a possible contempt citation, Hardin never complied with that order. The case was dismissed on June 26 when every California county had, without any Federal assistance, installed a program.

your legal powers to distribute food stamps and surplus commodities to the poor under your own terms and conditions, free from normal program constraints, for as long as you deem necessary. 10/

That means, Mr. President, that you should invoke the provisions of Section 11 of the Disaster Relief Act of 1969, which was enacted by the Congress in September and signed by you on October 1. You should, under the crystal-clear authority of that Act, supply enough free food stamps to families whose meager incomes prevent them from affording the Economy Food Plan ($105 each month for a family of four) to enable them to be well-nourished. The cost to do this for all of the 3.4 million present participants in the food stamp program for the next seven months, by which time Congress should have legislated a new program structure, would be approximately $625 million.

That also means, Mr. President, that you should undertake, employing the California Act, to deliver each month $15 worth of commodities that cost you $8 to each of the remaining 26.5 million poor Americans, at an estimated expenditure of $1.5 billion through next June. These two sums, when added to the $1.304 already contained in the 1970 food budget, would reach the $3 billion your consultant pledged you to spend. The legislation permitting you to take this step is already in place. The necessary funding must, by statute, follow, not precede your actions.

2. We request, Mr. President, that you take steps, immediately and without any further delay, to utilize the $610 million Congress has formally appropriated for expenditure on food stamps. The appropriations bill passed both Houses on Wednesday, November 19. Your failure to sign it into law for a full nine days, while the lives of millions are daily jeopardized, belies your expressed sense of urgency.

You should promulgate and institute, by no later than December 15, revised food stamp issuance tables that established a maximum cost to the user of no more than 33% and adjust the bonuses so as to provide each participating household at least the equivalent of the Economy Food Plan. 11/

The money is in your hands. Its use to alleviate hunger should not be delayed another day. Your own Secretary of Agriculture's data on the food expenditure patterns of low-income families reveal that they allocate between 23 and 33% of their income for food. Accordingly, the present tables are in violation of the Food Stamp Act's command that charges not exceed "normal expenditures" for food. You must order him to redraft his tables now and cease violating the law at the expense of the poor.

Your own Department of Agriculture's data reveal that its Economy Food Plan is not a reasonable measure of the basic money needs for nutritional well-being. But at least that much should be furnished to every participant as a minimum. You should not continue for one more day to discriminate in allotment value by giving the poorest of the poor less stamps overall than those poor families which are higher up the economic ladder. That is an unconstitutional denial of equal protection of the laws and must be remedied forthwith.

10/ On November 18, 1969, in Section 2 of Executive Order 11495, the President delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture to exercise the authority conferred upon the President by Section 11 of the Act (Disaster Relief Act of 1969) "to determine the need and the duration of the need for distributing food coupon allotments and surplus commodities as a result of a major disaster, and to distribute them under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe."

11/ On December 1, USDA announced that coupon allotments would be set at a uniform level nationally with $106 for a family of four or $1 above the September level of the Economy Food Plan. The Department released new user cost tables on December 18, with a maximum income input of 33%. See pages 37 - 40.

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The cost of lowering the purchase price for stamps and raising the bonus applicable to all those now in the program so that the average monthly per person benefit becomes $17.80 would be in the neighborhood of $410 million for the next seven months. Since you have expended only $100 million to date, that would leave another $100 million for expansion to new areas.

3. We request, Mr. President, that you immediately apply part of the Section 32 funds you received from the Congress on November 19 to make sure that every county and every town in the United States has a food program in place and operating by no later than February 1, 1970. 12/ On November 21, a Federal district judge in Dallas, Texas rendered a decision requiring your Secretary of Agriculture, at Federal expense and in the shortest time feasible, to put a commodity distribution program into effect in every area in Texas without a food program. That decision covers at least 96 counties or almost one-third of the present nationwide number of programless counties. You should order your officials to comply with that order and not seek, as has been their custom, to delay their obligation to serve poor people by appealing to a higher court.

You should act as if that order was national in scope and assist every area that provides no food to its needy inhabitants to do so. Two years ago President Johnson assumed, in the absence of any Congressional mandate, the responsibility of guaranteeing, with Section 32 funds, that a food program would be established in the 1,000 poorest counties of the United States. You, faced with a court decree, can do no less in the 300-plus counties that remain untouched by family food aid. If past cost is any indication of expense, the bill for this process should be much less than $40 million.

4. We request, Mr. President, that you immediately exercise your authority over the $100 million in special Section 32 monies placed in your hands by the Agricultural Appropriations Act of 1970 to expand your free food stamp experiment conducted in two South Carolina counties to every food stamp county in America. 13/

12/ On December 4, the President announced that those 307 counties which have no food program would have a food stamp program by June 30.

13/ Apparently, the President plans to utilize part of that $100 million in helping to persuade programless counties to accept food stamps.

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You justified the use of several thousand special Section 32 funds in South Carolina to furnish free stamps to families of four with incomes of less than $30 a month on the grounds that the 1969 appropriations act directed that special Section 32 funds be spent, among other things, for "other programs, without regard to whether such area is under the food stamp proogram....,to provide....an adequate diet to other needy children and low-income persons..." The language in the 1970 appropriations act is identical.

Your Secretary of Agriculture determined on February 21, 1969, that residents of Beaufort and Jasper Counties, South Carolina, with such incomes were entitled to be provided with an adequate diet by means of free food stamps. He can just as easily determine tomorrow that every family in the over 1,600 food stamp jurisdictions in the United States with an income equivalent to less than $30 per month for a family of four should receive an allotment of free food stamps worth $105. Since there are over 300,000 participants in the food stamp program below that income level and the cost to you each month would be 50 cents per person, the sum needed to fund a free food stamp program for them should not exceed $1.1 million through June, 1970.

5. We request, Mr. President, that you begin at once to distribute vouchers in every major city and pocket of poverty in this country to pregnant and nursing women, infants, and children under 6 to enable them to obtain milk, formula, cereal, and other vital products at their nearby grocery store. You said, on May 6, that you would take this step in order to replace the awkward distribution mechanism of requiring pregnant women to go to an inconvenient storage center to pick up and cart home 88 pounds of food stuffs each month. You said that you would, but only silence has ensued. Even the city of Chicago, to which you pledged the first such program, has gotten sick of waiting. The appropriations bill you recently signed contains $34.5 million for you to do precisely that. By February 1, at least ten urban and five rural areas should be handing out vouchers.

6. We request, Mr. President, that you move now to undo the damage your Administration did earlier this year to the cause of eradicating hunger and malnutrition and continues to do by opposing every piece of legislation to make food aid programs more effective and meaningful. Specifically, we request that you send a message to the Congress this week withdrawing your objections to and announcing your support for:

a) The Senate-passed food stamp bill, S.2547, which is under consideration by the House Committee on Agriculture;
b) The House-passed bill providing $100 million for free and reduced price meals for needy children, H.R.1165 and the Talmadge School Lunch Reform Act of 1969, S.2548, which will be passed upon by the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in executive session; and
c) Section 401 of the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1969, which adds a new Title X to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 known as "Intensive Programs to Eliminate Hunger and Malnutrition", authorizes the expenditure of $92 million for the effective delivery of food and medical services to the poor, especially the very young and the aging, and is to be voted upon by the House during the first two weeks of December.14/

14/ Title X passed the House on December 12 and in conference became part of Section 222(a)(5) of the Act.

7. We request, Mr. President, that in the first week of the new legislative session of the 91st Congress in January, you send to the Hill a second hunger message in which you endorse and make the necessary budget allocations for:

a) An increase in the level of your family assistance cash payments to a minimum of $2,700 for a family of four, which, when added to the Senate-passed food stamp measure soon to be endorsed by you, would furnish every family in America purchasing power identical to the latest definition of the poverty line ($3,555). This should be coupled with extension of your welfare system to cover couples and individuals, who are equally susceptible to malnutrition, and provision of that assistance level on a guaranteed basis, without any intervening work requirement; and

b) An increase in the percentage rise in your Social Security benefits proposals from 10% in April with a minimum $61 benefit to 20% effective January, 1970 and an additional 20% as of January, 1972 to bring the minimum to $120.15/

The added cost attributable to these changes over the sums you have already requested is in the neighborhood of $4.5 billion in 1970 over your present proposals and could be readily financed by putting an end to your wasteful farm subsidy policy which is costing this country a minimum of $3.5 billion a year and required a $5.2 billion appropriation this year to cover past expenditures. The principle of supply and demand should be applied on an even handed basis: if the poor man is able to obtain only the low-paying jobs his unskilled labor can attract, then the farmer should not receive more than his produce is worth in the open, competitive market. Both should be guaranteed the right to an adequate income by programs that maintain income rather than by programs that force the wasting of economic resources. Both should be offered new governmentally-created opportunities to engage in public service work that our private economy has no incentive to provide.

8. Finally, we request, Mr. President, that, commencing now you change your policy in dealing with food-related lawsuits and minority participation in program administration. It is unconscionable that you should spend public monies to struggle in court to deny food to the poor. It is unconscionable that you should permit your officials to flout with impunity court decrees commanding them to supply food to the needy. It is unconscionable that you should allow politically-oriented appointment policies to allow only token desegregation of your own Administration, particularly where operation of food assistance for the hungry and malnourished is concerned.

We request, therefore, that you immediately instruct your counsel in both the Agriculture and Justice Departments to submit to and comply with the recent court order in Texas as well as to withdraw from defending the 24 other suits across the United States seeking to install family food programs on a universal basis. Similarly, you should embark upon whatever action is necessary to moot the lawsuits (perhaps a dozen) pending against your Administration on the food stamp price-benefit tables and on its conduct of the school lunch program. Mootness should flow from providing all of the food assistance relief sought by the hungry and malnourished plaintiffs.

15/ On December 9, the President indicated he might veto a tax reform bill that boosted benefits by 15%.

We request further that you immediately announce a nationwide recruiting program to uncover and, thereafter, hire and train substantial numbers of minority group individuals for positions of significance in overseeing the administration of food stamps, commodity distribution, and school lunch in Washington, in the five regions, and in the multi-county areas.

These are our demands for BREAD NOW!, Mr. President. The time for speech-making and promising has past. The time for acting and fulfilling is at hand. We will review the situation carefully by February 1 and see precisely where you have led us. Do not fail the hungry and malnourished again.

Sincerely,

M. Alfred Haynes

M. Alfred Haynes, M.D.
Chairman, National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

John R. Kramer

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Executive Director, National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

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ACT I: Non-Response

On the morning of December 2nd, the President of the United States appeared before the Conference's opening session. Despite indications by Dr. Mayer that the President's speech would break new ground by specifically committing new funds for fighting hunger, Mr. Nixon's remarks merely restated the essence of his May 6th message to Congress, repromising to put an end to hunger in America and trying to persuade the public that the only measures necessary to assure that goal were his food stamp proposal that the Senate had rejected and his family assistance plan with which he had originally sought to bury food stamps, until the National Council exposed his intentions on August 11.

The President told his audience what his Urban Affairs Council had already reported on March 17 -- that, when fully implemented in fiscal 1973, his food stamp program might cost $2.5 billion a year. Fiscal 1971 estimates are $1.517 billion with $1.743 for 1972. His reference to $5 billion in "new or expanded programs for food and family assistance next year" includes a maximum in actual food aid of approximately $1.5 billion for food stamps. The extra welfare funds would buy no extra food. Of the $2.5 billion in additional cash assistance, only one-third or $800 million would be applied to food and that to pay for food stamps that would otherwise be given free as part of the bonus. With a typical Moynihan-

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like flourish, the President concluded his trinity by suggesting birth control as another way to eliminate the hungry.

A slightly abbreviated version of the speech follows:

The President Throws Out the Opening Ball

"...As all of you are aware, this is an historic conference. It is particularly an historic conference for me because it is the first White House Conference that I have had the opportunity to address as President of the United States. I have addressed others as Vice President. And it is the first that we have had in this administration.

This meeting marks an historic milestone. What it does is to set the seal of urgency on our national commitment to put an end to hunger and malnutrition due to poverty in America.

At the same time, it marks the beginning of a new, more determined, and more concerted drive than ever before, to reduce the malnutrition that derives from ignorance or inadvertence.

I recognize that many of you who are here and who have participated in the panels have been under enormous pressure, because you have had a relatively short time for the vast amount of work that it took to put this conference together and to prepare for it.

However, that pressure reflects the priority of the subject we are here to discuss. It reflects the sense of urgency that we all feel.

Until this moment in our history as a Nation, the central question has been whether we as a Nation would accept the problem of malnourishment as a national responsibility.

That moment is past. On May 6 I asserted to the Congress that "the moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself. For all time."

Speaking for this administration, I not only accept the responsibility-I claim the responsibility.

Malnourishment is a national concern because we are a Nation that cares about its people, how they feel, how they live. We care whether they are well and whether they are happy.

First of all there is a moral imperative: Our national conscience requires it. We must because we can. We are the world's richest nation. We are its best educated nation. We have an agricultural abundance that ranks as a miracle of the modern world. This Nation cannot long continue to live with its conscience if millions of its own people are unable to get an adequate diet.

Even in purely practical terms there are compelling considerations requiring this challenge to be met.

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A child ill-fed is dulled in curiosity, lower in stamina, distracted from learning. A worker ill-fed is less productive, more often absent from work. The mounting cost of medical care for diet-related illnesses; remedial education required to overcome diet-related slowness in school; institutionalization and loss of full productive potential; all of these place a heavy economic burden on a society as a whole.

And for many of us, and for me, as I know for many of you,this subject also evokes vivid personal memories. I grew up in the Great Depression. I shall never forget the hopelessness that I saw so starkly etched on so many faces-the silent gratitude of others lucky enough to enjoy three square meals a day, or sometimes even one.

I recall in my native State of California in the '30's, families that I knew, that I went to school with, subsisted on bread and gravy, bread and milk, beans. And later on in the '30's, in North Carolina, families who knew nothing much more than black-eyed peas, turnip greens.

We have come a long way since then, but we still have a long way to go.

The question now is: What will we do about it?

We begin with the troublesome complex of definitions and causes.

Now experts can argue-and they do- and you will-about the magnitude of the poblem: how many are hungry, how many malnourished, how severely they are malnourished. Precise statistical data remain elusive and often contradictory. However, Dr. Arnold Schaefer, the man in charge of the National Nutrition Survey, recently made this cautious but very forceful obervation. He said:

"We have been alerted by recent studies that our population who are 'malnutrition risks' is beyond anticipated findings, and also that in some of our vulnerable population groups-pre-school children, the aged, teenagers and the poor-malnutrition is indeed a serious medical problem."

We don't know just how many Americans are actually hungry and how many suffer from malnutrition, who eat enough but do not eat the right things. But we do know there are too many Americans in both categories.

We can argue the extent, but hunger exists.

We can argue the severity, but malnutrition exists.

The plain fact is that a great many Americans are not eating well enough to sustain health.

We see, then, that the problem of hunger and malnutrition is, really, two separate problems. One is to ensure that everyone is able to obtain an adequate diet. The second is to ensure that people actually are properly fed, where they have the ability to obtain the adequate diet.

On the one hand, we are dealing with problems of income distribution. On the other hand, with problems of education, habit, taste, behavior,personal preferences-the whole complex of things that lead people to act the way they do, to make the choices they do.

The answers to many of these questions are difficult to come by. The very fact that the same question evokes so many different, conflicting answers is itself testimony as to how fragile is the basis of our knowledge.

Assuming we can agree on definitions, and the causes of malnourishment, how do we eradicate it?

Now some will answer that the magic ingredient is money, and money certainly is one ingredient, and a very important one. The more than $5 billion that I have proposed for new or expanded programs for food and family assistance next year would go a long way toward bringing the problem under control.

And in this connection, I would urge each of you in this gread conference to enlist yourself in an effort to win passage of three landmark pieces of legislation I have already recommended to Congress.

One of these is what many observers consider to be the most important piece of domestic legislation proposed in the past 50 years, the establishment of a floor under the income of every American family.

For the first time-Mr. Moynihan please notice-for the first time, this new family assistance plan would give every American family a basic income, wherever in America that family may live. For the first time, it would put cash into the hands of families because they are poor, rather than because they fit certain categories. When enacted, this measure alone will either supplement the incomes or provide the basis for the incomes of 25 million American men, women, and children.

Our basic policies for improvement of the living conditions of the poor are based on this proposition: that the best judge of each family's priorities is that family itself; that the best way to ameliorate the hardships of poverty is to provide the family with additional income-to be spent as that family sees fit.

Now, some will argue with this proposition. Some argue that the poor cannot be trusted to make their own decisions, and therefore, the Government should dole out food and clothing and medicine, according to a schedule of what the Government thinks is needed.

Well, I disagree, I believe there are no experts present in this great gathering who know more about the realities of hunger and malnutrition than those among you who are here because you have suffered from it, or than those among you who are here who do suffer from it, from great cities, from wornout farms, from barren reservations, from frozen tundra, from tiny islands half a world away.

The task of Government is not to make decisions for you or for anyone. The task of Government is to enable you to make decisions for yourselves. Not to see the truth of that statement is fundamentally to mistake the genius of democracy. We have made too many mistakes of this type-but no more. Our job is to get resources to people in need and then to let them run their own lives.

And now I would stress that all of you who have been so strong and effective in achieving a breakthrough on national awareness on hunger, will become an equally strong citizen lobby for welfare reform. The needs of the poor range far beyond food, though that is often the most visible and heart-rending aspect of poverty. More basically, the poor need money with which they can meet the full range of their needs, from basic shelter, to medicine, to clothes for school, to transportation. And they need these resources in a program framework that builds incentives for self support and family stability.

Let the reform of the bankrupt welfare system in this country be the next great cause of those who come together here today.

Now the second measure that I would especially urge your support for is one that you will be considering in your deliberations. It is the reform and expansion of the food stamp program. I requested this in my May 8 message on hunger. This has been designed to complement the welfare program. While the welfare proposals may be subject to long debate, I hope and I expect that Congress will act quickly on the expanded food stamp plan.

The Nation's food programs have been shot through with inequities, as you will find-notably, the fact that many counties have not participated, and the fact that because food stamps had to be bought with cash many of the neediest were unable to participate.

We are pressing hard to bring every county into one or other of the food distribution programs, and the new food stamp bill would provide stamps free to those most in need-while expanding the program to a level that would reach $2.5 billion a year when fully implemented.

In a related matter, we already are greatly expanding our school lunch programs, with the target of reaching every needy school child with a free or reduced-cost lunch by the end of the current fiscal year.

Now, there is a third measure, a third measure which at first will seem unrelated, but which is directly related to this conference. I ask your support for the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future which I have proposed to Congress and which has been most favorably received, not only in the Congress, but by church and civic organizations throughout the Nation.

America, I believe, has come to see how necessary it is to be responsibly concerned with this subject. In proposing the Commission, I also declared that it would be the goal of this administration to provide "adequate family planning services within the next five years to all those who want them but cannot afford them." And there are some 5 million women in low-income families who are in exactly that situation. I can report that the steps to meet that goal, a goal 5 years away, have already been taken within the administration, and the program is underway.

Now taken together, these three measures would virtually eliminate the problem of poverty as a cause of malnutrition.

Their dollar cost is high, but their practical benefits to the Nation are immense.

I know that your panels have advanced proposals for massive efforts on many fronts. They demonstrate that the goal cannot be won by government alone.

It is for each to ask how he, individually, can respond to the question being asked here. For example:

- can foods be better labeled, be made more nutritious, and be fortified with available additives?
- can industry, the schools, government, and citizens individually join effectively in a program of public education?
- can school lunch programs feasibly be improved?
- can voluntary programs by citizens and community organizations teach people what to eat, to close the knowledge gap?

The fact that so many groups are represented here today is itself evidence of a new sense of community responsibility, of industry responsibility, of individual responsibility. The fact that so many women are represented here, especially, is evidence of an enormous resource, particularly in the volunteer field, a resource that can do so much to ensure our success.

I, of course, in my official capacity, have already indicated legislative programs that I shall be supporting. But speaking now as one who from time to time can act in a volunteer capacity, I know the power of simply dropping a word as to what a President or a potential President does in certain fields.

I recall in your field, about 18 months ago I was being interviewed on a talk show. I was asked how I kept my weight down-that was my problem rather than the other way around. I answered-I though rather low-key - that the doctor had told me to eat cottage cheese. The difficulty is I don't like cottage cheese. And so I took his advice, but I put catsup on it.

You can't imagine how many letters I got. The dairy industry wrote and told me that I should like cottage cheese. The catsup industry wrote and told me to try it on my cereal. And others wrote and said that catsup with cottage cheese had to be unhealthy. I pointed to the fact that my grandmother lived to be 92 and she ate it all her life, so that was the answer.

I use this facetious example to only indicate that the power of example, not just from a President, but from those in this room in the whole field of not just how much, but how and what we eat with regard to diet can be tremendous.

Now, I want to turn to - with Dr. Mayer's suggestion and his approval - to a very important procedural point, one that I discussed with him when he took the position which he is filling and one that I wish to speak directly to you about.

We have not attempted to program those in this room. We have not attempted to program you as to the questions you may ask or the answers and recommendations that you will make.

I expect to read that you had a lively difference of opinion during this conference. As a matter of fact, I have already read about a lively difference of opinion that you have had during this conference and that is as it should be. From an airing of views of all sides, answers and ideas will appear; answers and ideas are what we seek in this process. Obviously, if we knew all the answers we would not have convened the conference in the first place. That is why you are here.

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I will say this: I want to speak quite directly. I can imagine that in this room are many people who have attended White House conferences before. For 22 years I have been watching White House conferences. I have attended them and I have seen the effort that went into them, an enormous voluntary dedicated effort. I have seen it too often wither away in futility as the reports gathered dust on Government shelves.

Well, beginning with this conference, that is going to change. It will be the policy of this administration to follow up each White House conference, beginning with this conference, with a second meeting one year later, bringing together the key participants of the original conference to reexamine its findings and to measure what has been done about implementing them. We believe that is the only proper procedure.

I know that you take your work seriously and we are going to take your report seriously. I expect the results of this conference to be not just words, but action.

This conference marks a coalescing of the national conscience; it marks a triumph of the American system.

Now, I realize that there is a ready disposition, whenever we confront an ill that is still uncorrected in America, to cry that "the system" is corrupt, or "the system" has failed.

Our so-called "system" has been under heavy and sustained assault, not from one quarter but from many quarters.

But let us not forget that that system is what brought us here together today in this conference. It is a system that embraces compassion and practicality; it has given us the abundance that allows us to consider ending hunger and malnutrition.

Ours is the most productive and most generous country the world has ever know. Less than 5 percent of our population - according to Secretary Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture - produces enough food to feed all the American people and to supply the needs of millions in other countries as well. In the years since World War II the United States has provided more than $30 billion in food, in the form of aid, to needy nations and people abroad.

I have traveled to most of the nations of the world, in Asia, in Africa, and Latin America. Do you realize that in most of the world today a conference like this would be meaningless because those nations would lack the resources to produce the food to meet the objectives that this conference may decide should be met or lack the resources to purchase the food which they themselves would not be able to produce?

It is precisely because our system has succeeded so well that we are now able to address the goals of this conference and the fact that we are gathered here is an example of one of the greatest strengths of that same system. It has a capacity for self-correction, for self-regeneration; its constant reaching out to identify new or additional needs and to meet those needs, the readiness of its citizens to join in that effort, volunteering their time and their talents, as you are volunteering your time and your talents today.

This Nation has the capacity to provide an adequate diet for every American. The calling of this conference demonstrates that we have the will to achieve this goal. What we

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need is to find the most effective means for doing so consistent with maintaining the vitality of the system that makes it all possible.

And so I will review your recommendations with great care.

And I will ask you to go about drawing up those recommendations with equally great care.

My fellow Americans, as you begin this conference I commit to your concern the lives of millions of Americans, too young, too old, or too hurt by life to do without your help. I commit to your concern the not less serious task of helping to bring the rest of America to understand what we seek and to join us in adding this new dimension to the concept of American democracy. For at this very moment we are gathered at one of those great historical moments when it becomes possible for all of us to act a little better than we are, and in so doing, to leave this great and good Nation a little better because we were there.

ENTRACTE: The Various Sayings of Dr. Mayer

December 19, 1968 - "We know that the new Administration shares the concern of Congress and of the citizens of the United States on these shocking conditions [of hunger and malnutrition]. We feel certain that meeting these problems will be one of the early Administration programs." (Press Conference announcing the establishment of the National Council).

June 5, 1969 - "Accept my assurance that there are many people in the White House who are trying to do a better job than have been in the past, to 'assure every American family an adequate diet'." (Letter to National Council).

June 10, - "It is not my purpose as head of the White House Conference to develop spending recommendations for different feeding programs." (Interview with Washington Post).

June 27 - "I want all the poor inside being constructive rather than outside waving banners and saying nothing is being done....I am a great believer in community action." (Interview with the New York Times).

July 22 - "The President said he was prepared to spend more money on the fight against hunger and malnutrition. The final recommendations should be available as the basis for any legislation needed next year and to enable the Budget Bureau to determine the rate of expenditures to combat hunger and malnutrition." (Interview with the New York Times).

August 6 - "Mayer says Nixon has assured him that if the conference gives rise to feasible solutions to the hunger problem, the White House will take steps to have Congress translate them into action." (Interview with the Washington Star).

August 11 - (after President Nixon had announced on August 8th that families on welfare would not be eligible for food stamps, a position maintained by the Administration until September 15th) - "I must deny in the strongest possible terms some suggestions that the President's welfare program means a decrease in the intensity of the fight against hunger and malnutrition. There is no question of food stamps being abolished or phased out until alternative and equivalent means of support have been established."

November 7 - (in response to a charge by the National Council that he was trying to divert OEO funds for feeding the poor to paying the Conference's general expenses by way of a political "charitable" corporation formed on October 28 and run by ex-staff assistants of President Eisenhower) - No contract that large "is presently contemplated". The new corporation is "free from any prior position on issues" and has "the flexibility to see that the conference is conducted in a manner which assures participation by all Americans, rich and poor, minority persons, consumers, and those in positions of responsibility in the various sectors of our life." (Statement for the press).

November 10 - "I would rather not have any money come from OEO." (Interview with the Washington Star).

November 17 -"The White House is nervous. Pressure and ultimatums such as the demands of the community action task force in Chicago [which was the genesis of the Conference's action program] will kill the Conference and then the Bureau of the Budget won't appropriate any money for food stamps at all." (Talk to the women's task force).

November 18 - "The community action groups are wrecking the Conference because they don't understand its purpose." (Talk with community action task force chairman).

November 23 - "Mayer said that President Nixon is committed to spending the $3 billion to $5 billion a year it will cost to eliminate hunger and malnutrition in the United States in three years. 'The President has made it very clear that he will spend whatever needs to be spent to eliminate hunger and malnutrition due to poverty.' He said that Mr. Nixon apparently has a greater sense of urgency about the hunger problem than does Congress." ("Meet the Press").

November 26 - "It [the Conference] is going to commit immediate relief to the hungry, and it is going to do that starting with the President's speech. I have no possible doubt about that.

"A lot of people are prejudging without having the slightest idea of what the President is going to say. Obviously the President is enough of a politician to know you can't create a conference of this sort without raising levels of expectations. He's prepared for it." (Press Conference).

December 2 - After the President's speech, Dr. Mayer told newsmen that the President was awaiting the Conference's final recommendations before taking action. "If he had announced specific things today, he would have been criticized for setting up the conference as a cut-and-dried, set-up forum." (New York Times).

December 4 -"The President is more interested in placating corporation presidents and Wall Street bankers than in calming the leaders of the black, Mexican-American, Indian, Puerto Rican and welfare groups at the conference. (Talk with Scripps-Howard reporter).

December 6 - "Action is being taken now [in the White House] to look into this emergency approach of aiding the poor." The President did not make such an emergency declaration last week becuase he "did not wish to indulge in any more rhetoric." One of the two dominant aspects of the conference not reported by the press was the potentially violent political threats posed to the meeting. (Interview with the Boston Globe).

December 7 to ? - Blessed silence.

ACT II: Challenge

On December 3rd, in response to the President's speech, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy wrote to the President strongly objecting to the tone and contents of that speech and urging the President to act, not talk. Dr. Abernathy's complaint was not isolated. Anthropologist Margaret Mead pressed Nixon to declare an immediate national hunger emergency. The New York Times labelled the Nixon speech "More Rhetoric to Eat." At the People's Plenary Session on December 3rd in the evening, Dr. Abernathy renewed his criticism joined by Fannie Lou Homer of the Mississippi Delta and Dr. George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization.

The Abernathy Letter

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Yesterday you claimed the responsibility for the problems of malnourishment. You are responsible, Mr. President.

- You are responsible for coming to this Conference grinning like Santa Claus and delivering a bundle of second-hand, useless toys: a food stamp program that won't feed very many very well; a welfare program that compels couples and individuals to face hunger on their own and offers next to nothing to families in most urban areas.

- You are responsible for making us listen to how you got thin once by choosing to live for a while on ketchup and cottage cheese. But at the very same time you are forcing the poor to subsist forever on a similar quantity of stuff by providing them, in the distant future, no more than 27 cents per meal from both your welfare and food stamp programs combined.

- You are responsible for violating the truth-in-packaging law by leading us to believe that your speech was going to put an end to poverty-related hunger and malnutrition in America, when the only new food it delivered to the poor was the paper it was written on -- with catsup.

- You are responsible for deceptive advertising by pretending that you are stamping hunger and malnutrition as URGENT when, in fact, your only concrete suggestions were to sit tight and wait while your meager bills dribble through Congress and you lobby against stronger measures.

- You are responsible for dunning the foundations and Federal agencies for $1 million for a Conference that is strengthening your image, but not the minds and bodies of the poor, for yesterday you merely repeated what you promised us last May and still have not made good on.

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- You are responsible for inviting us to what should have been a free and open meeting and then inhibiting our freedom by stationing more retired police and private detectives by the doors than you have bureaucrats administering the food programs.

- You are responsible for furnishing each of us with Conference meal tickets worth $18.30 ($4 for breakfast, $5.80 for lunch, and $8.50 for dinner), while you consistently turn your back on any Congressional move to serve lunches and breakfasts to all the needy children in the United States at 58 cents a lunch and 25 cents a breakfast;

- You are responsible for allowing the so-called Department of Justice to uphold law and order by delaying and delaying and appealing and appealing the right of needy people to BREAD NOW in 307 counties in America without any family food assistance.

- You are responsible for playing politics and placing your personal ambition for 1972 over the needs of the poor today by seeking to undermine Senator George McGovern's food stamp bill.

- You are responsible for misleading the public into believing that your are offering $5 billion in new food aid, when your food stamp program is budgeted at only $1.3 billion in new food aid in 1971 and still almost one-third of your $2.5 billion in added welfare benefits for all human needs must be spent to pay for your food stamps; into believing that your food stamp program is adequate when even your own Department of Agriculture rejects the notion that 27 cents a meal sustains nutritional well-being; into believing that you will feed lunch to every one of the 8.4 million poor pupils in this country this year when you plan to spend only $132.8 million, which could, at the most, feed 3.56 million.

- You are responsible for purposefully perpetuating the myth that the poor will not work by rejecting income maintenance and appealing to the baser instincts of Congress in making work the "basic element" of your welfare proposal;

- You are responsible for asking poor Americans to accept your assumption that America is like India and China so that they can be well fed only if they join you in limiting population growth.

- You are responsible for convening us to co-opt us into your undying search for the cheapest, most superficially appealing way out of a tough crisis.

We intend to hold you to your responsibility and make you face it squarely, not deviously, Mr. Nixon.

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We will monitor your performance not one year from now, but tomorrow and next week and every week thereafter, Mr.Nixon.

We are watching to see who is really responsible and responsive to whom, Mr. Nixon.

President Kennedy committed the nation to land on the moon by 1970 -- and we have been there twice in 1969. I call on you to end poverty during 1970. And begin it, NOW, in 1969!!!

President Nixon, if you are serious, then assume your responsibility by declaring a state of hunger-induced disaster in this country and act to end malnutrition, starvation and disease in this wealthiest and most prosperous nation in the history of mankind.

Sincerely,

Ralph David Abernathy

Ralph David Abernathy, President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
and
Board Member, National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States.

ACT II: Non-Response

The President's "New" Promises on December 4th

As a prelude to the closing session on December 4th, Dr. Mayer revealed that President Nixon had made three "concessions" to his own conferees. He had agreed to meet with "Conference leaders" on the 5th of December. He had instructed his Secretary of Agriculture to implement "with utmost speed" his previously announced change in the value of the total allotment of food stamps. Finally, he promised to provide by June 30 food stamp programs in the 307 counties that have no family food assistance.

The meeting was a tragic farce, illustrating the quality of the troops Dr. Mayer had selected. Pat Young, Chairlady of the Women's Task Force, wept and pledged the President the support of the women's organizations she represented. She thought that he seemed "interested in action." Father Robert McEwen of Boston College asked the President for "a symbolic gesture." Daniel Moynihan gave one to reporters that very day. Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women spoke of the need for a good climate for voluntary action. Herman Gallegos of the Southwest Council of La Raza and Chairman of the Community Action Task Force was the most outspoken, although he had been on a two-day hunger strike. He gave the President a laundry list of things he could do before Christmas, which was a watered-down version of the Conference's action program. The students had been vetoed by Dr. Mayer, who did not dare at that time deliver to the President the one document around which most of the Conference had united.

Moynihan, as always, had the last word. "All meetings like that are essentially alike for Presidents. He says thanks to the group, but does not make the decisions...We don't need to get a national emergency."

The second "concession" was somewhat more substantive, if only a stab by the President to recoup what he had amazingly forgotten to include in his speech on the 2nd - the fact that USDA would raise the total stamp allotments for almost everyone to a uniform, national level and had said so on the 1st in a press release. What was new on the 4th was that this would be implemented "as soon as possible" rather than as slowly as the states care to act, which is standard operating procedure. How quickly this works out to be is another question. Some states, like Pennsylvania, run the program via computers. Three months is a minimum lead time for implementation there. In other places, like Mississippi, people are in charge and schedules can be replaced quickly.

USDA's action was prompted by two events. The first was the receipt of $610 million in appropriated funds for the fiscal year 1970 food stamp program, nearly $490 million of which remain to be spent because of the snail's pace at which the program is currently moving. The second was the clearly-expressed beliefs of the three judges of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit who, in oral argument in Peoples v. USDA on October 28, indicated that the current USDA practice of providing greater total allotments for the richer of two families of comparable size was a denial of equal protection and might thus be unconstitutional under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

$106 per month for a family of four still works out to be only 29.4 cents per person a meal, which is inconsistent with purchasing adequate nutrition. There may even prove to be some welfare and even non-public assistance families in the states of Alaska, New Jersey, and New York who lose a little under the new allotment schedule because their monthly net income entitled them to more than a total of $106 under the old schedule (families between $300 and $329.99 received $108; those between $330 and $359.99, $113). Previously, allotments in the South ranged all the way from $58 to $80 (Tennessee) for a family of four and the range in the North was from $60 to $113. This lack of uniformity and the dual regions approach will end. The overall increase in benefits will cost USDA between $90 and $100 million a year based on 3.5 million participants. That still leaves $365 million to be allocated between lowering the purchase price and building up participation. See pp. 37-40. infra.

The third and last promise -- the installation of food stamp programs in the next seven months wherever no form of family food aid is currently available -- was a wild promise made in disregard of the Food Stamp Act of 1964 and the allocation of fiscal year 1970 appropriations. If it happens at the expense of the Federal Government rather than at the expense of the counties and/or states, the losers will be needy children, for the only money that can be diverted is funds now set aside for free or reduced price meals or special milk for poor school children or supplementary food packages for preschoolagers.

Section 4(a) of The Food Stamp Act of 1964 specifies that the Secretary of Agriculture can administer the food stamp program in a state only "at the request of an appropriate State agency" and, under Section 10(e), "The State agency of each State desiring to participate in the food stamp program shall submit for approval [by the Secretary] a plan of operation specifying the manner in which such program will be conducted within the State, the political subdivisions within the State in which the State desires to conduct the program, and the effective dates of participation by each such political subdivision." Thus, the Secretary has no legal power whatsoever to install or operate a food stamp program in an unwilling county.

But the Secretary does have the power to make a county more willing. The power is money - money to pay for state and local costs of certification for eligibility and issuance of the stamps. Certification costs are estimated to run $30 per household per year; coupon issuance approximately 15 cents per person per month. USDA pays 62.5% of the salaries and travel expenses of staff engaged in certifying non-public assistance households (approximately 38% of the 5.4 million recipients) and none of the issuance costs.

The way to entice recalcitrant counties to accept food stamps is to offer to pay all or part of their costs. But Section 15(a) of the Food Stamp Act states that "each State shall be responsible for financing, from funds available to the State or political subdivisions thereof, the costs of carrying out the administrative responsibilities assigned to it under provisions of this Act." The limited cost-sharing (62.5%) of Section 15(b) on certain certification expenses contains the only express authority for Federal administrative input. Nor can the Food Stamp Act be carried out with Section 32 (commodity-customs receipt) funds because that is expressly prohibited by Section 16(a) of the Stamp Act.

The only loophole is one found (or made) by Secretary Hardin last March when he dipped into Section 32 monies to finance limited free food stamps in two South Carolina counties on the strength of Agricultural Appropriations Act language permitting Section 32 funds to be used to provide an adequate diet to low-income persons in a particular area willy-nilly the existence of any food stamp program in that area. Almost precisely the same authority is contained with respect to $100 million in the Agricultural Appropriations Act of 1970 in subsection (4) dealing with the allocation of Section 32 funds. The trouble with that approach is that when USDA presented its fiscal year 1970 budget to Congress it divided that $100 million into $61 million for free and reduced price lunches, $20 million for special milk, $1 million for breakfasts, $5 million for equipment, $2 million for State administration expenses, and $11 million for supplemental food packages for pregnant and nursing women and children under 6 in food stamp areas. To divert any of the $100 million into other activities, including cost-sharing of food stamp administrative expenses, would seem to be in violation of Congress' prerogative to appropriate.

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng, recognizing the difficulty which evaded Moynihan and Mayer, has apparently diluted the President's promise to encompass having USDA do its best to get some form of family food program into the 307 counties by the end of the fiscal year. Secretary Hardin confirmed this on December 18 when he called the improvements in the stamp program to the attention of local officials in 301 programless areas and noted that this would give the officials "an excellent opportunity to establish a food program," an opportunity he hoped they utilized. USDA has all the money and power it needs to take that action with respect to commodity distribution. Section 32 makes no reference to local option and, indeed, at one point last year, USDA was operating commodity programs in 49 counties without any local help. While that number is now down to 38, USDA's Section 32 budget for 1970 includes an estimated $20 to $25 million for either directly operating commodity program or else cost sharing "to assist and encourage counties which presently have no food program to enter the program." USDA specifically requested and received $15 million for this purpose in presenting its revised 1970 budget. The additional $7 to $10 million (and it could be more because USDA appears too embarrassed to reveal the full figure or separate it from commodity procurement expenses) was contained in the original 1970 USDA budget proposed by President Johnson. It is upon that $22 to $25 million that USDA could

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draw to obey court orders and fulfill the President's promise or, at least, USDA's version of it.

ENTRACTE: The American Medical Association Requests A Guaranteed Bowel Movement

On November 17, Dr. Russell B. Roth, Speaker of the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association, wrote to Dr. Edward Bortz, past President of the Association and Chairman of Panel II-4 on Guidelines for the Nutrition of the Aging, to state the AMA's point of view:

Dear Ed,

As one who has had no input into panel observations or recommendations it is probably presumptious of me to be critical at this late date. Nonetheless I feel constrained to express some general misgivings about the report, and one or two outright objections...

Recommendation 3 offends me and I vote for its deletion. If it were to be retained it should be put in clear focus by adding at the end a phrase so that it would read:-
"That the United States Government having already in a de facto manner (guaranteed?) the right of every resident to adequate health and nutrition should acknowledge as a governmental obligation the provision of adequate health and nutrition to every resident, as well as an adequate daily bowel movement." If this seems fatuous please consider the inanity of saying that the government has an obligation to provide "adequate health" to everyone. In defense of my additive I would submit that intake without output is also lethal.....

I am most embarrassed to do this, but to return to Recommendation No. 3, I would respectfully request that, if this is retained in any fashion which asserts a blanket responsibility of government to provide "adequate health and nutrition" to all of the pop-

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ulation, I should not be included as a signatory.

Personally I hope that this White House Conference can be scientific and objective. It would be too bad to have it follow the pattern of a few previous White House Conferences which turned out to be mere political tub-thumping in behalf of pre-ordained political objectives.

I am addressing this to you primarily because I believe you share my basic beliefs that politics and medicine are both important, but explosive mixtures can be generated by unwise combinations thereof. This is, of course, intended equally for Dr. Watkin who has the task of coping with his panel of prima donnas. I write on AMA paper to emphasize the validity of my objection.

Cordially,

Russell B. Roth, M.D.

ACT III: Challenge

By the closing plenary session, Dr. Mayer had finally realized that he had accomplished very little after six months of hard laboring to massage the White House into action and thus was desperate to convince the White House to adopt immediate measures to alleviate hunger. This would salvage the Conference, and also prove that he had been right all the time in insisting that the Nixon Administration was the best friend the hungry poor ever had. In an evening session on December 3rd with panel chairmen and vice-chairmen he had been urged to convey their strong feelings about doing something now to the President.

Accordingly, he permitted Antonio Tinajero of the United States Catholic Conference to read to the assembled Conference two pages of a document prepared by the combined efforts of seven voluntary action task forces and then took a quick voice vote of the assembled. The chorus of "nays" was small.

Dr. Mayer had originally planned not to allow the Conference to take a vote on any of the matters before it because "recommendations which have the overwhelming consensus of the conference behind them are much more likely to be impressive to the President and the Congress than recommendations by a close vote". In order to dramatize what he sensed to be an emerging consensus around the task force priority document and hopefully push the President into a corner, he adopted the vote tactic. What had begun life on November 16 as the so-called "Chicago Preamble" of the Community Action Task Force had become, many hard-fought drafts later, the central action program of the White House Conference:

TASK FORCE ACTION STATEMENT

INTRODUCTION

In opening the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, President Nixon said: "This meeting sets the seal of urgency on the national commitment to put an end to hunger and malnutrition due to poverty in America." We who have come here are already firmly dedicated to that goal. The President said: "Our job is to get resources to people in need, and then to let them run their own lives." He did not provide any new or meaningful program by which this can be accomplished. Obviously, he wanted us to do this, and intended that we should do so. To paraphrase the President, we "not only accept the responsibility, (we) claim the responsibility." Therefore, the combined task forces on Voluntary Action by Women, Consumers, Religious Organizations, Community Organizations, Health Organizations, Faculty & Students, and Organized Labor,*present the following action priority program:

I. A NATIONAL EMERGENCY

There is a hunger and malnutrition emergency in this country today. Therefore the President must immediately declare that a national hunger emergency exists, and under existing authority must now free funds and implement programs to feed all hungry Americans this winter.

II. GUARANTEED ADEQUATE INCOME

The overriding remedy for hunger and malnutrition is a minimum guaranteed adequate cash income with a floor of $5,500 annually (for a family of four). The government must also guarantee a meaningful job with a living wage to those who can work, elevation of wages and benefits to those presently underemployed, the "adequate income" to those unable to work of find employment, and maximization of the purchasing power of the food dollar for all.

III. INTERIM FOOD PROGRAMS

As interim measures only, present food programs must be reformed and expanded immediately in order to assure truly adequate benefits and participation by all who need them in all parts of the country.

IV. UNIVERSAL SCHOOL FOOD PROGRAMS

A national free lunch and breakfast program must be made immediately available to all children, through secondary school and regardless of income, that will provide at least 2/3 of the minimal requirements of the Recommended Dietary Allowance, while respecting cultural food preferences.

V. RUNNING THE PROGRAMS

All administrative responsibilities for all hunger relief and nutrition programs must be shifted from the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture to the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, with corresponding shifts in Congressional committee responsibilities. The recipients of these programs must have responsibility for local administration of the programs under standards determined at the Federal level.

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*The AFL-CIO endorsed the policy statement in principle with no position on certain specifics.

The Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), including the United Auto Workers, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the International Chemical Workers Union, endorses this statement as written.

TO PUT THESE PRIORITIES INTO ACTION REQUIRES THE FOLLOWING:

I. A NATIONAL EMERGENCY

This nation today faces a national hunger and malnutrition emergency. This emergency situation requires emergency action.

While we initiate long-term programs to eliminate hunger in America, action must be taken immediately to deliver FOOD NOW to the millions of Americans whose chronic malnutrition the nation can no longer tolerate. Only within the context of adequate food now can a program of nutrition education for all Americans have meaning.

We therefore call on the President to adopt immediately the following emergency program to feed hungry people this winter:

A. Invoke Section 11 of the Disaster Relief Act of 1969 and like statutes in order to supply free food stamps to meet the needs of hungry people.

B. Instruct the Secretary of Agriculture to immediately revise food stamp price schedules of less than $100 per month (based on a family of four) and at a maximum cost of 20% of income.

C. Instruct the United States Department of Agriculture to implement directly a food program in every county and town in the United States within the next three months using all available funds, including the customs receipt funds (Section 32 funds).

D. Actively support immediate passage and funding of the following essential legislation.

1. The Senate-passed Food Stamp Reform Bill (S.2547)

2. A School Lunch Program Reform which consists of the Talmadge school lunch bill, the McGovern amendments and the Javits proposals.

3. The Economic Opportunity Act, particularly its section on emergency hunger relief (Section 401, Title X), and without the Green-Quie type state control amendments which will in effect destroy OEO.

E. Instruct the Department of Agriculture to immediately require that all schools receiving Federal financial and commodity assistance for their lunch and breakfast programs provide free meals to all children whose families are receiving any type of public assistance.

Because each of these actions is either already authorized or embodied in pending legislation action to meet this emergency can be taken within the next month.

II. GUARANTEED ADEQUATE INCOME

To implement this number one remedy to hunger and malnutrtition, the following program is imperative:

A. The adequate cash income presently at $5,500 annually for a family of four sets a floor. It should automatically follow the cost of living as defined by the Low Standard Budget of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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B. Establishment of government careers in nutrition and allied health professions, in connection with other private and public efforts to solve simultaneously social problems and unemployment problems. These suggestions alone should provide two million new jobs.

C. Grants to encourage and support broadly based organizations of low income citizens in local ownership and operation of such services as food production and distribution.

D. Establishment of housing factories on the order of the automotive industry to serve the dual function of provision of low-cost housing and the provision of jobs at desirable wages. This involves creation of 750,000 to 1 million new jobs to produce 3-4 million housing units.

E. Extension to all working people of the right to bargain collectively for wages, hours, and working conditions, including the right to strike or boycott when necessary.

F. Extension of unemployment insurance coverage to working groups presently excluded, such coverage to be on the same terms and conditions as provided for other workers now covered.

G. Improvement of the scope of Social Security laws with a 50% raise this year, so that the program provides a reasonable return on investment.

H. Reform of certain pricing, packaging, promotion and other food industry policies and practices which add unnecessarily to the cost of food. This cost inflation is unfair to every consumer and particularly disastrous to the poor. We need:

1. Price reduction through mandatory limitation of promotional and advertising expenditure and other means suggested in the Food Marketing Commission Report.

2. Mandatory price marking and posting which facilitates and simplifies price comparison.

3. Effective inspection and regulation to insure availability of safe nutritious food at fair prices and conditions of sale.

4. Mandatory processing, packaging, and labeling requirements to identify and preserve nutrient content and assure accurate and honest promotion.

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5. Encouragement of retail distribution systems which take special account of the needs of the poor.

I. Extablishment of a national prepaid health insurance program and new methods for the delivery of health care and extension of existing health programs to all states. The Medicare Bill should be fully implemented by 1971.

The task forces feel that it is especially important to note that many of the above programs can be self-supporting and/or income-producing, and none will require appropriations higher than a fraction of the cost of the space program. Together they should create substantial new tax revenue (4 million jobs should produce an average increase of $5 billion a year in taxes), substantial increase in income through increased buying power, and a saving of $7 billion of funds misspent under the present public assistance programs.

III. INTERIM FAMILY FOOD PROGRAMS

None of the existing family food programs -- food stamps, commodity distribution, emergency food and medical services -- provides an adequate diet or permits the participation of all who have need. Major reforms and expansions are necessary to make sure that all people in need have access to an adequate diet until an adequate income becomes a reality.

As an interim measure only, the food stamp program must be altered so that it can become the primary vehicle for providing an adequate diet to those in need in all parts of the United States and its territories, and on Indian reservations. Free food stamps to those whose income is less than $100 a month (for a family of four), modification of the price schedule so that no recipient must pay more than 20% of his income for food stamps, national eligibility standards, self-certification, a coupon issuance to all recipients equal to the Low Cost Food Plan of the Department of Agriculture, a several-fold expansion of the program -- all are necessary to make the food stamp programs adequate. The commodity distribution program should no longer serve as a means of surplus disposal but should provide direct food aid adequate to a nutritious diet wherever necessary, fully respecting the ethnic and cultural preference of the recipients. Hunger programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity should also be expanded to supplement the above.

We must do the following:

A. The President should support, and the House quickly approve, the Senate-passed food stamp bill. The program should be fully funded and fully implemented in all parts of the United States and its territories, including Indian reservations, before the end of this fiscal year.

B. The Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1969, particularly the new section on emergency hunger relief (Title 4, Section 401 - Title X), should be quickly approved and fully funded by the Congress, without crippling amendments subjecting part or all of the programs to state and local government control.

C. The Federal Government should immediately initiate food programs in the 321 counties still without them.

IV. UNIVERSAL SCHOOL FOOD PROGRAM

There must be established a national child feeding program which will make available at least 2/3 of the Recommended Dietary Allowance. This is to be accomplished by implementing

a free lunch and breakfast program for all pre-school, elementary and secondary school children.

To assure maximum participation in the program, the following steps should be taken:

A. Nutritious food selected shall be consistent with the cultural preferences of the children to be fed.

B. Funds shall be provided to enable schools, child care centers, and other participating groups lacking adequate facilities for food preparation, to obtain such facilities or to devise ways to provide meals by other means.

C. Community groups shall be eligible to operate child feeding programs.

D. Local poor residents must be trained for careers in nutritional planning and food preparation for employment in the program.

E. Food provided at the schools shall be available at the choice of the children and their parents.

V. RUNNING THE PROGRAMS

There is a conflict of interest established in the U.S. Department of Agriculture in its dual role -- primarily the advocate for the producers of food, and secondarily the distributor of food to the needy. Therefore, all programs relating to the provision of food, food services, food stamps, commodity distribution and nutrition services should be removed from the administrative jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and be established in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, whose primary concerns are the needs and well-being of the people these programs were created to assist. Within that department, the provisions of food services of all kinds should be tied as closely as possible to the provision of overall comprehensive health care. We call on the President to use his Executive authority to initiate these changes.

To provide maximum coordination, Congressional responsibilities for both funding and programming should be reassigned to coincide with the above administrative changes.

The provisions of food services has too often been thwarted by lack of responsiveness at the state and local governmental levels. The poor should run their own programs. Maximum dignified participation by recipients is insured by transferring organizational and operational responsibilities to duly constituted, broad based, local community organizations of the recipients themselves. Certification, review and auditing must be done entirely at the Federal level to circumvent parochial political implications and to insure the protection of individual rights of those presently living in hunger and despair.

From all corners of this nation we have come together out of a deep concern to end hunger in America now. We feel a heavy sense of obligation to follow through on our commitment and on the commitments of this Conference. We brought with us the diversity that is the American people and we believe there is need for on-going active participation of all people in implementing the recommendations of this Conference.

Therefore, we call upon the organizaers of this Conference to provide an effective continuing mechanism by which all of us who have this concern can contribute vigorous

continuing leadership to ensure that this Conference produces action. Today is a beginning, not an end, of our commitment to end hunger in America.

And the appropriate beginning is conference-wide adoption of the 5 points.

1. A National Emergency
2. Guaranteed Adequate Income
3. Interim Food Programs
4. Universal School Food Program
5. Running the Programs

ACT III: Non-Response - The President's December 8th News Conference

On December 8th in a televised press conference, President Nixon was asked the following question by Nicholas Kotz of the Des Moines Register and Tribune:

> Q. Mr. President, last week the White House Conference on Food and Nutrition strongly recommended approval of a bill which has passed the Senate to reform the food stamp program, but it's locked in the House, and another bill which would reform the school lunch program, which has passed the House but is blocked in the Senate. Your Administration is reported to be lobbying against both bills. Will you follow the recommendations of your White House conference, and what course of action will you take?
>
> A. I favor the approach that our Administration has put before the Congress as being the more responsible approach on both scores. I will, of course, consider the recommendations of the White House conference, which will be made to me, at my request, within approximately 30 days.
>
> There is another recommendation by the White House conference which I unfortunately cannot give really sympathetic consideration to, and that is the one recommending a $5,400 minimum for a family of four in America. That would cost approximately $70-to $80-billion in taxes, or $70- to $80-billion in increased prices. I do not say that to discredit the conference.
>
> I simply say that all of us in this country want to end hunger in the United States. All of us want the poor to have a minimum floor, and that minimum be as high as possible. All of us, for example, want Social Security to be higher. But when I consider all of these matters, I have to think also of this fact: the fact that I as President am the one who has the primary responsibility for the cost of living in this country. Referring a moment ago to the tax question, it would be very easy for me to sign a bill which reduces taxes. But if I sign the kind of a bill which the Senate is about to pass, I would be reducing taxes for some of the American people and raising the prices for all the American people. I will not do that.

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

ACTION REPORT

John R. Kramer
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There could be no clearer indication of his contemptuous attitude toward his own White House Conference. As Tom Wicker of the New York Times aptly put it, "the Nixon Administration had rejected publicly and almost out of hand the two principal recommendations of the conference." A brief run-down of where the Nixon Administration now stands on certain of the demands follows:

Hunger as a Disaster/Emergency - Cattle Only Need Apply

On September 18, 1969, Congress passed the so-called Disaster Relief Act of 1969 (H.R.6508), which applies to any "major disaster" occurring anywhere in the United States betwen June 30, 1967 and December 31, 1970. The President signed that Act into law on October 1st as Public Law 91-79. Section 11 of that Act specifically authorizes the President to distribute food stamps and surplus commodities in the disaster area "under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe" if he determines that, "as a result of" the disaster, low-income households "are unable to purchase adequate amounts of nutritious food." The President delegated his authority to determine the need and duration of the need for food stamps and surplus commodities as a result of a major disaster to the Secretary of Agriculture in Executive Order 11495 on November 18. In other words, if the President declared that, because of the prevalence of poverty-induced hunger and malnutrition, a major disaster existed throughout the United States, or in any part thereof, among all of the persons who are at or below the poverty income level (or some lower figure), the Secretary of Agriculture could immediately distribute free food stamps and commodities to all such persons for however long he felt necessary,regardless of any limitations contained in the Food Stamp Act or commodity program.

Does the existence of hunger and malnutrition constitute such a disaster? Moynihan would say no. He claims that "we need to get food stamps into every county in America." The only legal way to do this is for the President to declare hunger and malnutrition a major disaster in this country.

The Act of 1969 refers back to a 1950 disaster statute for the definition of disaster, and both Section 1 of the 1969 Act and the 1950 act define the term as including, but not limited to, natural disasters, such as hurricanes, storms, floods, fires, earthquakes, etc. The 1969 Act is not limited to natural disasters and could readily be interpreted to include socio-economic disasters, such as poverty-induced hunger and malnutrition, particularly in light of Section 11's emphasis on inability to buy the necessary food for adequate nutrition. Senator Eastland, who introduced an identical bill, said he was pleased that food could be provided under it (Cong. Rec. S.10803) and Senator Bayh, the bill's floor leader, noted that

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it authorized the President "to provide free food stamps" (Cong. Rec. S.10798).

The 1950 act puts the initial burden on the governor of a state to certify his state's need for disaster assistance before the President acts "in any part of the United States." But there is no limitation on who must take the first step in declaring a major disaster throughout the United States. Furthermore, the 1969 Act specifically zeroes in on action by the President, not by any governor. There is no reference whatever in the Act to action by governors. It is up to the President and the Secretary of Agriculture to distribute the stamps and commodities - there is no explicit role for the states nor is there any state cost. The 1950 requirement for a governor's certificate focusses on the governor's pledge to expend reasonable sums to meet the disaster. If the President handles the stamps, the states need not spend a dime.

What is needed then is not a tangled opinion of counsel, but political courage and leadership. The seven Republican supervisors of Stanislaus County, California, have shown the way. On December 9th, the County Board declared the county a state of extreme hunger and poverty.

Stanislaus County, which is located in California's fertile San Joaquin Valley, is the eighth richest agricultural county in the nation. Nevertheless, more than 40,000 of the county's 200,000 citizens are malnourished.

In the past month and a half, two industries have shut down and 3,160 employees in the county have been laid off. The projected unemployment rate for December is three times the national average. By February, the unemployment rate will approach 20%. Even these unemployment figures do not convey the full extent of the disaster, because they do not include unemployment welfare recipients or part-time employees. Taking these groups into account close to one out of three family heads may be without a full-time job by February.

The emergency has placed such a strain on the Stanislaus County Welfare budget that 25,000 welfare recipients will abruptly lose their means of subsistence for three months, for the Welfare Department funds may be completely exhausted. The county's OEO emergency food money has been totally spent. As families lose income and welfare receipts, the 10,105 who bought food stamps in September will be unable to meet their purchase requirement.

Governor Reagan has not responded. USDA Assistant Secretary Lyng, who comes from Modesto, which is the county seat of Stanislaus County, has flatly refused to help his own poor people by supplying commodities under the disaster authority contained in Section 4(b) of the Food Stamp Act. President Nixon is silent.

But USDA is most anxious to declare an emergency or a disaster and deliver food instantly when it appears that livestock may not be fed. On December 2nd, in the midst of the White House Conference, USDA made government-owned feed grain available at reduced prices to farmers in four Mississippi counties (Forrest, George, Lamar, and Winston). The farmers there faced a shortage of feed to carry their livestock through winter. Under the livestock feed program, if the Secretary of Agriculture determines that severe drought, flood, or similar conditions have reduced food supplies to the point where assistance is required to help farmers preserve and maintain foundation herds and other eligible livestock, then feed grains are offered at reduced prices. The combination of Hurricane Camille, a cold, wet spring and a hot, dry summer had damaged or destroyed the corn and hay crops. The cattle would otherwise have gone hungry. In America we feed our cattle well.

Food Stamps and School Lunch - The Administration may have softened its stand slightly on the Senate food stamp bill. In a December 18th press conference, Secretary Hardin attacked the bill less than usual and, at one point, indicated few objections to it. The Administration is, however, fully behind what is emerging as the Nixon-Montgomery Food Stamp Bill, see pages 4 -4 , infra. The Administration is so uninterested in passing new school lunch legislation that it has made no attempt to get even one Republican to attend the two scheduled Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee sessions to mark up the bills.

Income Maintenance - The President's gratuitous remarks on the Conference's guaranteed income proposal (the questioner had not even asked about it) were misleading. Every individual in America could be brought to the suggested level ($5,500 for a family of four - the President even got the level wrong) for an outlay of $20 billion encompassing 10 million households. If work incentives were added to the flat guarantee so that the Government would continue to make payments on a declining scale until income reached $11,000, the added cost over what is now being spent on income maintenance programs for the poor, including welfare, social security, food stamps, etc. would be $70 billion.

EPILOGUE: The Plea on Behalf of the Indians

At the Conference's closing session on December 5th, Peter McDonald, Executive Director of the Navajo Economic Opportunity Council, made the following plea on behalf of the American Indians, whom, Dr. Mayer had acknowledged in a national television show on December 2nd, were the hungriest of the hungry.

> On Tuesday morning we heard the Great White Father speak to all of us here. He spoke words full of concern. He made many promises. But we have heard promises before. And while our medical knowledge is limited, we are very quick to detect the disease of Forked Tongue in its earliest stages. We will be watching to see if the tell-tale symptoms appear. It is still to early to make a diagnosis.
>
> Today, we are here by invitation -- in your White House. We appreciate your gesture of concern and your hospitality. And we do not mean to appear ungrateful. But we must find out, for our people, whether the White Man speaks once again with Forked Tongue -- or instead proves that he is worthy of the name Straight Arrow.
>
> We call upon the Great White Father to act. And because we live in remote places and live with death as our children's midwife, our needs require special action:
>
> We need immediate, direct distribution of commodities. When your cattle are stranded in snow, helicopters come and drop bales of hay all over the high ridges and deep valleys. But not so for our people.
>
> We need food we can eat. The land you have left us is often too dry and sterile for us to grow our own food. And the food you give us we cannot eat. It is unusable. It is worm-infested. We have no refrigeration, and no means of storage. So we never see fresh vegetables or fruit.
>
> We need money to buy food. The BIA has a special welfare program which can pay us more than the states do. But they turn us over to the states -- and we do not get enough to pay for our groceries. Our welfare checks are taken from us by the white traders who run the

trading posts and who are also the postmasters on our reservations. We never see that money. And the prices we pay are thirty and forty percent higher than in neighboring towns and cities.

We need to have our treaties honored and protected. Especially the treaties which protect those resources which will provide us with food and income, with water, with fish, with game, and with land upon which we can graze cattle or farm. Those treaty rights are not honored and not protected.

We need a direct distribution from the federal government -- not from the states and couties. Because state and county officials do not give us our fair share. The states and counties feel no sense of duty to us. Local prejudice and discrimination runs strong. The promises to our people did not come from the states or counties. They came from the federal government -- and they should be kept by the federal government.

We have no food stamp program that we are aware of on any reservation -- and we ask, because of the emergency condition that exists on all reservations, that commodity and food stamp programs be run stimultaneously on Indian reservations.

For our children, we seek three square meals a day -- not just breakfast and lunch -- but also a dinner they can take home. We prefer that to expensive boarding school buildings. We would rather they come home with dinner. Bricks and mortar are very hard to eat. We want our children -- and we want them to go to bed well fed in their homes.

We need special foods and special methods of distribution. The government has money for the development of special fortified foods and it gives money to the food industry to help develop such foods for the poor. We would like to see those food companies sit down with Indians to develop food that we can eat, that we like to eat, that can be stored where we have no electricity and no refrigeration, that will keep our babies alive and our children healthy and our grown people alive longer than 44 years.

Indians must be involved in that process. They have to eat the food. They have to do without the food when it does not arrive. They have to carry the food fifty or seventy miles. They have to purchase the food from government licensed trading posts that charge huge profits and huge interest rates.

So above all, in the design of all food programs and health programs for Indians, the white man needs to listen to us, the expert needs to listen to us and the government needs to listen to us before they send us corn meal that we feed to our chickens, powdered milk we cannot mix, flour we cannot store, cheese that is so dried and old we cannot even melt it, and cans of labels we cannot read.

We seek the establishment of an all-Indian Council on Hunger, Nutrition and Health to sit down with food companies, doctors and government officials to find solutions to our problems. If the list of things we have stated sounds long, or excessive, or the conditions unreal, it is because you have turned your back on us, hidden us from your eyes.

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We see today that the Justice Department has asked Congress to repeal legislation providing for detention camps. But you have turned our homes, our reservations, our homeland into detention camps. And you do not come near them.

We request that you let us live in dignity.

We do not ask for luxury -- we can make the barren rocks of Alcatraz bloom with our culture. We can make the deserts bloom with the water you have taken from us.

We are the first Americans. You spoke of us first in this conference. But as always you have then ignored us -- and relegated us to last place -- an afterthought.

And now, when we come forward to speak, we are sure you will say these are special and unnecessary demands. At this White House Conference in the White Man's House, this may all seem unreal.

So we invite you to an Indian House Conference. Come to our homes first, then decide. We offer you the words and the wisdom of our fathers:

> Before I judge a man, let me walk in his mocassins for three moons.

But before three moons pass, feed our children while they can still eat.

* * * * * *

NEW FOOD STAMP SCHEDULES

On December 18th, USDA Secretary Hardin released the details of changes in the schedules of purchase payments, bonuses, and overall allotments under the food stamp program prompted by his receipt of $610 million to use for food stamps in fiscal 1970. The new payment levels reflect USDA's serious effort to redefine the concept of "normal food expenditures" to meet the new food stamp budget. It was not new studies of how much families spend, but new money for USDA to spend that was responsible.

The purchase price for a family of four hits a peak of 28.8% at a monthly net income level of $250 to $269.99. For a family of eight the ceiling is 33.3% from $150 to $169.99. The previous peaks were 46% for a family of four ($70) and 48% for a family of eight ($80). The tables constitute a major step forward by the Nixon Administration. The extent of the increase in participation they should spur in jurisdictions already in the program depends upon the speed with which they are implemented and the energy with which USDA and local officials make the changes known to the poor. The new tables are appended:

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THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM -- Monthly Coupon Allotments and Purchase Requirements

	For a Household of:				
	1 Person	2 Persons	3 Persons	4 Persons	
	The Monthly Coupon Allotment is:				
	$ 28.00	$ 56.00	$ 84.00	$ 106.00	
	And the Monthly Purchase Requirement is:				% Input at Lowest Income Level
Monthly Net Income					
$ 0 to 19.99....	$ .50	$ 1.00	$ 1.50	$ 2.00	Infinity
20 to 29.99....	1.00	1.00	1.50	2.00	10
30 to 39.99....	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	13.3
40 to 49.99....	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	17.5
50 to 59.99....	8.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	20
60 to 69.99....	10.00	12.00	13.00	13.00	21.7
70 to 79.99....	12.00	15.00	16.00	16.00	22.9
80 to 89.99....	14.00	18.00	19.00	19.00	23.8
90 to 99.99....	16.00	21.00	21.00	22.00	24.4
100 to 109.99....	18.00	23.00	24.00	25.00	25
110 to 119.99....		26.00	27.00	28.00	25.5
120 to 129.99....		29.00	30.00	31.00	25.8
130 to 139.99....		31.00	33.00	34.00	26.1
140 to 149.99....		34.00	36.00	37.00	26.4
150 to 169.99....		36.00	40.00	42.00	28
170 to 189.99....			46.00	48.00	28.2
190 to 209.99....			52.00	54.00	28.4
210 to 229.99....			58.00	60.00	28.6
230 to 249.99....			64.00	66.00	28.7
250 to 269.99....			66.00	72.00	28.8
270 to 289.99....				72.00	26.7
290 to 309.99....				76.00	26.2
310 to 329.99....				80.00	25.8
330 to 359.99....				80.00	24.2
360 to 389.99....				82.00	22.8
390 to 419.99....					
420 to 449.99....					
450 to 479.99....					
480 to 509.99....					
510 to 539.99....					
540 to 569.99....					
570 to 599.99....					
600 to 629.99....					
630 to 659.99....					

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM -- Monthly Coupon Allotments and Purchase Requirements

Monthly Net Income	For a Household of: 5 Persons	6 Persons	7 Persons	8 Persons	% Input at Lowest Income Level
	The Monthly Coupon Allotment is:				
	$ 126.00	$ 144.00	$ 162.00	$ 180.00	
	And the Monthly Purchase Requirement is:				
$ 0 to 19.99....	$ 2.50	$ 3.00	$ 3.00	$ 3.00	Infinity
20 to 29.99....	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.00	15
30 to 39.99....	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	16.6
40 to 49.99....	8.00	8.00	8.00	9.00	22.5
50 to 59.99....	11.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	24
60 to 69.99....	14.00	14.00	15.00	16.00	26.7
70 to 79.99....	17.00	18.00	18.00	19.00	27.1
80 to 89.99....	20.00	21.00	22.00	22.00	27.5
90 to 99.99....	23.00	24.00	25.00	26.00	28.9
100 to 109.99....	26.00	27.00	28.00	29.00	29
110 to 119.99....	29.00	31.00	32.00	33.00	30
120 to 129.99....	33.00	34.00	35.00	36.00	30
130 to 139.99....	36.00	37.00	38.00	40.00	30.8
140 to 149.99....	39.00	40.00	42.00	44.00	31.4
150 to 169.99....	44.00	46.00	48.00	50.00	33.3
170 to 189.99....	50.00	52.00	54.00	56.00	32.9
190 to 209.99....	56.00	58.00	60.00	62.00	32.6
210 to 229.99....	62.00	64.00	66.00	68.00	32.4
230 to 249.99....	68.00	70.00	72.00	74.00	32.2
250 to 269.99....	74.00	76.00	78.00	80.00	32
270 to 289.99....	80.00	82.00	84.00	86.00	31.9
290 to 309.99....	84.00	88.00	90.00	92.00	31.7
310 to 329.99....	84.00	88.00	96.00	98.00	31.6
330 to 359.99....	88.00	92.00	100.00	102.00	30.9
360 to 389.99....	92.00	96.00	104.00	106.00	29.4
390 to 419.99....	96.00	100.00	108.00	110.00	28.2
420 to 449.99....	98.00	104.00	112.00	114.00	27.1
450 to 479.99....		108.00	116.00	118.00	26.2
480 to 509.99....		112.00	120.00	122.00	25.4
510 to 539.99....			124.00	126.00	24.7
540 to 569.99....			126.00	130.00	24.1
570 to 599.99....				134.00	23.5
600 to 629.99....				138.00	23
630 to 659.99....				140.00	22.2

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM: Purchase Requirements, Bonus Coupons, Total Coupon Allotment

If Your NET MONTHLY INCOME Is.... :	You Pay In This Amount:	(Change from the previous: Northern Table	South ern Table	You Get This Bonus:	(Change from the previous) North ern Table	South ern Table	Your Total Food Buying Power:	(Change from the previous) North ern Table	South ern Table
FOR A ONE-PERSON HOUSEHOLD:									
$ 0 to 19.99	$ .50	$N.C.	$N.C.	$27.50	$+10.00	$+12.00	$28.00	$+10.00	$+12.00
50 to 59.99	8.00	-4.00	-2.00	20.00	+10.00	+12.00	28.00	+ 6.00	+10.00
100 to 109.99	18.00	-2.00	N.C.	10.00	+ 4.00	+ 4.00	28.00	+ 2.00	+ 4.00
FOR A TWO-PERSON HOUSEHOLD:									
0 to 19.99	1.00	N.C.	N.C.	55.00	+26.00	+26.00	56.00	+26.00	+26.00
50 to 59.99	10.00	-6.00	-6.00	46.00	+26.00	+26.00	56.00	+20.00	+20.00
100 to 109.99	23.00	-9.00	-5.00	33.00	+17.00	+21.00	56.00	+ 8.00	+16.00
150 to 169.99	36.00	-4.00	N.C.	20.00	+ 8.00	+10.00	56.00	+ 4.00	+10.00
FOR A THREE-PERSON HOUSEHOLD:									
0 to 19.99	1.50	N.C.	N.C.	82.50	+38.00	+40.00	84.00	+38.00	+40.00
50 to 59.99	10.00	-8.00	-6.00	74.00	+40.00	+42.00	84.00	+32.00	+36.00
100 to 109.99	24.00	-20.00	-12.00	60.00	+36.00	+40.00	84.00	+16.00	+28.00
150 to 169.99	40.00	-18.00	-10.00	44.00	+26.00	+30.00	84.00	+ 8.00	+20.00
250 to 269.99	66.00	- 8.00	- 4.00	18.00	N.C.	+4.00	84.00	- 8.00	N.C.
FOR A FOUR-PERSON HOUSEHOLD:									
$ 0 to 19.99	$ 2.00	$N.C.	$N.C.	$104.00	$+46.00	$+48.00	$106.00	$+46.00	$+48.00
50 to 59.99	10.00	-10.00	-8.00	96.00	+52.00	+54.00	106.00	+42.00	+46.00
100 to 109.99	25.00	-19.00	-15.00	81.00	+47.00	+51.00	106.00	+28.00	+36.00
150 to 169.99	42.00	-18.00	-10.00	64.00	+36.00	+42.00	106.00	+18.00	+32.00
250 to 269.99	72.00	- 4.00	N.C.	34.00	+10.00	+16.00	106.00	+ 6.00	+16.00
330 to 359.99	80.00	- 8.00	- 4.00	26.00	+ 2.00	+ 8.00	106.00	- 6.00	+ 4.00
FOR A SIX-PERSON HOUSEHOLD:									
0 to 19.99	3.00	N.C.	N.C.	141.00	+68.00	+70.00	144.00	+68.00	+70.00
50 to 59.99	11.00	-11.00	- 9.00	133.00	+73.00	+77.00	144.00	+62.00	+68.00
100 to 109.99	27.00	-21.00	-19.00	117.00	+67.00	+75.00	144.00	+46.00	+56.00
150 to 169.99	46.00	-22.00	-14.00	98.00	+58.00	+64.00	144.00	+36.00	+50.00
250 to 269.99	76.00	-12.00	- 4.00	68.00	+36.00	+42.00	144.00	+24.00	+38.00
330 to 359.99	92.00	- 8.00	- 4.00	52.00	+20.00	+26.00	144.00	+12.00	+22.00
FOR AN EIGHT-PERSON HOUSEHOLD:									
0 to 19.99	3.00	N .C.	N.C.	177.00	+90.00	+94.00	180.00	+90.00	+94.00
50 to 59.99	12.00	-10.00	-8.00	168.00	+96.00	+100.00	180.00	+86.00	+92.00
100 to 109.99	29.00	-21.00	-17.00	151.00	+89.00	+97.00	180.00	+68.00	+80.00
150 to 169.99	50.00	-20.00	-16.00	130.00	+76.00	+86.00	180.00	+56.00	+70.00
250 to 269.99	80.00	-14.00	- 6.00	100.00	+58.00	+66.00	180.00	+44.00	+60.00
330 to 359.99	102.00	- 8.00	- 4.00	78.00	+38.00	+44.00	180.00	+30.00	+40.00
570 to 599.99	134.00	- 8.00	N.C.	46.00	+ 6.00	+12.00	180.00	- 2.00	+12.00

NOTE: For coupon allotment for families larger than 8 persons, add $16.00 for each additional person to the column "Total Food Buying Power."

In this table:
"Southern" pertained to the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia
"Northern" pertained to all other States.
"N.C." = No Change

FEEDING REPORT CARD

	The Universe of Need 1/	Participants in 1969 2/	Individuals Supposed to be Reached in 1970 3/	The Hunger Gap	Grade
Food stamps	30,000,000 (impoverished Americans)	3,224,233	3,630,000	22.8 million	24%
Commodity Distribution		3,538,912	3,600,000		
Supplementary Food Packages	5.8 million (4.3 million poor children under 6, 1.5 million poor pregnant and nursing women)	40,097 (target was 225,000)	567,000	5.2 million	10%
Free or Reduced Price School Lunches	8.4 million (school age children from poverty families)	2.36 million (target was 3.5 million)	6.6 million (by end of year only, if then)	1.8 million (at least 5.5 million are not now receiving lunch)	79% (35% in fact)
All School Lunch	52 million (children in school)	20,134,873 (target was 19 million)	19.8 million	32.2 million	38%
School Breakfasts	8.4 million	298,857 (target was 370,000)	500,000	7.9 million	6%
Special Milk for the Poor	8.4 million	1.7 million	1.7 million	6.7 million	20%
Special Milk for all	52 million	17 million	17 million	35 million	33%
Nonschool Food Service					
a. Year round	500,000 (poor children in day care centers)	42,000 (target was 80,000)	100,000	400,000	20%
b. Summer only	1.2 million (poor children in recreation programs)	310,000	Unknown	Unknown	26%

1/ Based on the most recent Census and OEO data, revised in August 1969.

2/ Based on USDA Summary of Consumer Food Programs. Target figures are derived from the 1970 Budget and Volume 8, p. 2528, Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs Hearings (furnished by USDA). The free/reduced price lunch totals are based on a compilation of state reports.

3/ Based on Volume 8, p.2528, supra, and level of appropriations.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Comparison of Government Spending on Food Assistance for the Poor
(in millions)

	1969 Actual Expenditures	Johnson Proposals for 1970	1970 Budgeted & Appropriated
ood stamps	228.8	340.0	610.0 1/
Commodity distribution			
Needy families	224.9	350.0	365.0
Needy children in schools	40.8	48.3	48.3 2/
Supplementary food packages for pregnant and lactating women and infants	8.8	34.5	34.5
Free and reduced price lunches under the National School Lunch Act	66.9	137.9	132.8 3/
Special Milk	10.4	10.0	10.4 4/
Elementary and Secondary Education Act lunches	32.0	32.0	32.0
Nonschool food service (day care centers, etc.)	3.4	20.5	15.0
Breakfast	5.5	11.0	11.0
Equipment for serving food to the poor	9.25	15.0	15.0
Emergency food and medical services	24.0	25.0	30.0
	654.75	1,024.2	1,304.0

1/ Includes $40 million of administrative expenses and, therefore, only $570 million in bonus coupons. In fact, only $450 million is expected to be spent.

2/ Assumes that 16% of all lunches served are served at a free or reduced price. The 1969 average was 15%.

3/ Assumes that 16% of all general cash assistance is for free or reduced price lunches ($27 million) and adds on 100% special cash assistance ($44.8 million) and USDA projections of lunch expenditures from Special Section 32 funds ($61 million).

4/ Assumes, according to USDA-Budget Bureau calculations, that a maximum of 10% of special milk funds supply milk to children from low-income families.

HUNGER ON THE HILL:
THE STATUS OF PENDING LEGISLATION

A. Food Stamp Reform

Where It's At:

Senate - Major reform measure, S.2547, the McGovern-Javits bill, passed the Senate on September 24 by a vote of 78 to 14.

House - All food stamp proposals are bottled up in the House Agriculture Committee. Hearings have been completed. Intensive mark-up sessions began on December 9 and continued mornings and afternoons through December 17. The Committee has now halted its consideration of the bill and will not resume until January 27th, at the earliest. Even when ready, no food stamp bill is likely to emerge except at the tail end of a bill extending present farm programs (both food stamp and farm programs expire as of December 30, 1970). No floor action on the package is expected before late February, 1970. If food stamps are tied to farm programs, then food stamps will have to go back to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, while that Committee reviews the farm issues.

Final passage - April, at the earliest.

Contents:

The House Agriculture Committee bill as it now stands is a hybrid property identified as the Nixon-Montgomery bill, the latest surfacing of the Southern strategy - this time apparently to deny food to the poor. Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi, one of a group of less than five Congressmen who has consistently voted against feeding the needy, is the ringleader, with Chairman Poage as an instigator. On December 10 the Committee voted 22 to 4 to reject the Foley-Green bill H.R.13423, and 21 to 4 against the Senate bill, S.2548. The four musketeers were Democratic Congressmen Foley of Washington, Vigorito of Pennsylvania, Lowenstein of New York, and Melcher of Montana. If the Committee decides to release the bill in its present format, the overall impact would be to reduce, not increase participation. The following are some of the highlights (rather lowlights) of the Committee's deliberations to date:

1) State matching - A Montgomery amendment was supported 21 to 7 to require each participating state to put up part of the bonus value of stamps issued to impoverished households within the state or drop out of the program entirely, with the matching starting at 2½% of the bonus and rising 2½% each year thereafter to a peak of 10% as of July 1, 1973. Since, by then, the program should be running at a bonus rate in excess of $2.4 billion, the cost to the states would be $240 million-plus. Mississippi and many other Northern as well as Southern states would jump at this cost-justified opportunity to end the program, as the amendment's sponsor intended. The House Committee added a similar provision in 1967, but was beaten on the floor, 191 to 173.

2) Strikers and students - By respective votes of 16 to 9 and 20 to 5, the Committee determined to deny stamps to strikers or locked-out workers who would not be eligible were they working (a Teague of California proposal) and to students and hippies and the households to which they belong if claimed as dependents on tax returns (a Mayne of Iowa suggestion). Similar restrictive measures have been tried unsuccessfully by the Committee in the past. The striker and student prohibition carried on tellers, 150 to 134, in 1968, but was deleted in conference and then defeated on a roll-call vote on the House floor, 187 to 158.

3) Work requirement - Chairman Poage obtained 14 to 4 approval of his refusal to give stamps to able-bodied adults from the ages of 18 to 65 (including college students and elderly persons eligible for Meals on Wheels), other than mothers, who failed to register at local employment offices and accept jobs at the lowest prevailing minimum wage rate (Federal, state, or Federal contract). If retained, this would be a substantially harsher workfare provision than that contained in Nixon welfare bill.

An abbreviated comparison of the major provisions of the Senate bill, the Administration bill, and the present program follows. The Nixon-Montgomery bill in the House Committee in its present form affects only 2b, 6 and 7.

	Senate bill	Administration bill	Present program
1. Eligibility standards (family of four)	Minimum nationwide level of $4000	Discretion of Secretary, but uniform nationwide and ceiling of $4000	State option, ranging from $1920 in South Carolina to $4200 in New York
2. Purchase price a) Maximum	25% of income	30% of income	Normal expenditures for food, defined as up to 33%
b) Free stamps	For those with incomes of $63.90 a month or less (½ of Low-Cost Food Plan)	For those with incomes of $30 a month or less	No--except in two South Carolina counties
3. Total coupon value (family of four)	$127.80 a month (Low-Cost Food Plan)	$105 a month (Economy Food Plan)	$106 a month
4. Product coverage	Food and items necessary for personal cleanliness, hygiene, and home sanitation	Only food or food products	Only food or food products
5. Certification method	Affidavit	Extensive forms and welfare caseworker investigation	Extensive forms and welfare caseworker investigation
6. Administrative responsibility	Secretary can operate directly or through other local public or private non-profit agencies if no program in operation after January 1,1971,or if Secretary determines that insufficient percentage of poor persons participating	State must provide for operation of either food stamp or commodity program in each subdivision by June 30, 1970 or else entire State forced off program	State agency must request program as well as local welfare agencies
7. Level of funding and term of program	1970 - $1.25 billion 1971 - $2 billion 1972 - $2.5 billion	1970 - $610 million 1971 and 1972 - open-ended	1970 -$610 million 1971 (first half) - $170 million

The Nixon- Montgomery bill changes:

2b - No free stamps. The de facto minimum charge in the present program - 50 cents per person per month for the first six persons in each household and nothing for each additional person would be retained by being made explicit in the law.

6 - No political subdivision would be required to operate any family food assistance program at any time.

7 - The program would be authorized at an unspecified level for a period as yet undetermined that would be co-equal with the term of the farm commodity programs.

Assorted mischief - The Committee has also voted 23 to 4 to remove any requirement that a county operate any family food program and 18 to 9 to delete free food stamps in favor of the Montgomery 50 cents per person minimum. The Committee apparently is in favor of allowing persons 60 years or over to use food stamps to buy Meals on Wheels.

B. School Lunch Reform

Where It's At:

House - Passed limited reform measure, H.R.515, on March 20 by voice vote. Passed additional $100 million for free and reduced price meals for the needy, H.R.11651, on July 21, by 352 to 5.

Senate - House bills and Talmadge proposal, S.2548, are awaiting mark-up in the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. The Administration offered no bills of its own. The drafting sessions set for November 19, December 3 and December 17 were abandoned when no Republicans and no quorum appeared.

Final passage - Potential floor fight in Senate over money and some other matters. Conference with House should be no problem. February, at the earliest.

Contents:

An abbreviated comparison of the major provisions of the Talmadge bill, the House bills, and the Administration's formal position follows:

	Talmadge bill	House bills	Administration position
1. Funds for free and reduced price meals	1970 - Additional $155.2 million 1971 - $250 million 1972 - $300 million	Additional $100 million	No new funds needed - opposed
2. Eligibility for free and reduced meals	Retain present inadequate and non-policed guidelines instructing schools to announce criteria	Public announcement of criteria (no real change)	Retain present inadequate and non-policed guidelines instructing schools to announce criteria
Possible floor amendment:	McGovern-Javits - $4,000 nationwide minimum eligibility level for a family of four.		
3. Definition of reduced price meal	Not to exceed 20 cents	No definition	Opposed because of lack of adequate funding, which Administration refuses to request
4. Role of food service technology and catering	No change from present policy of, in practice, excluding innovation and private food service management by means of emphasis on non-profit nature of program and restrictive regulations and contracts. Talmadge would authorize $6 million for demonstration projects and $4.5	No change from present policy (see adjoining column)	Hekman, Administrator, Food and Nutrition Service: "I plan to make a study of this." Lyng, Assistant Secretary for Consumer & Marketing Services,: "From experience with this approach [new technology and management techniques]

	Talmadge bill	House bills	Administration position
	million for pilot projects to improve food service delivery methods at State option.		we know that it can result in great economies." Real position: ?, but at political mercy of little old ladies in aprons.

Possible floor amendment: Javits - $25 million authorized for demonstration programs with private food companies for supply, preparation and delivery of food to poverty area schools with limited facilities or none at all.

5. State matching	$1 State to $1 Federal ratio with 5% overall from State revenues in 1972 and 1973 on up to 25% in 1983 and thereafter (Added state input: 1971-0; 1972-$32.8 million)	No change from present $3 State to $1 Federal ratio, but 3% overall from State tax revenues in 1971 and 1972 on up to 7.5% in 1977 and thereafter. (Added state input: 1971 and 1972-$19.7 million)	No change from present $3 State to $1 Federal ratio with no meaningful State input because of state's reliance on children's payments to meet their share. (States now only pay ½ of 1% of program cost from state revenues)
6. Equipment assistance	1970 - $38 million 1971 - $33 million 1972 - $15 million Thereafter - $10 million	No change, although $100 million may be used to finance purchase or rental of equipment	Opposed

C. Emergency Food

Where It's At:

Senate - Passed extension of Economic Opportunity Act, S.3016, on October 14. Emergency food, like all special programs whose authorization was increased in committee, was reduced on the floor to the level indicated in the budget ($100 million to $25 million) by a vote of 47 to 38.

House - Passed extention on December 12, including new Title X, "Intensive Programs to Eliminate Hunger and Malnutrition", which called for $92 million in 1970, special emphasis on feeding the very young and the aging, and permitting community action agencies to operate food programs where counties refuse to do so.

Final passage - The bill emerged from conference on December 18 and was approved by both chambers on December 19.

Contents:

The Senate accepted most of the new language contained in Title X of the House bill, but melted it into Section 222(a)(5) where the program had been defined,although the stress on children and the elderly was deleted. The authorization level for fiscal year 1970 is a specifically earmarked $62.5 million based on the Nixon budget floor ($25 million) plus one-half of the $75 million House add-on. The fiscal 1971 figure is $175 million or the earmarked $62.5 repeated plus additional authorization of $112.5 million or halfway between the Senate's $150 and the House's $75. The major substantive change involves the authority for a community action agency or a local public or private nonprofit organization to administer food stamps or commodity distribution regardless of the fact that a particular board of supervisors refuses to act. USDA would have to cooperate in this effort as it has not in the past (it would not turn over commodities to community action agencies in six California counties).

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

John R. Kramer
Executive Director
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-9135

SICK HUMOR: A MODEST PROPOSAL TO KILL THE HUNGRY OR BOB POAGE TELLS IT LIKE HE THINKS IT OUGHT TO BE

W. R. Poage, Representative from Waco, Texas and Chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, whom age and tenacity have shoved into a position of power to cripple Federal family food assistance and who is the loudest defender of unlimited farm subsidy payments, is at it again. Last April, when his Committee was considering nutrition problems, he labelled free food stamps "socialism" and stated that "in too many cases, the $30 [spent on food before receipt of free stamps], to be really frank about it, will go for liquor, or for pot, or for those sort of things."

In June, Mr. Poage introduced his own food stamp proposals (H.R. 12430) which would coerce all able-bodied adults (there are no exceptions for women with small children) into accepting make-work jobs under the supervision of local officials, with the work to be paid for only in stamps, not cash. Mr. Poage said he would "put them to work even if I had to make jobs, as they do in Russia. Get them to sweep the streets with brooms or push leaves back and forth, just do something."

Having gone in one small jump from condemning socialism to swallowing communism, Bob Poage is now displaying his acute knowledge of apiaries and history. In an exchange in a food stamp hearing on October 31 with Stephen Kurzman, Esq. of the Urban Coalition, Bob Poage revealed his deepest desires:

> "Do you think we can just continue to make it just as profitable to sit under the tree as it is to work, and expect to find as many people working as we have today?
>
> Mr. Kurzman. I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that we disagree on very basic premises. I think there is very little evidence that any significant proportion of those who receive food stamps or any other kind of food assistance are choosing to do so so as to elect not to work.
>
> The Chairman. I think that when you make that statement that you just prove that you never lived in an area where there were a great many people who sit under the tree, and that you are entirely out of touch with a large segment of American life and life everywhere.

M. Alfred Haynes, M.D., Ch.
The Rev. Ralph Abernathy
Doris Calloway
James P. Carter, M.D.
Jack Conway
Leslie W. Dunbar
Marian Wright Edelman
Jean Fairfax
Herman Gallegos
Vivian Henderson
Howard M. Metzenbaum
Martin Meyerson
Hon. Albert A. Pena, Jr.
Walter P. Reuther
Philip Sorensen
The Rev. Charles S. Spivey, Jr.

"It is not only true in America, it is true anywhere in the world that I have been. I have been to some countries in the world. We all know that there are a number of such people . . . I think that some of those people who you are talking about would not work under Communists . . . go back even further than 2000 years, go back somewhere in the dim past and the book that most all of us accept, it says somewhere, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

"Now I think that is true. I think it is true when old Adam was kicked out, and I think it is still true. By the sweat of thy brow, that means work as I understand it. That is the way I understand it, if you expect to get the good things of life, to work for them.

"Now, I have not any objection to helping the individual who needs help, and I do not want you to go away from here and say that Bob Poage said that he would not help some poor widow and her kids. He never said anything of the kind. But he has said that he was not going to help some deadbeat who is sitting down at the pool hall waiting for his wife and kids to go out and see what the neighbors bring in.

"Now, if you ask me to help that fellow have a better life down at the pool hall, why I am just not interested in helping him. I am interested in helping that family, but I am not interested in helping that bird who could work just as well as I can. Are you? . . .

"The point I am making is I have not understood why you and others who have appeared before this committee, who have a legitimate and proper as I see it concern for the needy are also so concerned in maintaining a bunch of drones.

"You know what happens in the beehive. They kill those drones. That is what happens in most primitive societies. Maybe we have just gotten too far away from the situation of primitive man."

Genocide, anyone?

"Hunger-Why?" - A Report from the American Friends Service Committee - CRASH, the acronym for the special summer project sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee as a Call to Research and Act to Stop Hunger, has released a final 71-page report on its operations in 35 counties in 15 states. More than 200 people, primarily high school and college youths, investigated the conduct of Federal food assistance programs in those counties and then conveyed the information to local residents. While no tangible changes in the local administration of feeding programs have yet been brought about by CRASH intervention, CRASH had a subtle, but real impact on bureaucrats not used to having anyone ask them questions or monitor their work. A compilation of recommendations for changes on all program levels is included in the report, which can be purchased for $1.25 from Maria Pappalardo, c/o AFSC, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.

THE COURTS VERSUS THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Counties Without a Family Food Program - Almost one year from the day the suit and 25 companion actions in 25 other states were filed, needy citizens in counties of Texas without any Federal family food assistance program won a major court victory over the United States Department of Agriculture, which has tenaciously resisted providing them with food. On November 19, 1968, the Columbia Center for Social Welfare Policy and Law, acting as lawyers for 1,000 hungry and malnourished complainants sued to compel USDA to begin commodity distribution or food stamp programs in what were then approximately 500 counties without food aid. On November 21, 1969, United States District Judge W.M. Taylor, Jr. in Dallas, Texas, ordered USDA "to put into effect, in the shortest time feasible and at Federal expense, the Commodity Distribution Program in every Texas area that has no food stamp program." Ronald Pollack, Esq. of New York City, represented the plaintiffs.

If USDA complies with the courtorder - and there is every indication it will not - at least 100 more counties would be removed from the rolls of areas offering no food help to their poor families. The Dallas Federal court predicated its decision on the ground that Congress did not intend to deny Federal food program benefits to eligible needy persons solely by virtue of the county of their residence. It interpreted Section 32 in this fashion in order to avoid finding that USDA was denying the plaintiffs equal protection of the laws.

USDA now has to shoulder, as it always should have, the primary responsibility for ending discriminatory deprivation of food assistance. USDA has repeatedly delayed all of the suits and opposed feeding any of the poor complainants. Howard Davis, Deputy Administrator of the Food and Nutrition Service, without taking the Fifth Amendment, flatly refused to answer a total of 60 questions in a court-ordered deposition in Washington on April 11 in the case of Hernandez v. Hardin. In that case, a Federal district court in San Francisco had ordered USDA "to put into effect in the shortest time feasible one of the two federal food programs...in every California county." USDA simply ignored that order. Even Max Rafferty, California Superintendent of Public Instruction and never a friend of any liberal cause, came forward in court to sue Secretary Hardin and declare that Hardin's refusal to act was "an abuse of his discretion and results in a denial of the necessities of life and basic civil rights." Despite USDA's recalcitrance, the court never intervened to place the Secretary and his delegates in jail because the holdout California counties proceeded to install food programs on their own under pressure of the court order. As of June 25, all 58 California counties had accepted one, thereby mooting the suit.

School Milk - 13 school children of farm worker parents living in California sued the Secretary of Agriculture, Clifford M. Hardin, in Federal district court in San Francisco on December 2 charging that he had failed to provide milk to needy school children under the Special Milk Program. The suit, a class action, demands that he furnish free milk to the 10,000,000 American school children from low-income families who now subsist on water in place of the milk they cannot afford.

Plaintiffs alleged that needy school children are deprived of milk because the Secretary of Agriculture has promulgated regulations encouraging a "children's milk tax" or the enforced payment per child of 50¢ in advance every two weeks ($10 a year) as a condition to receiving milk. A farm worker family with six children in school thus has to lay out a week's wages each year ($60) to buy milk for the children or, as is most often the case, they must go without. The suit contends that the children's milk tax has the same discriminatory effect as the now-outlawed poll tax, except that it is more expensive -- Virginia's poll tax is only $1.50 a head.

The suit was filed on behalf of the children by California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. (CRLA). Robert Gnaizda, Esq., attorney for CRLA and the plaintiffs in the case, said that the suit was based upon the Secretary's fraudulent misuse of the $104 million in Federal funds entrusted to him to supply milk to school children and upon the Secretary's blatant failure to administer the program in accordance with the Congressional dictate "to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's children."

'Gosh, Nourishing Promises, Juicy Resolutions . . .'

Baltimore Evening Sun

LET THEM EAT PROMISES

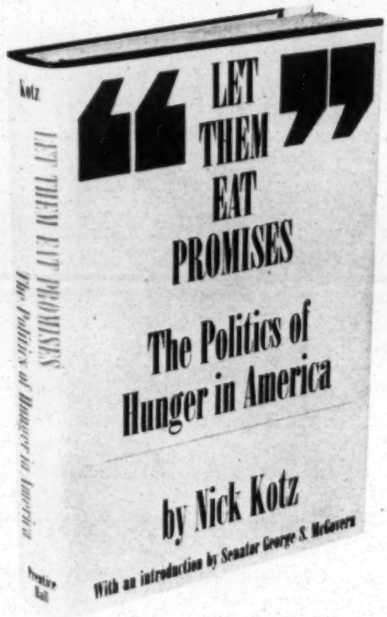
The Politics of Hunger in America

by Nick Kotz

Winner Pulitzer Prize, 1968

and Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award, 1969

This is the first book to explore the politics of the hunger issue in the United States, giving comprehensive coverage to every aspect of this country's domestic food aid programs. It tells how and why the richest country in the history of the world manages to deny food to 15 million of its citizens. It tells what happens to the brains and bodies of American children who don't get enough to eat, and how two presidents ignored secret reports that warned of dire consequences. It tells the story of how politics got the hunger issue going and how politics almost squashed it, and how—behind closed doors of the White House—warring forces at the top level of government are still trying to balance economy against humanity. The book ends with a series of new approaches to the problem of hunger in America and a set of possible solutions.



"(A) deeply moving account...No man is better endowed to describe "The Politics of Hunder in America" than Mr. Kotz."

U.S. Senator George S. McGovern
Chairman, Senate Select Committee on
Nutrition and Human Needs

"I think LET THEM EAT PROMISES will be a very useful backdrop for the White House Conference on Nutrition. I think it is very important that people realize that we've had great difficulties over the years in getting food programs accepted...when you look into it as Mr. Kotz has done, you can see that responsibilities have been very much multiple, and what is needed is not just one parlimentary victory but a change of heart on the part of everybody and a real concern on the part of all Americans."

Dr. Jean Mayer
Special Consultant to the President for the
White House Conference on Food, Nutrition
and Health

"Hunger and malnutrition will be critical issues for years. By showing us the rocky road already traveled, Nick Kotz prepares us for the way ahead. His book should be read by all who enlist in this most humane struggle."

U.S. Senator Jacob K. Javits
Ranking Republican member, Senate Select
Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs

"The book is a gripping, upside down detective story—a classic who-didn't-done-it to the malnourished poor. It is crammed with clues as to why hunger continues to exist in the United States long after everyone has agreed that not eating may be hazardous to your health....If Mr. Kotz had his way, the solution would be simple and humanitarian....It is unfortunate that he is not making policy instead of so fascinatingly describing its formation."

John R. Kramer
Executive Director, The National Council of Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"Exciting, moving...it is a description of the hunger of the poor and the ignorance and callousness of some of our highest elected and appointed officials. This book is a real and timely contribution to a better America. I can recommend it highly—not as a nutritionist but as a concerned citizen."

Frederick J. Stare, M.D.
Chairman, Department of Nutrition, Harvard University

"LET THEM EAT PROMISES is a story that every student of government should read, because it shows how our national government really operates. Nick Kotz's vivid and authentically detailed story explains how the needs of starving Americans were swept under the rug by the provincial autocrats who run congress, and their allies, the faceless bureaucrats of government agencies. This revealing expose shows how personal enmities and political maneuvers, extending from the White House to the courthouse level, can combine to kill even the most urgently needed social legislation."

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm
New York

"Nick Kotz has written an incisive and searing indictment of our number-one national disgrace—hunger. LET THEM EAT PROMISES is by far and away the best treatment of this problem that I have seen."

U.S. Senator Walter F. Mondale
Member, Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs

"The publication of Nick Kotz's book is a time for tears and outrage—tears for the suffering of the hungry millions whose helplessness he describes, outrage at the unbelievable face that America still refuses to end their suffering....But LET THEM EAT PROMISES has a message of hope....America must hear that message."

Charles Evers
Mayor of Fayette, Mississippi and civil rights leader

"Nick Kotz's new book is honest. It clearly sets forth once and for all that a person denied the right to an adequated diet is also being denied the right to succeed.

"I heartily recommend LET THEM EAT PROMISES: THE POLITICS OF HUNGER IN AMERICA....Hunger is a major problem throughout the world. The reader will gain new insight into this problem and the tragic effects it has on the lives of fellow human beings."

George D. Fischer
President, National Education Association

At your local book store or order from Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632
Please send me_____copies of LET THEM EAT PROMISES: THE POLITICS OF HUNGER IN AMERICA @ $6.95 ea.
Check enclosed.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

November 8, 1965

Mr. Milton G. Rector
National Council on Crime and
Delinquency
44 East 23rd Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Rector:

Please accept my apologies for being unable to keep our recent appointment and especially that you were not notified of this.

David Freeman suggested you might be able to help us with a very special problem. Under a new Ford grant we anticipated a special project in the area of prison reform and criminal rehabilitation. This program was based on the assumption of the availability of George Randall of North C rolina to direct it. The heart of this program was Mr. Randall's ability to begin immediate consultation with state and prison officials in the region. There was to be supplementary research and publishing.

As you probably know, Mr. Randall has now accepted a position in Oregon and we are faced with the following questions:

1) Is there another individual, preferably Southern, with qualifications similar to those of George Randall?

2) Are there persons of different qualifications who could make a contribution to this need?

3) Are there variations of this program which are feasible if the project as initially conceived cannot be staffed?

This is a new field for the Southern Regional Council based on our conviction of the need but no experience. We would be grateful for any suggestions and guidance you might be able to offer.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm

Set up file "Nat'l Council on Crime & Delinquency"

November 29, 1965

Mr. Milton G. Rector
Director
National Council on Crime and Delinquency
44 East 23rd Street
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rector:

Thank you for your response to our inquiry. We shall look forward to any suggestions Mr. Ward can provide.

The results of our efforts at recruiting a director for this project are, thus far, very discouraging. While we hope it will not be the case, it may be necessary for us to return to the Ford Foundation with a request to use the funds for this project in a different manner. Should that be necessary, we would hope the project could be in an area related to criminal rehabilitation or crime prevention.

I note in your letter that the states we serve are the same as those of your southern regional staff, and that the proposed services of our project are similar to those of your organization. Certainly, we would want to seek the closest cooperation with the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Equally important, in the event we had to alter our project it seems sensible to consider programs that might supplement your own work or that which might be concerned with a need which the National Council may be unable to meet.

If either you or Mr. Ward have any further ideas on this, these too would be appreciated.

We shall keep you informed.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Frederick Ward, Jr.
530 Littlefield Building
Austin, Texas

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

PREVENTION · CONTROL · TREATMENT

NEW YORK CHICAGO SAN FRANCISCO AUSTIN

New York 10010, 44 East 23 Street, ALgonquin 4-7110

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November 17, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your recent letter and no apology is necessary as we understood you would be spending a very short time here in New York. We would enjoy a visit with you, if time permits, when you are next here.

In the interim, I have forwarded your letter to the attention of our southern regional director, Frederick Ward, Jr., 530 Littlefield Building, Austin, Texas.

The states served by the Southern Regional Council are the same as those served by our southern regional staff and, as you know, one of our functions for many years has been providing surveys and consultation to states and communities on probation, parole, correctional institutions and other programs relating to the prevention, control, and treatment of crime and delinquency. Our southern regional staff would, therefore, have much information

that might be helpful to you in your project. Because what you are undertaking appears to be a service similar to that provided by our organization, it would be helpful to see how we can collaborate and co-ordinate our efforts.

If you can give Mr. Ward additional details of the project you are undertaking it would be helpful in our efforts to refer potential staff for your project.

I am also referring a copy of your letter to our Information Center on Crime and Delinquency in hopes that if you have not already done so you will be willing to register your project with our clearinghouse.

Looking forward to working with you and with best regards,

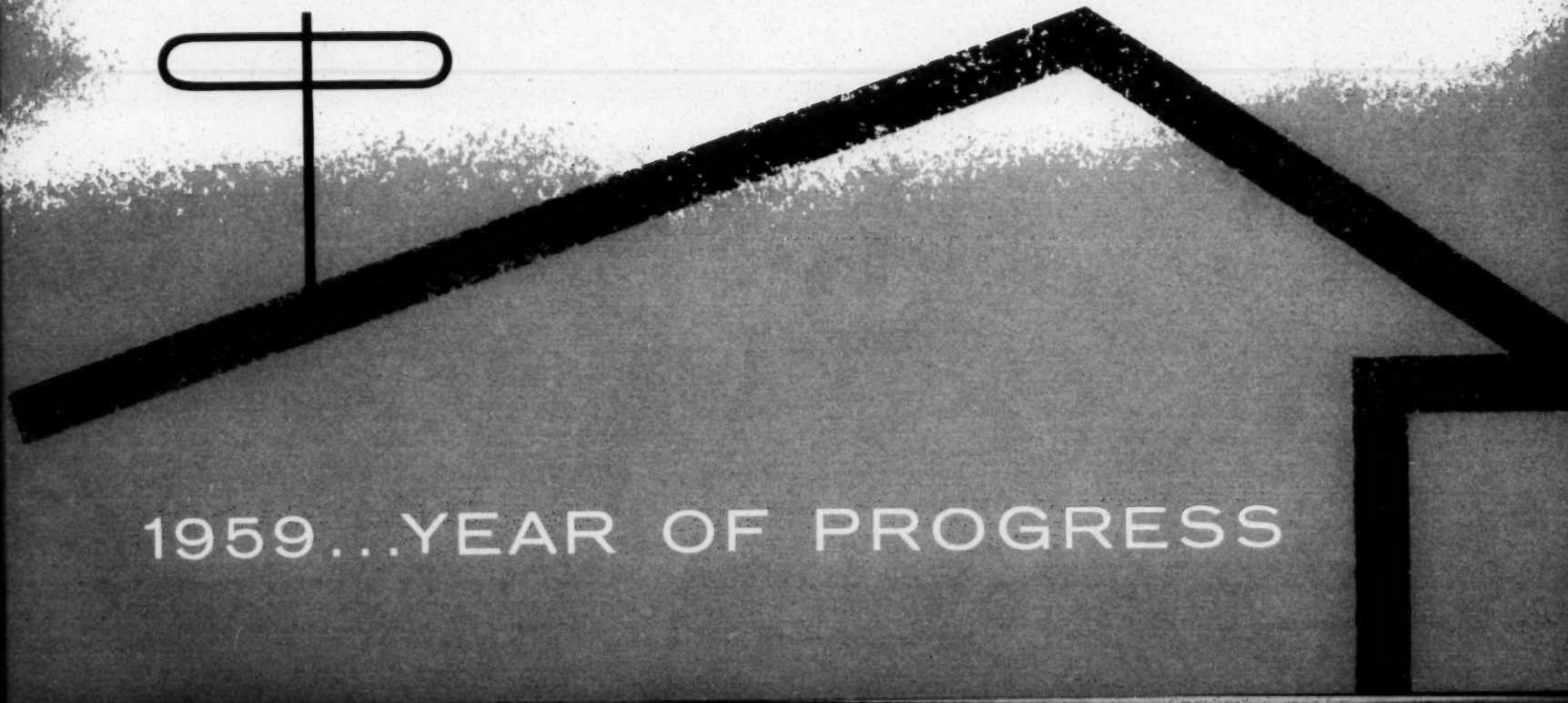
Cordially

Milton G. Rector
Director

MGR:hg

cc: Frederick Ward, Jr., Mrs. Nada Glick (Director, Information Center on Crime and Delinquency), and Christopher Edley

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER



1959...YEAR OF PROGRESS

Executive House 225 East 46th St. New York, N.Y. ELdorado 5-7520

JOEL O'BRIEN PRODUCTIONS INC.

March 20, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street North West, Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am so glad you could arrange to be with us as a guest on BRIEFING SESSION.

1:30 - 2:30 3:00

On this program, which we are calling "With All Deliberate Speed," we will look at the current status of school desegregation. The main focus for the discussion will be the question: Is the South moving with all deliberate speed, as the Court ordered -- Is desegration of schools proceeding fast enough?

As you know, the half hour will open with a short background briefing, which will review the six-year history of desegregation, and indicate to what extent and in which areas schools have been desegregated. Then, with Ed Morgan acting as moderator, we will ask you and our second guest to go into areas such as these:

The impact of desegretation on students and committees affected thus far. Have scholastic standards been affected, social mores changed?

The various devices for blocking integration or keeping it to a minimum - e. g., pupil placement laws. Do they serve a valid social purpose - or not?

Can we expect the still-segregated areas of the South to follow the violent pattern of New Orleans - or the orderly pattern of Houston?

Mr. Fleming

1:30 PM

The program will be prerecorded on Monday, March 27, at the N.Y.U. TV studios in the basement of the Carnegie Building at 345 East 46th Street. We would like you to be with us as close to 10:30 A.M. as possible. This will give us time to clarify discussion points before the actual taping of the program from ~~12 to 12:~~30. 2:30 - 3:00

Please let us know if we can help out with arrangements for your trip.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Seaver

Joan Seaver
Associate Producer

JS:rac

Leaver, Joan
Joel O'Brien Inc.
Productions
225 E. 46th St.
New York, N.Y.

Fleming

BRIEFING SESSION

(WINTER - SPRING SERIES)
1961

PROGRAM #9 "WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED"

DATE: MONDAY, MARCH 27th, 1961

LOCATION: NYU-TV STUDIO
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

HOST: Edward P. Morgan

BRIEFING OFFICER: John MacVane

GUESTS: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council

AND

Mr. Everett Tucker, JR
President of the Little Rock
Arkansas School Board.

PRODUCER: Joel O'Brien

DIRECTOR: Robert Priaulx

(61st Edition)

BRIEFING SESSION OPENING

AUDIO	VIDEO
1. MUSIC: 7 seconds in clear, then under for 21 seconds to conclusion.	1. Universe in motion, spheres and satellites in and out of camera - earth zooms into full screen at end of 5 seconds.
	DISS TO:
2. ANNOUNCER: From New York City, National Educational Television	2. NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION
3. PRESENTS	3. PRESENTS
4. BRIEFING SESSION, the facts behind the issues in the world today.	4. Fast zoom up BRIEFING SESSION. (This wipes out #3)
5. The funds for the production of this program have been provided equally by the AFL-CIO and the National Educational Television and Radio Center.	5. Two lines: AFL-CIO / NETRC } Supered over entwined globes DISS TO: (Letters fade out and globes zoom back to reveal BRIEFING SESSION)
6. Your host: the noted Washington correspondent of the American Broadcasting Company, Edward P. Morgan.	6. BS logo. #6 is held as needed and dissolves to live action in studio.

AUDIO	VIDEO
MORGAN:	
Welcome to another edition of Briefing Session.	MORGAN
Seven years ago the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that racial segregation of schools is unconstitutional and ordered that all public schools be desegregated "with all deliberate speed." Today, however, in four Southern states...Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi ...not a single school district has yet been desegregated. And in six others, less than one percent of the Negro children are now attending school with white youngsters.	
This edition of Briefing Session is studying de-segregation of public schools, and whether the court's edict is being obeyed.	
We have two guests, who are involved with the problem:	CUT TO GUESTS

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director of The Southern Regional Council + Mr. Everett Tucker, JR President of the Little Rock, Arkansas School Board.

MORGAN: (CONT'D)

I'd like to begin with a question to both of you: Is de-segregation of public schools moving fast enough? MORGAN

(GUESTS ANSWER IN TURN) GUESTS

MORGAN:

We'll go further into these opinions, and other aspects of the school problem, in a few moments. But first, with ~~a report on~~ the facts of school de-segregation as it now stands, here is Briefing Session's News Analyst, John MacVane. MORGAN

CUT TO MacVANE

MacVANE: MacVANE

This year, more than 13 million children were enrolled in public schools in the District of Columbia and the 17 states most affected by the Supreme Court's 1954 decision. Upwards of 10 million of those youngsters are white; 3 million are Negro. Of that total, according to the Southern School News, only 200 thousand Negro children are now attending school with whites. That means only one out of 15 Negro children has felt the impact of the Supreme Court decision.

This is a map of the South which has 6,664 school districts.

CELLO #1: SCHOOL DISTRICTS MAP

Only in the shaded areas has school de-segregation become a fact. Nearly all of them, as you can see are in the Northern border states and Texas. The deep south has yet to become involved. And, as a sidelight, two of the counties in the original cases brought before the Supreme Court... Clarendon, in South Carolina,

POINTS OUT CLARENDON AND PRINCE EDWARD COUNTIES

MacVANE: (CONT'D)

CELLO CONTINUES

and Prince Edward, in Virginia... still maintain segregated schools.

CUT TO MacVANE

De-segregation thus far has had three phases.

The first was that of voluntary compliance with the court decision, and involved most of the shaded area you just saw...the border states, the District of Columbia, and parts of Texas and Arkansas. In some big school systems like Louisville, Ky., a special one year period of community preparation preceded actual integration of classes. This phase was largely over by the end of 1956, although some voluntary token de-segregation has continued in North Carolina.

The second phase came in 1956 with compulsory court orders to desegregate communities in the upper south. Little Rock was one of the results of this period.

MacVANE: (CONT'D) MacVANE

In other areas, so-called "token integration" was the rule. For example, in the southern state of Florida only 27 Negro students are now attending ~~Florida~~ white schools. This time also saw the rise of the "pupil placement acts," now in force in nine states. They permit school boards to assign pupils to specific schools after considering such factors as effect on programs, adequacy of preparation, aptitude and the possibility of resulting friction.

The 1960-61 school year marked the beginning of the third phase, involving the great cities of the deep South.

ROLL CUE:
FILM CLIP #1

MacVANE (V.O.) FILM IN

Last fall, Houston, which had maintained the largest segregated school system in the nation, began a grade-a-year de-segregation program at the first grade level. It is to continue for 12 years

HOUSTON GRADE SCHOOLS
...CHILDREN FILE IN

MACVANE (V.O. CONT'D) FILM CONTINUES

until the process is complete. The first step passed off without incident...white and Negro children moving into the same classrooms quietly. But in New Orleans, the other deep South city ordered to de-segregate last year, it was a much different story.

(HOLD TO MOB SCENE)

On November 14, 1960, 4 Negro children were admitted to William Frantz and McDonough #19 elementary schools in New Orleans, to the accompaniment of the most violent segregationist outbreak since the Little Rock disorders of 1957. NEW ORLEANS MOB

Howling crowds of teen-agers and segregationist mothers staged near riots outside the schools involved, and refused to send their own children into classrooms with the Negro youngsters.

Louisiana Governor Jimmie Davis led the state's legal opposition to the de-segregation move. DAVIS

MacVANE: (V.O. CONT'D)

FILM CONTINUES

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Davis and the state legislature first attempted to seize control of the schools, then withheld funds from the New Orleans school board, then rushed through a massive resistance program to interpose the state between the schools and the federal government. Each act was knocked down in the Federal courts, but the fight went on. Private schools were set up outside New Orleans for white students ~~affected~~, and only a handful went back into the ~~affected~~ integrated McDonough and William Frantz grade schools. The few white children who have gone back have been harassed, threatened with violence and ostracized by the white community.

NEW ORLEANS PRIVATE SCHOOL SET UP

Film out

Cut to MacVane

~~FILM OUT.~~

~~CUT TO: MacVANE~~

Two more big southern cities are now under Federal court orders to begin de-segregation in the fall of 1961: Dallas and Atlanta.

The main drama of de-segregation has taken place in the south, but

MacVANE: (CONT'D)

MacVANE

there have also been instances north of the Mason-Dixon line. Within the last two years white parents in both Chicago and Detroit have staged demonstrations protesting the assignment of Negro children to predominantly white schools. The same thing happened in New York City in 1960, when a number of Negro students were transferred to a predominantly white school because of crowding in their own school district.

ROLL CUE: FILM CLIP #2

MacVANE: (V.O.)

FILM IN:

NEW ROCHELLE SCHOOL - NEGROES FILING OUT

And in wealthy New Rochelle, a suburb of New York, a Federal judge in January ordered Lincoln public school "de-segregated." Its attendance was 94 per cent Negro, allegedly by manipulation of school district lines and behind the scenes transfers of white students.

The Lincoln school case was brought by the parents of 11 Negro students who had tried to transfer their children to

MacVANE: (CONT'D) FILM CONTINUES

predominantly white schools outside the district. District Court Judge Irving Kaufman gave the New Rochelle school board until the beginning of the 1961-62 school year to begin desegregating the school. It was the first Northern case to win widespread attention since the Supreme Court decision.

Film out
Cut to MacVane

~~FILM OUT~~

CUT ~~TO MacVANE~~

Undoubtedly, it won't be the last, since "gentlemen's agreements" gerrymandering school districts are not uncommon in the north.

Now back to our guests for their opinions on this vital issue. Ed...

CUT TO MORGAN

MORGAN:

MORGAN

One of the weapons Southern segregationists are using to bypass the court order is that of state grants to private schools. Prince Edward County, in Virginia, one of the original defendants in the Supreme Court case, is an extreme example of the use of that weapon. It has tried to do without public schools at all, and there is NO public education available for Negro children in any form.

Part of discussion but out of Teleprompter

(ED AND GUEST DISCUSSION)

(SUMMARIES)

MORGAN:

Next week Briefing Session will take up our foreign aid program -- ~~a truly revolutionary~~ concept ~~in foreign policy~~. There is a dangerous gap between the advanced, industrial nations of the world and the many underdeveloped countries. How this affects us and what can be done about it are questions we will take up next week when our subject is "Aid for 100 Countries."

BRIEFING SESSION CLOSING

MUSIC UP: MacVANE: (V.O.)	(SUPERED OVER WIDE SHOT OF MORGAN AND GUESTS) SUPER:
1. BRIEFING SESSION was produced by Joel O'Brien.	1. PRODUCED BY JOEL O'BRIEN
2. Associate Producer: Joan Seaver	2. ASSOCIATE PRODUCER: JOAN SEAVER
3. Film Supervisor: Bill Buckley Production Assistant: Barbara Sherman	3. FILM SUPERVISOR: BILL BUCKLEY PRODUCTION ASST: BARBARA SHERMAN
4. Our guests today were Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and Mr. Everett Tucker, Jr. President of the Little Rock Ark. School Board Your host, Edward P. Morgan of ABC and news analyst, John MacVane.	4. (CAMERA PANS GUESTS - NO SUPER)
5. The funds for the production of this program have been provided equally by the AFL-CIO and the National Educational Television and Radio Center.	5. AFL-CIO NETRC
6. (SILENT) MUSIC OUT	6. (C) 1961 NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER MUSIC OUT - SUPER OUT
7. This is NET - National Educational Television.	7. (SLIDE-FULL) NET LOGO

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER
10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE JUDSON 6-0055

April 4, 1961

RECEIVED
APR 7 1961

Mr. Harold Curtis Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is the material on National Educational Television you were interested in during the recording of the BRIEFING SESSION program.

The ninth program of BRIEFING SESSION entitled "With All Deliberate Speed" will appear sonn after April 16.

The enclosed is a rough idea of air dates in various cities.

If you have any further questions, I will be happy to try to answer them.

Cordially,

Ced Frederickson

Ced Frederickson

CF:mh

Enclosures

16 More TV Stations Show 'Briefing' Series

Sixteen additional TV stations will begin showing the AFL-CIO-sponsored "Briefing Session" series the week of March 19, bringing to 53 the total of stations that will currrently be carrying the program. The complete list of commercial and educational outlets is shown below, with additions in bold type:

CITY	STATION		TIME
Albuquerque, N. M.	**KNME**	**(5)**	**Monday, 12:30 p.m.**
			Friday, 6 p.m.
Andalusia, Ala.	WAIQ	(2)	Monday, 6 p.m.
Athens, Ga.	**WGTV**	**(9)**	**Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.**
Atlanta, Ga.	**WETV**	**(30)**	**Wednesday, 8 p.m.**
Birmingham, Ala.	WBIQ	(10)	Monday, 6 p.m.
Boston, Mass.	WGBH	(2)	Monday, 7 p.m.
			Sunday, 2:30 p.m.
Buffalo, N. Y.	**WNED**	**(17)**	**Monday, 9 p.m.**
Chapel Hill, N. C.	**WUNC**	**(4)**	**Wednesday, 8:30 p.m.**
Chattanooga, Tenn.	WTVC	(9)	Sunday, 2 p.m.
Chicago, Ill.	WTTW	(11)	Monday, 8:30 p.m.
Cincinnati, O.	**WCET**	**(48)**	**Tuesday, 9:30 p.m.**
Columbus, O.	WOSU	(34)	Monday, 9 p.m.
Corvallis, Ore.	**KOAC**	**(7)**	**Monday, 8 p.m.**
Dallas, Tex.	KERA	(13)	Monday, 9 p.m.
Denver, Colo.	KRMA	(6)	Monday, 8 p.m.
Des Moines. Ia.	**KDPS**	**(11)**	**Tuesday, 9:30 p.m.**
Detroit, Mich.	WTVS	(56)	Wednesday, 9 p.m.
	WWJ	(4)	Sunday, 11 a.m.
Duluth, Minn.	WDSM	(6)	Beginning early April
East Lansing, Mich.	WMSB	(10)	Thursday, 7 p.m.
			Sunday, 4 p.m.
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	WKJG	(33)	Sunday, 2 p.m.
Gainesville, Fla.	WUFT	(5)	Wednesday, 8:30 p.m.
			Friday, 9:30 p.m.
Greenville, S. C.	WFBC	(4)	Sunday, 2 p.m.
Houston, Tex.	KUHT	(8)	Tuesday, 8 p.m.
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJCT	(7)	Wednesday, 9:30 p.m.
Lincoln, Neb.	KUON	(12)	Monday, 9 p.m.
Louisville, Ky.	**WFPK**	**(15)**	**Monday, 3 p.m.**
Madison, Wis.	**WHA**	**(21)**	**Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.**
Memphis, Tenn.	**WKNO**	**(10)**	**Monday, 9 p.m.**
			Thursday, 4:30 p.m.
Miami, Fla.	WTHS	(2)	Monday, 8:30 p.m.
Milwaukee, Wis.	WMVS	(10)	Wednesday, 5 p.m.
			Friday, 6 p.m.
Munford, Ala.	WCIQ	(7)	Monday, 6 p.m.
New Orleans, La.	WYES	(8)	Wednesday, 8 p.m.
Norman, Okla.	**KETA**	**(13)**	**Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.**
Oxford, O.	**WMUB**	**(14)**	**Tuesday, 7 p.m.**
Philadelphia, Pa.	WHYY	(35)	Friday, 1:40 p.m.
Pittsburgh, Pa.	WQED	(13)	Tuesday, 9:30 p.m.
Portland, Ore.	**KOAP**	**(10)**	**Friday, 8:30 p.m.**
Sacramento, Calif.	KVIE	(6)	Monday, 9 p.m.
Salt Lake City, Utah	KUED	(7)	Thursday, 8 p.m.
San Francisco, Calif	KQED	(9)	Wednesday, 9 p.m.
San Jose, Calif.	KNTV	(11)	Sunday, 3 p.m.
Seattle, Wash.	KCTS	(9)	Friday, 7:30 p.m.
St. Louis, Mo.	KETC	(9)	Thursday, 9 p.m.
St. Paul, Minn.	KTCA	(2)	Friday, 10 p.m.
Tacoma, Wash.	KPEC	(56)	Thursday, 8 p.m.
Tallahassee, Fla.	WFSU	(11)	Monday, 9 p.m.
			Friday, 7:30 p.m.
Tampa, Fla.	WEDU	(3)	Wednesday, 9 p.m.
			Friday, 4:30 p.m.
Toledo, O.	WGTE	(30)	Tuesday, 2:30 p.m.
Tucson, Ariz.	**KUAT**	**(6)**	**Monday, 9 p.m.**
Tulsa, Okla.	**KOED**	**(11)**	**Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.**
Wheeling, W. Va.	WTRF	(7)	Sunday, 11:30 a.m.
Urbana, Ill.	WILL	(12)	Wednesday, 9 p.m.

MF- File

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION
AND RADIO CENTER

WARREN A. KRAETZER
VICE PRESIDENT
FOR DEVELOPMENT

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
JUDSON 6-0055

PROPOSAL FOR AN EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION MOTION PICTURE SERIES

ON

RACIAL DESEGREGATION

THE PROJECT

The plan is to produce 8 one-hour filmed programs on the subject of Racial desegregation as a national problem. The programs would be shown on educational television stations throughout the nation.

The series would be produced by Educational Television Station KETC, St. Louis and sponsored by the National Educational Television and Radio Center, New York City.

Ralph J. Tangney, Director of Special Projects, KETC, would act as Executive Producer and Bradford Whitney, President, Condor Films, Inc., St. Louis, would act as Writer-Producer.

THE PURPOSE

The purpose of this series would be to make an objective study of racial desegregation as a national problem. The series would indicate the nature and extent of segregation as it exists in the North as well as the South, the attitudes which must be recognized or changed, the obstacles which must be overcome and the possible solutions to the problem.

As conceived, the series should provide a means of achieving a better understanding between the races and thereby help to create the atmosphere for an orderly and reasonable solution to this complex social problem burdening our nation.

THE METHOD

The subject of racial desegregation is so vast and complex when an attempt is made to embrace the entire nation as an entity, that an organized method for getting a firm grasp of the subject must be found. This method must give the true national picture, achieve the desired purpose we have delineated and at the same time come within reasonable limitations of time and effort. Sampling is an accepted method of scientific research, provided the samples are in sufficient quantity to justify a conclusion about the whole.

With the above premises in mind, we propose to go into five industrial centers, each as representative as possible of a particular area and regional attitude toward segregation.

The Five Industrial Centers. Even though no two geographical locations are exactly alike in respect to their attitudes and progress toward desegregation, it is reasonable to divide the country into six general areas which have a common denominator of acceptance or resistance to it. Here is the way we categorically define these areas to give us the spectrum with which we would work.

Deep South: Very little desegregation. No opposition to segregation, except in isolated instances. Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina.

Upper South: Inclined toward compliance, but slowed by active opposition. Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Oklahoma, Florida.

Central: Desegregation progressing steadily, but with minor opposition. Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware.

Great Lakes: Desegregation accepted with passive attitude. Opposition is resigned to it. Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio.

North: Desegregation actively accepted with proponents in the majority. New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York.

West: Because of sparse Negro population, desegregation is not yet of appreciable concern.

All of us can of course pick many individual instances which would appear to belie this tabulation, but it is important to remember we are seeking to establish a pattern only, analogous to the way we talk about a Democratic state even though lots of Republicans are active in it.

If this pattern principle is acceptable, then the next step is to select one industrial center in each category which best typifies the norm in that category. It does not have to be geographically centered in the area, but should be the most completely equipped laboratory for the

experiment. This means the city should have a sizeable Negro population, a variety of industries, both as to type and size and varied educational facilities. Because of the first qualifications, the "West" category can be ignored in the series, except as a side issue. This leaves five cities and based on our present research, we suggest these as best qualified to act as the centers for our investigation and for use in the series:

Deep South - Birmingham, Alabama.

Upper South - Greensboro, North Carolina.

Central - St. Louis, Missouri.

Great Lakes - Detroit, Michigan.

North - Boston, Massachusetts.

In the light of further research, it might well be cities other than those listed above would be selected, but we would recommend against the selection of any city which has been such a battleground of segregation that feelings in the community are warped and judgment clouded.

By examining and comparing many different facets of the accommodation of Negroes in each of these cities and then by interpreting the results in the light of probable future trends, we should be able to achieve the intended purposes of the series.

The form that this examination, comparison and interpretation would take is largely explained in the next section, "The Programs". The essence of the project would, however, lie in being able to obtain

the services, as consultants and on-screen narrators, the best informed and most thoughtful authorities on each facet in each city. The term "thoughtful authorities" is used advisedly. When we are discussing employment in large industry, for example, we want some person who is working every day "in the market place" with this facet, yet who has the perspective and knowledge to be able to show us, from his experience, what specific problems must be overcome and what ultimate form desegregation will take in this field. The thoughtful authority we have in mind is not the one who holds an extreme view at either end of the spectrum, not the representative of a militant pressure group, nor any person who is so obsessed with "a cause" that we end up with a discussion of prejudiced generalities. What we want is someone who can say, "Here is what is going on here. Here, specifically, is what we are doing about it. Here is what I think is going to happen and why. Eventually, we'll probably end up here in this way." It follows, of course, that a wide spread of opinion will exist among these participants who will be from many different walks of life.

The manifestations of segregation, isolated case histories and unusual incidents are not a part of this series. The normal events and the day-to-day occurrences are what we are examining for the express purpose of defining what the future holds. That is the objective.

Generally, each program would cover a particular facet of desegregation from the viewpoint of five different cities. Each authority on this facet in his city would, on-screen and in the location where he normally works, make the factual examination and render his interpretation as it applies to his particular work. Our motion picture cameras would, through wide use of "cut-away" shots, show on the screen what he is talking

about, be it schools, housing, religion, or city planning. Thus, we obtain not only a textual comparison between the five locations, but an important visual comparison, each complementing the other. The end result would be a series of filmed interviews, each on a particular facet of desegregation and each giving a comprehensive picture of the probable course of its future development in a particular location.

It should perhaps be said that a number of our thoughtful authorities should be Negroes. Only by getting all sides of the picture can a proper evaluation be made.

The entire series would be held together and unified by a single moderator who would introduce each participant, introduce each program, explain its scope and provide the transitions between locations. In addition to the principal moderator, one or two men "in the field" would be present to ask questions of the participants and to clarify or pull together the presentations of some of the participants. In this way, an added flexibility is obtained. At the conclusion of each show, the principal moderator would outline the problems, attitudes and proposed solutions presented by the participants so that the audience may draw its own conclusions.

THE PROGRAMS

The topics covered by each program would be tentatively as indicated below. It is presumed that each participant will treat the local situation, the problems which must be overcome, the attitudes which must be changed, the efforts being made and with what success and a forecast of the future appearance desegregation will probably take, especially as it applies to the participant's particular subject.

Program #1 THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Where the Negroes originally came from - where the Negro districts are located, where "break-outs" are occurring - existence of tension areas - percentage of Negro to White population and its effect on the problem - existence of other minority groups and their relationship to the Negro groups in regard to economic competition and social status - blighted areas and plans for urban renewal and development - fair housing commissions - prospective or existing legislation in regard to non-discrimination in housing - private housing developments which use public funds made available on condition that there be no discrimination; methods used to circumvent or to comply with these regularions.

Program #2 THE HOME

Fears of Whites which create resistance to Negro infiltration into White neighborhoods - status anxieties, fears of inundation, fears of property value loss, fears of neighborhood deterioration and fears for personal safety - the validity or lack of foundation for these fears - conditions and proper climate necessary for existence of mixed housing -

organized efforts by Whites to preserve "homogeneous" neighborhoods through improvement associations and the like - inability of Negroes to obtain mortgage loans, except for purchase of homes in Negro neighborhoods - policy of real estate boards and brokers - evidences of successful desegregation in housing - "quota" systems, interracial block associations - instances of high-income Negro families living in high-income White neighborhoods where status anxiety does not exist.

Program #3 THE SCHOOLS

Reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court Decision - attitudes of school boards and city elected officials in regard to compliance or circumvention of the Federal implementation decrees - attitudes of White parents in regard to desegregated schools and also having Negro teachers for their children - attitudes of Negro parents and groups in regard to the "separate, but equal school" policy - local and state laws which resist school desegregation and background which brought these laws into being - legally sanctioned plans which obey the letter of the law but impede its free operation (student placement plans, etc.) - comparative quality of schools in segregated areas - effect of segregated schools on White and on Negro children (ambition factor in Negro children) - economic effect of the 1954 Decision on the schools (Birmingham's inability to have any school bonds passed) - the private school and its acceptance or rejection of desegregation - the relation between housing segregation and school segregation (one exists with the other).

Program #4 THE WAGE EARNER

Hiring policies and practices in large plants - non-traditional jobs on the assembly line - opportunities for up-grading Negroes - racial practices in the white-collar field in industries - successes and lack thereof in plants which adhere to a non-segregated employment policy - methods used to overcome prejudice in plants which adopt a policy of non-segregation - policies and practices (not necessarily the same) of unions on the national level and on the local level in regard to admission to apprenticeship training and promotion - efforts on the part of unions to maintain Negro rights in a plant - attitudes of white workers who work alongside Negroes in same type of jobs - extent of association between White and Negro workers in off-job situations - the Negro opportunity for non-traditional work in public service jobs (Police, fire department, city hall, courts, etc.) and in public utilities (telephone company, electric company) and as sales clerks in stores - laws and public policies which further or impede non-discrimination in employment (FEP laws, newspaper classified advertising "Help-Colored")

Program #5 BUSINESS, PROFESSIONS AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Survey of the "successful" Negroes in the community, business executives, architects, salesmen, engineers, technicians, attorneys, newspaper editors, scientists, elected officials and civic leaders - the problems these people had to overcome, because of their race - the extent of association between Negro and White professionals in the same field - admittance of Negroes to membership in business and professional clubs and societies - how much and in what ways the Negro professional depends for his tenure and success upon the White community - the special diplomacy and efforts which must be exerted by a professional, because he is colored

- survey of particular fields still closed to the Negro and reasons for this segregation, as well as attitudes which must be changed to open these fields to him - the opportunity for college education for the normal as well as the intellectually outstanding Negro- segregation policies in admissions to colleges and universities - comparison of academic quality of Negro colleges with White - the opportunity for the Negro college graduate - where the Negro Freshmen come from and where the graduates go - the policy in regard to on-campus residence of Negroes in desegregated colleges and extent of social mixing - fraternities and sororities.

Program #6 LAWS AND CUSTOMS

Survey of existing state and local laws and ordinances, as well as tacit policies which affect discrimination, either to preserve it or to remove it - how these laws and customs came into being and how successfully they operate - the places and institutions affected by public mixing of the races (busses, waiting rooms, swimming pools, libraries, hotels, restaurants, taverns, golf courses, parks, auditoriums, theaters, drive-ins ... and laundromats) - relation of experiences by Negroes of their feelings in regard to discrimination (this is the only place in the series where a personal and subjective treatment is desirable).

Program #7 THE DEPENDENT

The destitute Negro who is a public charge, the economic and social reasons for his prevalence and efforts made to remove him from the welfare rolls - infant and old-age care of the Negro population and evidences of discrimination therein - problems of economic security of the elderly Negro, his inability to provide for his old-age - racial

policies and practices of large public and private hospitals in regard to patient admittance and segregation in wards - reasons for racial segregation in those hospitals where it exists - quality of Negro hospitals in comparison to White, both in calibre of staff as well as accommodations - evidences of consultation and opportunities for exchange of professional information between Negro and White physicians and surgeons - opportunities for Negro nurses in both training and in employment in other than White institutions.

Program #8 COMMUNICATIONS

A study of the opportunities and lack thereof for Whites to become acquainted with Negroes in other than menial positions and its effect on White prejudice or compassion toward the Negro - the success and failure of organizations dedicated to increasing inter-racial communication - the efforts of the churches to encourage communication and their success or failure - methods of excluding Negroes from white social and civic organizations and the reasons therefor (political clubs, service clubs, Boy Scouts, etc.) - effect of moral leadership of White and Negro pastors for desegregation on their congregations - the extent of communication between Negro and White church leaders - the varied problems peculiar to White churches in transition areas where the church either flees to the white suburb or accommodates to a mixed congregation.

September 30, 1953

Mr. William G. Carr,
Executive Secretary
National Education
Association of the
United States
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carr:

I am most grateful for your kind and helpful letter of September 28th.

I have sent the new pamphlet out to each of the eleven members on your Executive Committee as you suggested.

I hate to send a bill, but we are so poor we need to; and here is a modest one.

Perhaps your NEA Magazine would care to list the pamphlet. Doubtless that would give it a much broader circulation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES
1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

WILLIAM A. EARLY
PRESIDENT

WILLIAM G. CARR
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 28, 1953

RECEIVED
SEP 30
Southern

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for sending me your interesting booklet. I have examined it with interest.

The first thing I did with it was to take it into our Executive Committee which happened to be in session at the time. I would appreciate it if you would send a copy to each member of the Executive Committee; their names and addresses are given on the enclosed sheet.

If there is a bill for such material, please send it to me for payment.

I think it is an extremely important and useful job to inform local public opinion, so that when the issue is decided by the supreme court there will be a minimum of confusion.

I want, particularly, to commend your action in sending the pamphlet to the Secretaries of the White and Negro State Education Associations in the South. These men and women can play a crucial role.

Very truly yours,

William G. Carr

William G. Carr,
Executive Secretary

WGC:lm
Enclosure
cc: Members of the Executive Committee

September 22, 1953

Mr. William G. Carr, Executive Secretary
The National Educational Association
1201 16th Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carr:

I hope this booklet will earn a minute or two of your attention.

We have just got it out. We want it to be used by local Southern discussion groups, bi-racial wherever possible. Object: To better inform the local public opinion, so that when the issue is decided by the Court there will be less confusion.

I have sent it about widely to church leaders, t labor people and other heads of each Southern State Educational Association and to the Secretaries of the various Southern Associations of Negro teachers

You will see that it tries to be balanced and temperal.

If NEA likes it, I hope you can find some way of helping us to get it spread about and used more widely.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

October 1, 1953

Mr. S. David Stoney
State Department of Education
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Stoney:

At the request of Mr. William G. Carr of NEA, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of a pamphlet we have just put out. It tries to be a temperate and balanced treatment of the current school issues before the Supreme Court.

We are in hopes that it will be widely used by local discussion groups, especially in the South, as a means of getting in as many counties as possible, at least a small body of people who understand the issues and can help the general public in avoiding confusion when the Court does finally make its ruling.

If you think well of the pamphlet and care to suggest ways in which its distribution can be furthered, we would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

October 1, 1953

Miss Martha A. Shull
1111 S. E. 113th Avenue
Portland 16, Oregon

Dear Miss Shull:

At the request of Mr. William G. Carr of NEA, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of a pamphlet we have just put out. It tries to be a temperate and balanced treatment of the current school issues before the Supreme Court.

We are in hopes that it will be widely used by local discussion groups, especially in the South, as a means of getting in as many counties as possible, at least a small body of people who understand the issues and can help the general public in avoiding confusion when the Court does finally make its ruling.

If you think well of the pamphlet and care to suggest ways in which its distribution can be furthered, we would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

h. E A

October 1, 1953

Mr. Colon L. Schaibly, Principal
Roosevelt School
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Dear Mr. Schaibly:

At the request of Mr. William G. Carr of NEA, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of a pamphlet we have just put out. It tries to be a temperate and balanced treatment of the current school issues before the Supreme Court.

We are in hopes that it will be widely used by local discussion groups, expecially in the South, as a means of getting in as many counties as possible, at least a small body of people who understand the issues and can help the general public in avoiding confusion when the Court does finally make its ruling.

If you think well of the pamphlet and care to suggest ways in which its distribution can be furthered, we would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES
1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

WILLIAM A. EARLY
PRESIDENT

WILLIAM G. CARR
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Savannah, Georgia
October 2, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 5
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the pamphlet, "The Schools and the Courts", sent me at the request of Dr. Carr.

I think it to be enlightening and vital to the average layman - especially in the South.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Early

W. A. Early, President
National Education Association

WAE/bwm

TEXAS EDUCATION AGENCY

AUSTIN, TEXAS

DIVISION OF
PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

RECEIVED
OCT 12

October 7, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I sincerely appreciate the copy of THE SCHOOLS AND THE COURTS which you have sent to me at the request of Dr. William Carr. I shall be happy to read the pamphlet in order that I may have the benefit of the thinking of the Southern Regional Council on this very important matter effecting the schools of our nation.

Thank you for your kindness in sending the pamphlet.

Very sincerely yours

Waurine Walker

WAURINE WALKER
Director
Teacher Relations and Certification

WW:em

NEA

September 30, 1953

Miss Waurine Walker,
First Vice President
Texas Education Agency
Austin, Texas

Dear Miss Walker:

At the request of Mr. William Carr of NEA, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of a pamphlet we have just put out, It tries to be a temperate and balanced treatment of the current school issues before the Supreme Court.

We are in hopes that it will be widely used by local discussion groups, especially in the South, as a means of getting in as many counties as possible, at least a small body of people who understand the issues and can help the general public in avoiding confusion when the Court does finally make its ruling.

If you think well of the pamphlet and care to suggegest ways in which its distribution can be furthered, we would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

December sixteen, 1953

National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street N W
Washington, D C

Dear Sirs:

We would like to print, perhaps in our small magazine NEW SOUTH, a model teacher tenure law. One of the perplexities of de-segregation is how to protect the tenure of Negro teachers and we would like to get the South to do some thinking about it.

Can you point us to a model teacher tenure law and perhaps some facts about states which have or have not approved laws of this kind?

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Sent assortment
NS 4-13-54
Cat

A 14

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 6, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Office of Education is cooperating with the Joint Committee of the National Education Association and American Teachers Association in developing a packet of materials on intergroup education for leaders of adult community groups. The purpose of this packet is to provide a limited amount of essential materials that will set forth the fundamental principles of intergroup education and describe certain good practices in the field. It will also provide a list of additional materials (other than those in the packet), including audio visual aids, and a guide or manual on the use of the packet and for further study of the subject.

The emphasis in the packet will be on broad, general principles and practices, relating to adult education, rather than on any one particular ethnic, social, economic, cultural, or religious group. However, it should be especially useful at this time in light of the current discussion of segregation and the possible Supreme Court decision.

We are now assembling materials for our committee to study and evaluate and from which they will select the essential items for the packet. In this connection, I am writing you for some specific assistance which I believe your organization is able to give and, which I hope, willing to give.

1. We should like to have sample copies of your materials or publications which you think would be particularly useful in such a packet as indicated above. If you cannot donate the samples, please send them on approval subject to return. If this is against your policy, let us know the price of the materials you suggest.

2. If possible we should like to have you call our attention to materials other than your own which might be considered.

3. If you know of any films, recordings, exhibits, scripts, etc. that might be useful, we would appreciate your telling us about them.

4. If you know of any one who could serve as a resource person or consultant in this field, or any place where a particularly good job of intergroup education has been carried on, please tell us about them.

Any help you can give us in the matter will be appreciated and a prompt reply will facilitate our work greatly. If you are not the proper person to answer the request will you kindly refer it to the proper person. Thanks.

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose

Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner
and
Chairman, Subcommittee on Intergroup
Education of NEA-ATA Joint Committee

Q+A checklist
meeting speech
Lect. Research
Cit cell
Lib issue
Write & Follow up
Income
Race + Law Bibliography
etc.

A H

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 19, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This letter is written to acknowledge your kind reply to our inquiry concerning materials in intergroup relations and to express our appreciation for your assistance.

We are in process of evaluating the materials submitted by the various groups for inclusion or reference in the packet which we are developing. When this phase of the project has been completed, we shall be pleased to contact you again with respect to our financial obligation to your organization.

Meanwhile, our deep appreciation is again expressed for your interest in and support of our project.

Sincerely yours,

Ambrose Caliver

Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner
and
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Intergroup Education
NEA-ATA Joint Committee

NEA-ATA Joint Committee

Project on Intergroup Education

1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

August 12, 1955

Representing NEA:

A. C. Capps
School of Education
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri

P. H. Easom
Supervisor, Negro Schools
State Department of Education
Jackson, Mississippi

Sarah L. Leiter
Suitland High School
Suitland, Maryland

J. Rupert Picott
Executive Secretary
Virginia Teachers Association
Clay Street at Fourth
Richmond, Virginia

Paul Rankin
Assistant Superintendent of Schools
Detroit, Michigan

R. B. Marston, Director
Membership Division
National Education Association
Washington 6, D. C.
Liaison Officer

Representing ATA:

Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner
Chief, Adult Education Section
U. S. Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Robert C. Hatch, Supervisor
State Department of Education
Montgomery, Alabama

Walter N. Ridley
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

H. Councill Trenholm
Executive Secretary
American Teachers Association
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mary L. Williams
Garnet High School
Charleston, West Virginia
Chairman

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Dr. Ambrose Caliver has turned over to me the list of officers of the Southern Regional Council which you kindly forwarded to him on August 2.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which we have today forwarded to these officers regarding the materials on Intergroup Education compiled by the Committee.

We hope that we may be of service to the Council members in the excellent work being undertaken by your organization. Please let us hear from you if we may be of assistance.

Most cordially yours,

B. Allen

(Mrs.) B. W. Allen
Special Assistant

Enclosure

SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION AND THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION,
WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

NEA-ATA Joint Committee

Project on Intergroup Education

1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

Representing NEA:

A. C. Capps
School of Education
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri

P. H. Easom
Supervisor, Negro Schools
State Department of Education
Jackson, Mississippi

Sarah L. Leiter
Suitland High School
Suitland, Maryland

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Assistant Superintendent of Schools
Detroit, Michigan

R. B. Marston, Director
Membership Division
National Education Association
Washington 6, D. C.
Liaison Officer

Representing ATA:

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Assistant to the Commissioner
Chief, Adult Education Section
U. S. Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Robert C. Hatch, Supervisor
State Department of Education
Montgomery, Alabama

Walter N. Ridley
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

H. Councill Trenholm
Executive Secretary
American Teachers Association
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mary L. Williams
Garnet High School
Charleston, West Virginia
Chairman

Copy

Dear Co-worker:

We enclose folders which announce the availability of materials relating to Intergroup Education compiled by our Committee. This project was initiated some years ago without reference to the segregation question and is much broader than that particular issue. However, it has been useful to groups and individuals in schools and communities in defining and attacking the problems of desegregation.

We have assembled selected readings, reference materials, and aids from publications in the field of Intergroup Relations into:

(1) a Kit - designed for teacher-education institutions,
(2) a Packet - designed primarily for adult community leaders.

(These items are being distributed on a loan basis from our office.)

The LEADERS' GUIDE, which is included in the Packet, is prepared with a view of providing group leaders with an over-all orientation to the several aspects of the problems involved in achieving improved human relations. It is also useful for independent study and may be secured separately for $1.00.

If, after reading the folders, you believe the materials will be useful and of interest to you, we hope to hear from you. We would like to inquire if you would be willing to distribute copies of the folders in your community. Our office will also be pleased to forward announcements of the availability of the materials to any individuals or organizations you suggest.

We hope that we may be of service in providing copies of the Kit and the Packet to assist in community and organizational activities in the area of improved human relations.

Most cordially yours,

Ambrose Caliver
Ambrose Caliver, Chairman
Sub-committee on Intergroup Education

R. B. Marston
R. B. Marston, Liaison Officer
National Education Association

SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION AND THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

October 20, 1955

HCF:

This seems to be the contents of a kit on intergroup education, distributed by the National Education Association. I had the document from a Southern Presbyterian Conference yesterday.

GSM/eab
Encl.

July 5, 1961

Mr. Howard Dawson
Executive Secretary
Department of Rural Education
National Education Association
1201 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dawson:

Thank you for your letter of June 28, addressed to Harold Fleming. Mr. Fleming is no longer with with Council, but is now Vice President of the Potomac Institute in Washington.

I regret that I will be unable to accept your invitation to the National Conference of Rural Education. Best wishes in your planning.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

DEPARTMENT OF
Rural Education
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
1201 16th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

LWD

SM

June 28, 1961

Please write my regrets Fleming gone, I can't

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

The Department of Rural Education will hold its 1961 National Conference in Pittsburgh, September 29-October 1. This will be followed by the Annual Conference of the Division of County and Rural Area Superintents with sessions extending through the dinner meeting on Tuesday evening, October 3. You are most cordially invited to attend either or both of these conferences.

Enclosed are releases which indicate the general plans for these two meetings. You will note that the Department, in its sessions on Friday and Saturday, continues to explore the implications of our changing social and economic situation for education and particularly for the education of children, young people, and adults living in rural areas and our smaller communities. The county superintendents' group has selected as its major emphasis, "Facing up to Change."

You will note that Sunday, October 1, is an overlapping day planned for participants in both conferences. Special activities have been planned which will be of general interest.

Please let us know whether you personally can attend. If not, you may wish to designate an alternate representative. We will be pleased to make available to you, or your representative, a guest card authorizing participation without payment of the registration fee.

Very sincerely yours,

Clifford P. Archer
Clifford P. Archer
President

Howard A. Dawson
Howard A. Dawson
Executive Secretary

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Clifford P. Archer, President
James O. Ansel (1962)
Ernest M. Codding (1963)
Mitchell Davis (1964)
J. C. Fitzgerald, President Elect
Francis E. Griffin (1964)
Melvin Gruwell (1961)
John E. Mongon (1963)
W. E. Bishop, Past President
Mrs. Winnafern H. Moore (1965)
W. E. Pafford (1961)
Ruth M. Richerson (1965)
Howard A. Dawson, Ex. Secretary
Merle A. Stoneman (1962)
Cecil D. Hardesty, County Supts. Div.
Louis A. Yandell, Transp. Div.

National Education Association

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.
ADAMS 4-4848

MA-file

COMMISSION ON
PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

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Professor of Education
Cedar Falls, Iowa

AUDRA MAY PENCE, Vice Chairman
Classroom Teacher
Elmhurst, Illinois

MRS. LOUISE BENNETT
Teaching Principal
Holden, Utah

MRS. HAZEL A. BLANCHARD
President, NEA
Fresno, California

MRS. BERTHA P. BOYD
State Educational Program Specialist
Harrisburg, Pa.

WILLIAM G. CARR
Executive Secretary, NEA

RAY M. COHRS
Classroom Teacher
Seattle, Washington

MATHILDA A. GILLES
Principal, Richmond School
Salem, Oregon

WAYMAN R. F. GRANT, SR.
Principal, Booker T. Washington Jr. H.S.
Mobile, Alabama

MRS. ELIZABETH D. KOONTZ
Classroom Teacher
Salisbury, N. C.

NATHAN E. KULLMAN, JR.
Assistant Executive Secretary
New York State Teachers Association
Albany, New York

LAFE NELSON
Superintendent of Schools
Safford, Arizona

RAYMOND H. OSTRANDER
Professor of Education
Boston, Mass.

FRANCIS C. ROSECRANCE
Dean, College of Education
Detroit, Michigan

STAFF

RICHARD B. KENNAN
Executive Secretary

VIRGINIA KINNAIRD
Associate Executive Secretary

OWEN LOVE
Legal Counsel

EDWIN W. DAVIS
Associate Secretary

RICHARD L. MORGAN
Associate Legal Counsel

JOHN H. MARVIN
Associate Secretary

NEOMA M. STOUT
Program Assistant

BARBARA A. BYERS
Technical Writer

BERNICE C. BRIGHAM
Administrative Assistant

November 13, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

The NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, formerly the NEA Defense Commission, is planning an Off-Record Conference on the Critics of Education and related topics. The meeting is set for Monday, December 10, 1962, at the NEA Headquarters Building, Washington, D.C. The sessions will begin at 9:30 A.M. and conclude at 4:00 P.M. with a luncheon session at 12:00 Noon.

All sessions will be in the 8th floor Horace Mann Meeting Room, except the luncheon. The Commission will be pleased to welcome representatives of your organization as its guests for the luncheon session in the State Dining Room on the first floor. In the interest of general participation, we suggest that each organization limit itself to two or three representatives at this conference.

The Off-Record Conference is a chance for you to express yourself freely and not be quoted or publicized in any way. In line with the last year's recommendations, a summary will be prepared with pertinent conclusions without mentioning names or organizations contributing the points or items of information.

Developments since our last conference have made us believe it will be wise to devote the morning session to discussions of the recent activities of the destructive critics of education (including the rightist groups), and the afternoon session to the matter of effective ways of dealing with censorship problems. Other topics of current interest include: rightist influence at recent elections, and the 1962 National Survey of Critics and Criticisms. There will be a few brief talks at each session. The major emphasis will be on discussions and sharing of the latest information and successful techniques in meeting these problems.

We shall look forward to meeting with you or your representatives at the December 10 meeting. It would help us if you could let us know whether or not you could attend by returning the enclosed questionnaire. We would also appreciate any suggestions as to discussion topics and other groups that might be included.

Some of the persons accepting places on our program and their topics, to date are:

Dr. Erling Hunt, T. C., Columbia University - "Censorship Then and Now"

Mr. Wesley McCune, Group Research - "Round-up of Rightists' Influence in Recent Elections"

Miss Barbara Byers - "State of the Nation Report on Critics, 1962"

Dr. Glenn Snow - "Teaching About Communism"

Cordially yours,

Richard B. Kennan

Richard Barnes Kennan
Executive Secretary

E. W. Davis

Edwin W. Davis
Associate Secretary
for Special Studies

Enclosure: Questionnaire

NEA COMMISSION ON PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

OFF-RECORD CONFERENCE CONCERNING CRITICS OF EDUCATION

Monday, December 10, 1962, 9:30 A.M.

1. Would your organization send one to three representatives to the Off-Record Conference to be held on December 10, 1962?

   Yes _____ No _____

2. Who would represent your organization at this conference?

   Name Address

   1. _____

   2. _____

   3. _____

3. What topics would you particularly like to have discussed at this conference?

   _____

   _____

   _____

_____ _____
(Name) (Position)

_____
(Organiation)

_____
(Address)

_____
(Date)

PLEASE RETURN BY DECEMBER 1 OR SOONER
To: NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities
1201 - 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

100--11/1/62

Nat'l Orgs - Negro

Tuesday, July 8, 1952

Meeting of Advisory Committee (in process of formation)
on "Two-Way Integration Program"

Tentative Committee

Robert C. Weaver, Chairman
Kenneth Clark
Leonard Covello
Dan Dodson
Oscar Lee
George Mitchell

and NSSFNS Staff

Richard L. Plaut
Joseph F. Sturm
Nell Cochrane
Kenneth Kurts
Paul F. Lawrence, Consultant

College interracial committees

Quakers
Some College Dns of Admissions
College Religious Advisers
Journalists
YWCA Veterans Servicing Agencies
Some YMCA
& full-time man or woman travelling recruiters
John Ivy etc.
Area Univ. Staff
White Theo. Seminary
Good white College officials
Leading N. educators
N. State Agents
ADL - AJC
SRC people (church)
Women leaders
Ministerial leaders
N.S.A.
CIO staff

AGENDA

I. Outline of purpose and scope of program

a) Purpose
b) Scope
c) NSSFNS role
d) Financial support
e) Local groups
f) Purpose of advisory committee

II. Selection of colleges (see tentative list attached)

a) Special state or regional situations, problems, and climate
b) Criteria for selection

1) White colleges
2) Negro colleges

c) Equating the two groups
d) Mechanics of arrangements with colleges selected

III. Recruitment and selection of students

a) Negro students (NSSFNS experience)
b) White students (from the North and South)

1) Recruitment sources: schools, community organizations, church groups, etc.
2) Recruitment methods and pitch, i.e., experience of already enrolled students
3) Selection, screening, and equating of groups: (particularly for motivation)

IV. Setting up of local (mixed) groups for recruitment and selection

a) Reasons therefore
b) Selection methods and personnel

V. Extent of follow-up study, i.e., are there any factors to be considered in follow-up not already considered for recruitment, selection, and equating?

VI. Suggestions for additional members of permanent advisory committee for the "two-way integration" program

Tentative and Partial List of Colleges for "Two-Way Integration Program"

	White	Negro
Alabama		The Presby one C Talladega (? new admin.) Tuskegee?
D. C.	C Catholic Univ C Georgetown W Dumbarton C American Univ.	C Howard
Kentucky	C Berea W Nazareth W Ursuline	
Maryland	M,W Johns Hopkins M St. Johns	
Missouri	C Park College C St. Louis Univ.	
North Carolina	C Black Mountain College Mars Hill?	Bennet? Pembroke State?
Pennsylvania		M Lincoln Univ.
Tennessee	Maryville Tusculum	C Fisk Univ. Mehorry?
Texas	C Southern Methodist Univ. (?) SMU W Our Lady of the Lake C Southwestern Univ. C Wayland Baptist College	C Jarvis Christian (?)
Virginia	M Randolph Macon (?) Kings	C Hampton Institute Va. Union
West Virginia	Blue field U. of R. C Bethany College (?) C Davis & Elkins College (?) C West Virginia Wesleyan	
Louisiana	(? Whole state in doubt because unvisited) Centenary?	
	M,W Loyola C Tulane	C Dillard C Xavier

Flo. Lakeland – Stetson possible

SC – Benedict

Ga. Oglethorpe

Not / Orig. — No.

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS
31 West 110th Street, New York 26

July 16, 1952

RECEIVED JUL 21 1952 Interreligious Council

MEMORANDUM

TO : MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE "TWO-WAY INTEGRATION" PROGRAM

FROM: RICHARD L. PLAUT

RE : FIRST MEETING, JULY 8, 1952

TENTATIVE COMMITTEE

Robert C. Weaver, Chairman
Kenneth Clark
Leonard Covello
Dan Dodson
Cecar Lee
(represented by Alfred Kramer)
George Mitchell

NSSFNS STAFF

Richard L. Plaut
Joseph F. Sturm
Nell M. Cochrane
Kenneth R. Kurtz
Paul F. Lawrence, Consultant

I am sending you this memorandum about the proceedings of last week's meeting for reference and refresher purposes in anticipation of future meetings, whenever they may occur. I thought this form would be of more practical use than formal minutes.

I. Outline of purpose and scope of "Two-Way Integration Program"

The "two-way integration program" was outlined briefly as follows:

a) Purpose - A pilot project to accelerate the use of newly-created opportunities for racial integration in institutions of higher education in the South as a result of recent favorable court decisions and changing public opinion.

b) Scope - The project as tentatively planned will be limited to private undergraduate colleges including the church-related ones. It will probably involve, in the beginning, from ten to twelve predominantly white southern colleges and five to six additional predominantly Negro colleges. It is hoped that about one hundred Negro students and fifty white students will be involved in the first phase of the program.

c) NSSFNS role - To bring into the program selected colleges which will admit students of the opposite race; to recruit, select, counsel and refer qualified students for admission and scholarship assistance at those colleges; to provide them with supplementary scholarship aid, when needed; and to carry on a follow-up study of the effects of the program on the students, the campuses, and the surrounding communities.

d) Financial support - About 20% of the total needs of the program has already been allocated by a local foundation. It is hoped that the balance will be obtained from another national foundation.

e) Recruitment methods - It is hoped that the recruiting of qualified and interested high school students will be done through local groups set up in each community by our staff members, as well as through the high schools and existing community organizations.

II. Selection of Colleges (see tentative list attached)

a) Special Situations in Regions Significant to the Program - Dr. Mitchell briefly described the differing regional situations in the South and confirmed our original judgment that the program could only be successful in those regions with at least a moderately favorable climate, namely, the thirteen border states and the District of Columbia. Dr. Mitchell also confirmed our original view that no progress would be made at this time in Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida or Louisiana, excepting New Orleans and Shreveport. He also emphasized that the climate in the communities surrounding the colleges might be even more important than the broad state situation. In general, areas in which the Negro population is thinnest, will be the most fruitful areas in which to get started.

Dr. Mitchell advised that the program must be handled through devoted people, and with as little publicity as possible. The liberals in the South say that "anything can be done, if it is done quietly."

b) Criteria for Selection of Colleges - It was the consensus of opinion that colleges selected for the program should have the following characteristics:

1) All of the colleges selected should have sufficient status and accreditation virtually to assure graduates entrance to the graduate or professional schools of their choice.

2) The Negro and white groups of colleges, respectively, should be in approximate balance in academic standing.

3) No more than 1/3 of the efforts of the program should go into the enrollment of students of the opposite race in colleges already having more than three or four such students.

4) The names of several colleges not on the original list were suggested as possibilities by various members of the Committee.

c) Dr. Mitchell proposed that foundations should be sought which would be receptive to making gifts to colleges willing to break down segregation barriers and, conversely, which would withhold them from those clinging to a segregated pattern. The same idea would hold for large national church groups and their affiliated colleges.

d) Mechanics for Arrangements with Colleges Selected - After considerable discussion, it was agreed that, in principle, colleges should be solicited for the program individually and brought together as a group only after, or towards the end of, the first year of the program's operation.

III. Recruitment and selection of students

a) Negro Students - In general, it was agreed that the NSSFNS experience in the recruitment of Negro students was sufficient to make much discussion on this point unnecessary. The following new suggestions were made, however:

1) To be as aware of the surrounding community's attitudes as of those of the colleges.

2) To refer students to colleges having the same religious, regional, or socio-economic background as the student.

b) White Students - Recruitment

1) Recruitment Sources in the South - Church leaders, particularly women, some ministers, NEA representatives, CIO community relations representatives, ADL, AJC, ACLU, ADA, and NAACP branches, as well as the Negro state agent of each state education Department (Dr. Mitchell agreed to furnish lists of individuals in these various groups and to write letters to each about the program, as well as the names of the members of the regional and affiliated committees of the Southern Regional Council.)

2) Recruitment Sources in the North - Dr. Covalle suggested the use of selected New York City high school principals whom he would call together. He felt that other minority groups represented in the New York City high schools would be a fruitful local source from which to recruit white students.

3) Recruitment Methods - It was agreed that white students could be best recruited in the South through southern whites and Negroes, through Negroes, in both instances, with as little publicity as possible. It was further suggested that the encouragement of transfer and exchange students, particularly between southern Negro and white schools, would be a helpful stimulant to the project.

4) It was felt also that the distinction should be maintained between recruitment and selection. It was felt that recruitment and preliminary screening could be effectively done by local committees but that final screening should be left to professional staff.

c) White Students - Selection and Screening

1) It was agreed that the most important factor in the selection and screening of students was healthy motivations. Suggested healthy motivations were: 1) a major interest in sociology, 2) financial need, 3) a unique or superior curriculum in a given field obtainable at a college, predominantly of the other race, 5) convenient geographical location and 6) the successful experiences of other students who have already attended colleges of the other race.

2) Dr. Clark made the following recommendations with respect to screening for motivations: a) white students from the North should not be selected for top scholastic excellence only but for all-around qualities, such as extra-curricular achievement, good social adjustment, leadership, etc., b) that by far the most effective method for screening out the neurotically motivated student would be the administration of combined Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests. If the administration of these tests (approximately $25 per student) is beyond the financial means of the project, he recommended the use of careful interviewing by skilled interviewers rather than the use of paper and pencil, personality tests. He recommended that the approach to interviewing be general rather than by the direct question method.

IV. Follow-Up Study

This topic was left for consideration at a future meeting.

V. Additional Advisory Committee Members

It was agreed that, in addition to the present members of the Committee,

there should be added a representative of the admissions office or administration of each college involved in the program, as well as a few selected high school principals or guidance counselors.

The deep appreciation of board and staff of the NSSFNS is again expressed to members of the Committee who have given and have promised to give so generously of their time and energy.

R.L.P.

N SS F VS

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

JUL 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

Date July 17, 1952

To: David Swift

From: Ralph Rose

Subject: Job opening - National Scholarship Service and Funds for Negro Students

Last week George Mitchell visited with me at Pendle Hill, and he indicated that Richard Plant of the above service would be interested in filling a number of jobs. These jobs have to do with his project of integrating Negroes into so-called "white colleges", and integrating white students into "Negro colleges". He would prefer to have someone who has experience in college placement and admission work and could be either Negro or white. The person should be reasonably young so easy rapport with students could be developed. The job will consist of a great deal of travel in the south on both the recruiting and replacement operation, and I hope that if you have someone in your files who might not have been entirely suitable for college secretary, or who otherwise might meet the requirements very generally set forth above, that you would put them directly in contact with Richard Plant at the National Scholarship Service and Funds for Negro Students, 31 West 110th Street, New York City 26, N. Y. Thank you very much.

RAR:s
cc: George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council
Ruth Morton,
Dick Bennett
Jack Wilmore

Nat'l S.S.

August 7, 1952

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
National Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students
31 W. 110th St.
New York 26, N. Y.

Dear Dick:

I would advise you to go to some trouble to clinch your possible arrangements with Grace Hamilton. She is incomparable, and you could not further your plans better than by getting a slice of her time.

Josephine Wilkins we know well and greatly admire. She is white, perhaps 45, and possessed of a small independent income by reason of family ownership of a cotton mill. She was brought up in Athens, Georgia, with a close relationship to the University of Georgia. As a young woman she shook loose from the conservative nexus of cotton mill owners in her family, came over to Atlanta, and began to work at good causes.

Her great achievement in the last ten years was the Georgia Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement. Miraculously, this concerned a whole string of agencies—labor, farm bureau (!), churches, Chambers of Commerce, manufacturers—and commissioned a paid staff to dig up the facts about poverty and discrimination and backward services and a long string of Georgia topics. The series of bulletins that came from the Fact-Finding Movement were the most important stimulus behind the victory of Ellis Arnall as our one liberal governor some years ago. The Fact-Finding Movement is now liquidated (all debts paid and a tiny surplus remaining!)

Josephine has not been fully well for the last year or so, and though she is back in the city, she has not taken up full-time duties. I greatly doubt that she would be interested in travel out to the colleges. Her strength is more in moving others to do their duty than in direct negotiation as principal to principal in most cases. She would be a noble one to advise you.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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AUG 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

July 31, 1952

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

In accordance with our talk in Chicago and with the letter which I have since received from Mrs. Hamilton, I have suggested to her that, if we can agree on the amount and distribution of the time which she could make available to us, that we would then be very happy to have her come to New York at our expense.

Since speaking with you, both Dan Dodson and Shelby Southard, whom I met in Chicago, have recommended a Josephine Wilkins of Atlanta. Do you know her and if so, could you tell me a little bit about her and, would you endorse this recommendation? Furthermore, neither man has her address in Atlanta. Will you please let me have it, if you can?

Best regards.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:ad

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~~Nat'l~~ NSSFNS

October 3, 1952

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
National Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students
31 W. 110th St.
New York 26, N. Y.

Dear Dick:

Mr. Mays is out of the city until October 8 or 9, and on account of my own travel, I cannot see him (unless, fortunately, on the 8th) until after his Board meeting October 20.

One of the things which would be important, I should think, to Dr. Mays is the problem of the Georgia law, which conditions tax exemption for the properties and endowments of educational institutions open to the general public upon separation of the races. The language is: "Provided further, that all endowments to institutions established for white people, shall be limited to white people, and all endowments to institutions established for colored people; shall be limited to colored people . . ."

So far as I know, this act has never been tested in the courts. I do know that, as it stands on the books, it has given pause to some important boards of trustees in the State. Mr. Mays would, of course, be aware of the Georgia statute, and doubtless would have legal advise as to it.

So far as the general Georgia situation goes, I would say, with little hesitation, that tactically, the considerations which would weigh against Morehouse opening are insufficient to stand in the way of that progressive step. One reason is that Atlanta, as a metropolitan center, traditionally performs more liberally in these matters than the rest of the State. The worser sort of State politicians picks at these Atlanta abberations from the Georgia pattern and makes political capital out of them. But the political drum fire is not, as a matter of habit, permitted to stall progress in this city.

Whatever potential disadvantages tactically might result from Morehouse opening in this way would be greatly lessened if the newspapers, and particularly the minority press, would permit the matter to proceed for a year or two without comment. There are things to do to increase the probability of such a quiet arrangement, and I will raise this matter with Mr. Mays.

In short, go ahead. It is Mr. Mays's responsibility and that of his trustees to wrestle with the problem of the law. If they feel secure enough on that, any other considerations do not, in my judgment, outweigh the gain. But it is important to proceed as quietly as possible.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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RECEIVED
OCT 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

September 30, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

As you will recall, at our July meeting we decided that, while the Atlanta University colleges measured up, in every respect, to the standards we are seeking for the "two-way integration" program, the Georgia climate was not as yet favorable enough to include them in the program. In spite of this, Paul Lawrence, on one of his field trips to Atlanta, talked with Dr. Mays who stated that Morehouse was ready and willing to accept white students and would be happy to participate in the program, if invited. I wonder, in the light of this new information, how you feel about it and, whether or not, you would want to discuss the whole issue with Dr. Mays. I think we are all agreed that we want results, rather than a scrap, in this particular program. On the other hand, I dislike to turn away an institution that is both qualified and willing.

I am not writing Mays in pursuance of his conversation with Lawrence until I hear further from you. However, the Morehouse Board meets on October 20th and he has asked to have all of the information, including an invitation, to present to that meeting. An additional complicating factor is that Harry Carman is also a member of their Board.

Please let me hear from you. With best regards

As ever,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

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RECEIVED
OCT 13 1952
Southern

October 7, 1952

Dr. Benjamin S. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

I have talked with Paul Lawrence about his recent meeting with you in Atlanta. Needless to say, we would be very happy to have Morehouse as a participating college in our new "two-way integration" project but, before either you or we make this joint decision, I would ask you to consider the question carefully in the light of the fact that we, as I am sure you too, are looking for results from the project, rather than conflict. The NAACP and other organizations are doing a magnificent job of carrying on the fight; our objective is to capitalize on the victories; the two jobs, we believe, cannot be done within the same organization.

All of this leads up to the question of whether the Georgia law, the State administration, and community climate might combine to make a "cause celèbre" out of a few white students being enrolled at Morehouse or whether it can be done quietly and discreetly?

I would like you to think this over and I also have asked George Mitchell, who is a member of our Advisory Committee for this project and also our authority on southern affairs, to discuss the matter with you. We are quite willing to abide by your joint decision.

Meanwhile, I am happy to send you herewith a draft of the section about this program which will appear in our October "Chairman's Report," not yet published, and also an invitation to join our Advisory Board of College Presidents. The invitation is not in any sense conditional upon Morehouse's active participation in the program at this time. We would like to have you with us in any event.

With kindest regards.

Cordially,

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg
Enc.

P. S. I was happy to meet your representative at the Conference on College Testing at Fisk over this past week end. When I left, it looked as though something significant might be accomplished in this area.

October 27, 1952

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mays:

Dick Plaut sent me a copy of his letter to you of October 7. I think his letter is quite unduly cautious. My advice to him was, and will be, that it would be a good thing for Morehouse to go ahead.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

N52 F.

October 27, 1952

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
National Scholarship Service & Fund
For Negro Students
31 W. 110th St.
New York, 26, N. Y.

Dear Dick:

Sure, I will be at the NAIRO business and look forward to seeing you there.

I've tried to talk to Bennie Mays several times, but he's been out. Meanwhile, I have written him that I think he is in the clear to move ahead.

I still don't know who is the man for you. I am to see in the next few days a man named Van Cleve Geiger from Jacksonville, Florida. He is something of a Friend, interested in these matters, but I don't know whether he has anything that gives him entre to registrars. Will look him over.

Meanwhile, I would be able to do a lot of advising of anybody you pick. He could treat Atlanta as home base and come back in here and discuss each situation with us in the Council, and we would all do our best to steer him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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October 22, 1952

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I hope you are going to be at the NAIRO Conference. If so, I have a number of matters I want to discuss with you in connection with the "two-way integration" program. First, we haven't yet filled that southern field job, although we have had a number of "near-misses." If you can think of any possible candidates, please let me know in advance or tell me about them in Washington. Secondly, I hope by then you will have had a chance to talk with Mays about Morehouse's participation.

I look forward to seeing you at the Conference, if you are coming, and if you are not coming, please advise me directly by mail about the two above-mentioned matters.

Best regards,

As ever,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

P.S. To what extent would you be able to give supervision to an intelligent and able "green-horn", who is available for the job? For him to be entirely dependent on my supervision in the South would be a case of the blind leading the blind? Please advise.
D.

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MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 28, 1952

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate your letter of October 27 concerning Dick Plaut's attitude with respect to Morehouse and white students. I had indicated to him that it would have to be a decision of the Board of Trustees and there need to be no undue caution taken in presenting it to the Board. I appreciate your attitude.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM.dem

N98 F NS

November 3, 1952

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
National Scholarship Service & Fund
for Negro Students
31 W. 110th St.
New York 26, N. Y.

Dear Dick:

Look forward to seeing you in Washington, and then and later on to seeing Miss Theobald.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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NOV 1 1952
Southern Regional Council

October 29, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I hope that I will get to see you in Washington. At any rate, I want to tell you that we have finally found somebody for the southern job. Miss Mary E. Theobald of Louisville, Kentucky is taking on the job, for at least an experimental period. Miss Theobald has had heavy experience over a long period of time in newspaper work, was Director of the Kentucky War Fund, Assistant to the President of Transylvania College, Field Representative of the American Social Hygeine Association.

Many thanks for all your trouble in trying to help us fill the job.

Miss Theobald is going to spend the next couple of weeks here in the New York office and, after that, I want her next step to be either to see you in Washington during the NAIRO Conference or in Atlanta. Will you please advise me which would be most convenient and when?

Best,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

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NSSFNS

March 10, 1953

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students
31 W. 110th St.
New York 26, N. Y.

Dear Dick:

A few weeks ago I was in Arkansas and ran across an interesting thing. The University of Arkansas at Fayetteville has made arrangements under which graduate courses (other than those leading to the Ph.D. or Ed.D.) may be taught at State-supported colleges other than the University itself. In practice this means the six State Teachers Colleges, as follows: Arkansas Polytechnic Institute, Russellville; Arkansas State College, Jonesboro; Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway; Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia; Southern State College, Magnolia; Arkansas A&M College, Monticello.

In any given year, practically all of these colleges do take advantage of the arrangement. The courses are provided during the regular school year and not in the summer. Instructors may come down from Fayetteville or be members of the staffs of the cooperating colleges. The document under which the courses are provided is called "Conditions under Which the University of Arkansas Will Offer Graduate Courses in State-Supported Schools." In the conditions, under item III, "Students," item D, is: "Qualified Negro graduate students shall be accepted in courses offered."

Under this arrangement, Negro graduate students have within the last two years taken graduate courses at each of the six institutions, thoughI was told that one of them does not, for the moment, have any Negro graduate students.

All students taking these graduate courses at the State Teachers Colleges are enrolled at the University itself, and they merely receive credit toward their graduate degrees by reason of attendance at courses offered at the State Teachers Colleges. So that they are not in a formal sense enrolled at the State Teachers Colleges.

It is therefore correct to say that Negro graduate students have been in attendance at each of the six above listed State Teachers Colleges.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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March 11, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 16
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Thank you for the information about the State of Arkansas. We can use it.

I am sure it will interest you to know that during this counselling season, we have referred 263 students to 13 formerly all-white southern colleges. We won't have any results until summer but I am sure they will be gratifying. The converse part of the project, on the other hand, has produced virtually nothing although we have tried very hard. It appears that it is going to take cumulative effects of several years of recruitment to make any real progress. I hope to be seeing you soon.

Best regards,

As ever,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

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AUG 7
Southern Regional Council

August 6, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter. The consensus seems to be with you on Richmond and close to you on Houston. We thought Dallas would be a better bet because of the American Friends Service Committee's activities there in the last few years and because Houston is geographically difficult as an area of concentration, so that we have finally selected Richmond and Dallas.

Many thanks for your advice.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

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NSS FNS

August 3, 1953

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
Nat'l. Scholarship Service & Fund
for Negro Students
31 W. 110th St.
New York 26, N. Y.

Dear Dick:

I vote for Richmond and Houston. I favor each of these cities mostly because a really strong group of local advisers could be found who would be sincerely interested in what the project is about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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July 8, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am enclosing herewith the working staff memorandum for use in the southern project to be launched this fall from a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education. I want to invite your particular attention to page 1, I b 2), page 2, II b) and c), and page 4, section entitled "For I, b, above." These sections all relate to the demonstration project for the experimentation in utilization of community resources for discovering talent and the selection of two cities, one in the east-south and one in the west-south, for these two demonstration projects. The cities under consideration in the east are Richmond and Atlanta and in the west, Memphis, New Orleans and Houston.

In addition to the criteria for selection of these cities mentioned in the memorandum, we think we have to avoid cities in which there are one or more better Negro colleges. This is the reason for leaving out Nashville and one of the reasons for questioning Atlanta.

Would you be good enough to give us your advice as to which cities could be most effectively utilized for these two demonstration projects?

Best regards.

As ever,

Dick

RLP:lg
Enc.

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

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July, 1953

MEMORANDUM

FROM: RICHARD L. PLAUT

TO: PFL, DNW

OUTLINE FOR SOUTHERN PROJECT (second draft)

I. Purposes and Goals of Project

a) To identify, within specified geographical areas, those Negro high school seniors with the ability to qualify for admission and scholarship assistance at inter-racial colleges; to provide them with the necessary tools to further their college aspirations (i.e., advice and information about choosing their colleges and applying for admission and scholarship assistance); to take the necessary steps to see that they follow through with completed applications for admission, scholarship, CEEB tests, etc., where necessary, and; to determine the supplementary scholarship needs of those who have been accepted and awarded insufficient scholarships by colleges.

b) To develop and test techniques of working with local community groups and committees to secure their active and effective participation in the process of uncovering talent, in order to:

1) provide machinery for a more thorough search for local talent than can be made by staff representatives working alone.

2) utilize local groups and individuals in pre-screening prospective students for inter-racial colleges, publicizing scholarship opportunities in such colleges, and counselling interested prospects who need advice and guidance in making their decisions.

3) establish groups of local people who can carry on unaided at a time when and if staff representatives are no longer working in the area.

c) To provide accurate information about the magnitude and quality of talent which exists and the dimensions of the financial need.

d) Collateral activities of the Director and co-Director of Field Services, Southern Project will be 1) to carry on the preparatory school recruitment program, as at present; 2) to maintain the usual field visit relations with the southern colleges participating in the "two-way integration project."

II. Scope of Project

a) The Core Areas

The cities and schools in which the intensive part of the project will be carried on are tentatively indicated on the attached list. The responsibility for these areas will be divided on a geographical basis, as marked on the list, between the Director and co-Director of Field Service, Southern Project.

b) The Peripheral Areas

The existing counselling and referral activities will be carried on by correspondence in schools in other areas in the South, not part of the core project, as at present.

c) The Demonstration Projects Involving the Community

Two cities, one in each of the two geographical areas (Southeast and Southwest), will be selected for the demonstration projects. It is hoped that the results attained will be helpful in planning for participation of other communities in the Southern Project.

III. Methodology of Project (This memorandum covers methodology for I, a and b, above, only; separate memoranda will be developed for I, c and d).

For I, a, above

a) First series of visits to schools (September and October)

1) To meet with top ranking 10% of seniors at each school in a group for the purpose of explaining opportunities available in inter-racial colleges and opportunities offered under this project.

2) Immediately after this orientation, to secure names of those in the group who a) wish to participate in the project; b) intend to go to predominantly Negro colleges, and c) do not intend to go to college at all, even though they can qualify and the necessary financial help is available.

3) To administer an aptitude test to all three sections of the group.

4) To distribute DO YOU WANT TO GO TO COLLEGE to those who wish to participate and whose test scores qualify them (see criteria below) with instructions for its use.

<u>Criteria:</u>

A. Group One——Total score 1100 or better
Group Two——Total score between 900 and 1099
Group Three—Total score between 750 and 899
Group Four——Total score between 650 and 749

B. Participation in <u>significant</u> extra-curricular activities;

varsity athletic participation in schools with senior classes exceeding 50 students; membership in the National Honor Society; or election to major student bodies such as the Stu-Council, the Senior Class may qualify the student for elevation from Group Four to Group Three, etc.

C. The balance between the verbal and the mathematics sections of the S.A.T. will be considered in referring the student to any college, along with the sex of the student and his career objective, for example, an even balance between the verbal and the mathematical score is preferable to a wide difference between the verbal and the mathematics. Example: 400 Verbal plus 400 math is better than 500 verbal and 300 math.

EXCEPTIONS:

1. For girls - generally speaking a high verbal score with the math score taking a place of lesser importance is not unusual.

2. For technical or engineering students - more weight is given to a high math score although the verbal score must not fall below the minimum.

5) To return to home office test scores of non-qualifiers, as well as test scores of those qualifiers not wishing to participate in the project, broken down according to reason for not wishing to participate, i.e., Negro college or no college at all.

b) Second series of visits to schools (November and December)

1) To confer with each senior, individually, who has filled out an "Information Form" with transcript attached, about the appropriateness of his college choices, or, where necessary, to help them make those choices.

2) To enter final choices and other necessary notations in the appropriate places on the "Information Form".

3) To advise student how to make applications for admission and scholarship assistance, CEEB tests, etc., to the chosen colleges.

4) To return complete file on each student including filled-out "Information Form", transcript, and test score sheet to home office.

c) Third series of visits to schools (January and February)

1) To check with each student, whose "Information Form" has been returned to home office after second visit with respect to completion of all necessary applications; to consult with those who still have unresolved questions; to ascertain who had not completed applications and why; and to stimulate completion of uncompleted applications, when appropriate.

d) Fourth series of visits to schools (April and May)

1) To determine acceptances and rejections by colleges; incidence and amounts of scholarship awards by colleges; and supplementary scholarship needs of successful candidates and to distribute "Application Forms for Supplementary Scholarship Assistance" to them.

2) To make a breakdown of those rejected according to reason or complex of reasons for their not making it, i.e., not enough financial means plus assistance; Board scores or other entrance examinations too low; proper applications not completed.

3) In summary, the results of this final series of visits should provide us with accurate information on what happened to each student whom we have contacted and, as nearly as possible, why it happened.

For I, b, above

1) Selection of cities for demonstration projects

Criteria in selecting cities will include size of population, strategic location and importance, quality of schools, interest of school administrators, community leadership, and community action experience.

2) Representation on local committees

To include high school principals, representatives of Greek-letter fraternities and sororities, church groups, interracial organizations or groups with intergroup programs, heads of civic organirations such as the Urban League branches and NAACP offices, as well as individuals known to be interested in the objectives of the Southern Project.

The question, still unresolved, is whether to permit these groups to function primarily on their own; or to work, collaterally with them, with the schools; or as a third alternative to work with them during the first year and to put them on their own during the second year. In any event, the end goal is to determine in which way the students may be best identified and served.

For I, c and d, separate memos to follow.

1953-54 CORE CITY AND SCHOOL CONTACTS

WESTERN DIVISION

STATE	CITIES	SCHOOLS
ALABAMA	Birmingham	Parker High School
	Mobile	LaPlata High School
		Mercy Catholic Convent
ARKANSAS	Little Rock	Dunbar High School
KENTUCKY	Louisville	Central High School
	Lexington	Dunbar High School
LOUISIANA	New Orleans	Booker T. Washington High School
		Landry High School
		McDonough High School
		Joseph S. Clark High School
		Xavier Preparatory School
		Holy Cross High School
	Shreveport	Central High School
MISSISSIPPI	Jackson	Lanier High School
MISSOURI	St. Louis	Sumner High School
		Washington High School
	Kansas City	Lincoln High School
		R. T. Coles Vocational High School
OKLAHOMA	Oklahoma City	Douglas High School
	Tulsa	Booker T. Washington High School
	Muskogee	Dubois High School
		Manual Training High School
TENNESSEE	Memphis	Booker T. Washington High School
		Hamilton High School
		Manassas High School
		Melrose High School
	Nashville	Pearl High School
	Knoxville	Austin High School
TEXAS	Houston	Jack Yates High School
		Phyllis Wheatley High School
		Booker T. Washington High School
		Aldine High School
	Dallas	Lincoln High School
		Booker T. Washington High School
	Fort Worth	I. M. Terrel High School
	San Antonio	Phyllis Wheatley High School
		Los Angeles High School

1953-54 CORE CITY AND SCHOOL CONTACTS

EASTERN DIVISION

STATE	CITIES	SCHOOLS
DELAWARE	Wilmington	Howard High School
	Georgetown	Wm. Jason High School
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	Washington	Dunbar High School
		Armstrong High School
		Cardozo High School
		Spingarn High School
FLORIDA	Jacksonville	Stanton High School
		Matthew W. Gilbert High School
	Miami	Dorsey High School
		Carver High School
		Booker T. Washington High School
	Tampa	
GEORGIA	Atlanta	Booker T. Washington High School
		David T. Howard High School
		Henry Turner High School
	Savannah	Beech High School
		Woodville High School
MARYLAND	Baltimore	Douglass High School
		Dunbar High School
	Annapolis	Wiley Bates High School
	Rockville	Carver High School
NORTH CAROLINA	Charlotte	Second Ward High School
		West Charlotte High School
	Greensboro	J. A. Tarplay High School
	Durham	Hillside High School
SOUTH CAROLINA	Spartanburg	Carver High School
	Columbia	Booker T. Washington High School
	Charleston	Averylust High School
		Burke Industrial High School
VIRGINIA	Richmond	Armstrong High School
		Maggie Walker High School
	Norfolk	Booker T. Washington High School
	Petersburg	Peabody High School
WEST VIRGINIA	Charleston	Carnet High School
	Huntington	Douglass High School
	Wheeling	Lincoln High School

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Executive Vice-Chairman

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RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

TO : Foundation, corporate, campus chest, and individual friends of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students

FROM: Harry J. Carman, Chairman, Board of Directors

I am happy to send you herewith the report of our activities for our operational and fiscal year ending September 30, 1953.

This, the fifth year of our existence, has turned out to be far more than merely a chronological anniversary, for, in this year, we are proud to be able to say that:

1. As a result of our efforts, 474 students were admitted to 224 inter-racial colleges with $197,000 worth of scholarship assistance, an increase of 47% and 106%, respectively, over last year.

2. The first nineteen students, 15 Negro and 4 white, were admitted to 11 newly inter-racial colleges, predominantly of the opposite race, under our "two-way integration" project.

3. Four leading eastern preparatory schools accepted their first Negro students as a result of our referrals.

4. The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation has made us a substantial grant for a two-year study and "talent-search," involving the discovery of able Negro youth in the southern states, their placement in college, together with sufficient supplementary scholarship assistance to enable them to enroll at the colleges of their choice.

I am taking this opportunity to address a few words about our finances, particularly to those of our friends among foundations, college campus chests, and individuals whose financial support have made these achievements possible.

We still have a long way to go towards our goal of equal higher

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educational opportunity in an inter-racial environment for each individual Negro student who can benefit from it.

Our on-going regular program, our ground-breaking preparatory school program, and our still pioneer "two-way integration" project must go forward at a cost of about $50,000 per annum. In addition, we are embarking on the south-wide talent search and study project financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation.

Paradoxically enough, this project leaves us with a new financial problem. Under the project, two classes of 150 freshmen, each, will enter inter-racial colleges with the help of supplementary scholarship awards from us. The "Fund" grant provides no scholarships for the upperclass years of these students, who must be allowed to complete their education as long as their financial need continues and their scholastic achievement justifies it. For this specific purpose alone, an additional $115,000 is needed over the next two years.

We hope for the continued and new support of our foundation, corporate, and individual friends in order to carry forward the two pioneering projects in the South.

We hope for increased campus chest allocations to carry forward our on-going program, so that student funds will continue to be used for the benefit of students.

All these and many more facts about the year's activities, are discussed in the enclosed "Chairman's Report."

December third, 1953

Mr Richard L Plaut
Executive Vice-Chairman
National Scholarship Service and
Fund for Negro Students
31 West 110th Street
New York 26, N Y

Dear Dick:

I had written Parrish, but circumspectly, without any faintest suggestion that you would pick him up. The letter had not gone out and I have held it and have written him without any reference to you.

I still think there is some use you could well make of his knowledge and contacts. I assume the College is paying him for his sabbatical year so I don't suppose he has any pressing money problem.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

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December 1, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am sorry I missed your telephone call this morning and I am hastening to write you to head off any suggestion you may be making to Professor Parrish about us before I have a chance to advise you of the circumstances.

We do appreciate your thinking of us and we are very much aware of Professor Parrish's ability and standing in the educational community. It would be an honor to have him representing us in any capacity but I just cannot think how we could take advantage of his availability for the period of one semester. We are now right in the middle of our southern program and Paul Lawrence of Howard and Donald Wyatt of Fisk, who are on leaves of absence, are carrying out the job for us and are able to cover as much territory as we feel should be covered at this time. In view of this, I cannot think of any way of utilizing what I know would be the very able services of Professor Parrish.

I hope this reaches you before you have communicated with him. If not, and you think it wise, I will be very happy to write him directly.

Thank you again for thinking of us and best wishes.

As ever,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

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Plant

January 12, '54

Dear Dick,

As luck would have it I've promised to be in NY January 21-29, first for Dan Dodson's show, and then Jan. 25-29 for some institute Art Elder is having for ILGWU. Probably I'll see you at Dan. Dodson's performance. Anyway, when you come here use our office for HQ, and get any dope you need from Harold Fleming.

Plan for local committees looks good.

Sincerely,

GSM

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January 7, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 12
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Paul Lawrence and I will be in Atlanta on January 27th, 28th and 29th, in connection with the project of community participation in the discovery of able Negro students under the grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education. I hope you are going to be in town during this period so that we may consult you and so that you may perhaps join us in meeting with Warren Cochrane and a few other Atlanta people who are interested in the project.

Please let me know when you will be available during these days. I am enclosing a memorandum about the project for you to think about meanwhile.

I look forward to seeing you. Best regards,

Cordially,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg
Enc.

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Addition to Memorandum, "Outline for Southern Project," in reference to I, d, above.

Procedures in working with communities:

1. Since Negro community leaders and organizations will be the best sources of contact with student prospects, it is expected that Negroes will compose the majority membership on the local committee. In most cases, however, school administrators and school board members will be invited to participate by virtue of the importance of their positions. By the same token, white persons known for their interest in interracial progress will be given the opportunity to serve in any way in which they can be helpful.

2. In order that local groups and individuals can be prepared to work effectively within the framework of the NSSFNS program, it will be necessary in the very beginning to explain fully the background and experiences of the Agency, its basic philosophy and objectives, and its plans and procedures for helping Negro youth secure wider college admission and scholarship opportunities. When this has been accomplished, machinery should be set up through which the local committee can function in coordination with the NSSFNS field directors.

   The idea must be sold to the local group that better education for their youth should be a local responsibility and that our chief role is to initiate effective action, supply professional advice and guidance, and make available additional scholarship funds in deserving cases where scholarships awarded by the colleges are not sufficient. The NSSFNS representative can visit a given locality only periodically but a local committee can render on-the-spot service the year around.

3. The local committee when organized must play a proninent part in planning and implementing the local program, with the NSSFNS representative gradually receding to the background as the committee acquires proficiency in following through with its responsibilities. Although the NSSFNS will have much to contribute in the way of techniques and skills, the community leaders are more familiar with the local community and will know best how to deal with local situations and personalities which require special treatment.

4. Since it is our goal to have local community groups eventually take over many of the functions the NSSFNS must assume at the outset, they must be given increased responsibilities as rapidly as they are able to operate on their own. While it is understood that the NSSFNS must perform the major part of the technical and professional services the first year, it is hoped that the situation can be reversed the second year.

   If the organization of the community groups and the training of the membership in the functions that will be required show favorable progress, it is conceivable that the local committee will be able to carry on as a self-sustaining organization beginning with the third year of operation.

A suggested program for local committees as self-sufficient service agencies:

a. The preliminary screening of good scholarship prospects in the senior classes of local high schools, using as criteria: school records and grades, scores on standardized tests conducted by the schools, extra-curricula leadership, personality and general deportment, etc. It is absolutely imperative that school principals, teachers and counsellors who have access to school records and contact with students be included on the local committees and assigned major roles in the screening of students with scholarship possibilities.

b. The administration of college aptitude tests, either at the end of the junior year or immediately following the opening of school in the senior year, for the purpose of edtermining the class of college to which each student might aspire. This is to be followed by individual conferences in which this information will be imparted to the students and each advised in terms of several colleges suited to his needs and abilities. As in the case of a (above), this work should be headed by the responsible school people.

c. Provision for qualified committee members to consult with the parents of youth who have the ability and interest for enrollment in colleges of high standing.

d. The development of programs, in cooperation with high school counsellors, which will inform students shortly after they enter high school, as to college entrance requirements and recommend subjects they should take in preparing for college-level training.

e. The establishment of a fund and advisory services to help through high school the unusual student who has exceptional promise but is handicapped by family, financial, or related circumstances.

f. The sponsorship of "College Day" programs which will bring to the attention of students opportunities in interracial colleges in other areas, as well as those in close-by Negro colleges.

g. The study of colleges located in the community which may be segregated at present, toward the end of doing everything that seems feasible and practicable to expedite a chance to an interracial student body.

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
National Scholarship Service
31 West 110th Street
New York 26, New York

Dear Mr. Plaut:

Of course I will do all I can to get early news to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Anna Holden
Harold Fleming

Officers
HARRY J. CARMAN
Chairman
MRS. NATHAN STRAUS
MRS. FELICE N. SCHWARTZ
Vice-Chairmen
REV. JAMES H. ROBINSON
Secretary-Treasurer
ROBERT C. WEAVER
Chairman, Trustees, Supplementary Scholarship Fund
RICHARD L. PLAUT
Executive Vice-Chairman

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

31 West 110th Street, New York 26
ENright 9-6868

ADVISORY BOARD OF COLLEGE PRESIDENTS LISTED ON REVERSE SIDE

Board of Directors
DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN
HON. JANE BOLIN
FRANK H. BOWLES
SUSAN BRANDEIS
CHARLES T. DUNCAN
JAMES M. EDWARDS
MARGARET HALSEY
MRS. G. S. HAUGE
EUGENE H. KEATING
J. OSCAR LEE
MRS. MAX LERNER
HENRY R. LUCE
HERBERT T. MILLER
FRANK T. SIMPSON
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
KENDALL WEISGER
JOHN H. WHEELER
STANLEY YOUNG

May 21, 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I hope you people down your way enjoyed the same kind of unrestrained celebration on the "big day" as we did up here.

As far as the immediate effect of the decision on our program is concerned, we would expect it to be in early or immediate opening up of private undergraduate colleges to Negro students - colleges which could be fitted into our "two-way integration" project. I know that sometimes you hear of these situations before we do. This is to tell you that we would very much appreciate your letting us know of any that you hear about.

Best regards.

As ever,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes

Officers
HARRY J. CARMAN
Chairman
MRS. NATHAN STRAUS
MRS. FELICE N. SCHWARTZ
Vice-Chairmen
REV. JAMES H. ROBINSON
Secretary-Treasurer
ROBERT C. WEAVER
Chairman, Trustees, Supplementary Scholarship Fund
RICHARD L. PLAUT
Executive Vice-Chairman

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

31 West 110th Street, New York 26
ENright 9-6868

ADVISORY BOARD OF COLLEGE PRESIDENTS LISTED ON REVERSE SIDE

Board of Directors
DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN
FRANK H. BOWLES
SUSAN BRANDEIS
KENNETH B. CLARK
CHARLES T. DUNCAN
MARGARET HALSEY
D. JOHN HEYMAN
J. OSCAR LEE
MRS. MAX LERNER
K. WALLACE LONGSHORE
HARRY H. LUNN, JR.
JOSEPH J. MORROW
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KENDALL WEISGER
JOHN H. WHEELER
STANLEY YOUNG

Dow

November 15, 1954

RECEIVED 11/17/54 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchel, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am happy to send you under separate cover 16 copies of the interim report on the first year's (1953-4) activities of our southern project, currently being carried on under a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

This is the report I told you about at Mrs. Reid's and you asked for 16 copies. I think you will find them useful.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

RLP:lg

9-H would like to see: ||

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes

March 21, 1956

Mr. Richard L. Plaut
Executive Vice-chairman
National Scholarship Service
and Fund for Negro Students
6 East 82nd Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Dick:

I sent each copy of your report to two of my outfits and so will get them around.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:maf

RECEIVED MAR 2 1 1956

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE
AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, N. Y. LYceum 6-3334

February 29, 1956

Dear George:

We had to economize on the number of these we had printed this year so you are getting less than the 16 you need for each regional office. I hope you can make these do.

Best regards.

As ever,

Dick

Richard L. Plaut
Executive vice-Chairman

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 17, 1956

Mr. Robert M. Klein
Treasurer
The Division Fund
134 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Klein:

File

I can't say that I know Dick Plaut and the work of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students intimately, but I have been in Plaut's office and have talked to him two, three, or four times. I have had lunch with him two or three times, and we have talked over the work to be done in the South.

I think he is doing a good job of fetching out Negro students from the South and getting them into white campuses where they never would have gotten. I do not think they ever got going with lodging white students into Southern Negro colleges. But Dick Plaut is a wise fellow, temperate, and unrelenting in his drive, and his purpose is right. If I had $500 extra I would give it to Dick Plaut, and if I had $5,000 extra I still would.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 10, 1956

one of the founders
Cuebinded 8/21-22/56

Mr. Robert H. Klein
Treasurer
The Division Fund
134 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Klein:

Thank you for your letter of September 7th.

Mr. Mitchell is presently out of the city, and is expected to return to the office on Monday, September 17th. Your letter will be brought to his attention at that time.

Sincerely,

Secretary

RECEIVED SEP 10 1956

THE DIVISION FUND
ORGANIZED NOT FOR PROFIT
134 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

September 7, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of August 21 and the material which you subsequently sent us, which we found interesting.

Mr. Richard L. Plaut, of the National Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students, visited with me recently, seeking financial assistance for the work of his organization. We are sympathetic to the general objectives of this organization, but are somewhat concerned whether their fund-raising ability is adequate to the problem of operating a truly significant program. We wonder, also, whether their overhead may not be disproportionately high.

One individual familiar with the subject stated that he did not believe that the Service was doing as much as it could to motivate young negro students to acquire further training. He stated further that the National Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students is probably unknown to a very large proportion of young negro students.

If you are familiar with the organization, and feel so inclined, we would greatly appreciate your opinion on the several points raised, giving us any information which you think would aid us in reaching a decision on whether we should make a grant to them.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Klein

Robert H. Klein
Treasurer,
THE DIVISION FUND

RHK/bb

File "A" on Corresp.
Mark Foldes

September 3, 1964

Mr. Erich Gottlieb
National Information Bureau
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Gottlieb:

I have reviewed the response sent to you on August 21, in my absence, to your inquiry of August 7. It is, I trust, satisfactory for your purposes, though I would like to supplement it in one or two places by this letter.

Our tax exemption has been re-affirmed on occasions since it was originally granted. Most recently, the Internal Revenue Service reviewed, this past May, our activities and records for the year 1962, and on August 5, 1964, by Form 3087, notified us that all was in good order.

It may be of interest to you to know also that prior to undertaking the Voter Education Project (referred to later in this letter) we petitioned the Treasury for an advance ruling regarding it. A favorable ruling was given by letter of March 22, 1962.

I am particularly interested, however, in supplementing the reply to your query on page 2 of your questionnaire "Do you consult or cooperate with other established agencies in the same or related fields?"

Much more important than our work as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference are the following two activities:

(1) In 1954 the Southern Regional Council ceased being, in the usual sense, a membership organization, and established in each southern state, with the aid of a sizeable grant from the Fund for the Republic, state Councils on Human Relations, to which our membership was transferred. These state councils, after 1957, became legally and financially autonomous, and each of those still existing subsequently received its own tax exemption. This includes the Councils on Human Relations in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Kentucky, and Arkansas, and in the cities of Houston and Atlanta. A newly re-established Mississippi Council has not yet obtained tax exemption. We have continued to work closely and even intimately with these state councils and their local affiliates, even though the formal organizational ties are severed. Among the ways we have worked with them is by administering a grant-in-aid program of approximately $50,000 a year, contributed by the Field and Taconic Foundations.

(2) The Voter Education Project is a large effort of experimental research in which we have been engaged since early 1962, and which will wind up its field work this fall. Through this program we have made grants to a number of agencies to carry on voter registration work throughout most of the South. Strict reporting procedures are enforced, both as to program and finances. We have had under continuous study the methods used and the effects achieved through these registration programs. On completion of the field work, we will prepare a report, to be published as a book, examining the causes of low voter

participation in the South, the best methods of overcoming them, and the efficacy of organizational efforts to counter balance environmental factors.

Our audit does not report income and expenses for projects, only for general operations. Consequently, in the totals given to you on page 3 of your questionnaire there is some mingling of receipts and income, and expenses and disbursements. A copy of our audit was, however, sent with our reply, and I assume that you have all the information you need. If you should wish further information or clarification, please let me know. You will have noticed, I am sure, that a very large part of our recent income, nearly one-half, has gone into grants to other organizations through the grant-in-aid program to state councils and the Voter Education Project, but considerable amounts also through other projects, as shown in Exhibits F, H, and L of our audit.

We do not use a fund-raising brochure. This year, for the first time, we prepared a notebook of materials for this purpose -- a copy of which is enclosed. From the size of it you may correctly infer that only a few copies were assembled, and have been used for only special purposes.

I believe this completes our reply. If there are other questions, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1 (Notebook of materials)

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Aug. 21, 1964

Les,

Since the subscribers (contributors and members) to NIB include Carnegie, Commonwealth, Field, Ford, Rockefeller etc., and one of its board members is Maxwell Hahn, I thought we should send them everything they asked for, and Paul agreed. He went over the questionnaire with me to check my answers, and I also checked with Ruth to be sure the questions re money were correct.

It would seem that this organization was set up by the foundations and others for the purpose of being an investigative agency so they could reassure their boards as to the worthiness of the requests they receive.

I hope I did right.

MA

Attached: 3-page questionnaire and the following enclosures:

1. U. S. Treasury Ruling
2. Complete Auditor's Report and financial statement
3. Current budget
4. Reports on program
5. Copies of appeal letters and brochures (fund-raising booklet to be sent later, also brochure on SRC)
6. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, and Bylaws
7. Board list
8. Publications list

(two copies of each)

August 21, 1964

Mr. Erich Gottlieb
National Information Bureau
205 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Gottlieb:

Your request for detailed information on the Council was received after Mr. Dunbar had left on vacation; in the interest of giving you the information you need as quickly as possible, the letter was referred to me for reply. I have checked my answers on the questionnaire with two other staff members to be sure they were accurate. If Mr. Dunbar wishes to add anything to the information I am sending, he will write you sometime in September.

The enclosures you requested are all here with one exception: the fund-raising booklet. We are in process of assembling another twenty-five copies, and you will receive two copies within a week or ten days. The two pages of typed information on the Council's aims and program are from copy being prepared for a mailing piece; when it has been printed we will also send you copies of this. The fund-raising book includes samples of our publications.

We have added the NIB to our mailing list, as you requested.

After you have had an opportunity to examine the replies on the questionnaire and the enclosures, if you have any further questions please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

MA - pls. reply
LWD

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU

To maintain sound standards in national philanthropy . . . To advise and protect contributors

Rec'd 8/10/64

Non-Profit Service
for Contributors
Founded in 1918

NIB

205 East 42 Street
New York 17, N. Y.
LExington 2-8595

August 7, 1964

Rec'd 8/10/64

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RALPH H. BLANCHARD
Vice President

MRS. JOHN B. HENNEMAN
Vice President

CRAIG R. SMITH
Secretary

ELLIS RUSSELL
Treasurer

EARL M. ANNEN
GERALD W. BURKE
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MISS ADELE W. MORRISON
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W. M. UPCHURCH, JR.

D. PAUL REED
Executive Director

B. D. BURHOE
ERICH GOTTLIEB
MRS. CARL JOSEPHSON
MRS. SEXTON PROCTER
Research & Advisory

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This Bureau is now receiving inquiry about Southern Regional Council.

So that we can report adequately to our members who may be asked to cooperate or contribute, would you please fill out one copy of our enclosed questionnaire and return it to us (the second copy is for your own files.)

It is our experience that individuals and organizations who consult the Bureau respond more quickly when these full facts are made readily available to them. A description of the Bureau itself appears in the enclosed.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

Erich Gottlieb

Erich Gottlieb

EG:mh
enc.

Reports are confidential to members

Basic Standards in Philanthropy

Philanthropic operations entail a high degree of responsibility because of the element of public trusteeship involved. Compliance with the following standards is considered essential for approval by the Bureau:

1.- BOARD - An active and responsible governing body, serving without compensation, holding regular meetings, and with effective administrative control.

2.- PURPOSE - A legitimate purpose with no avoidable duplication of the work of other sound organizations.

3.- PROGRAM - Reasonable efficiency in program management, and reasonable adequacy of resources, both material and personnel.

4.- COOPERATION - Evidence of consultation and cooperation with established agencies in the same or related fields.

5.- ETHICAL PROMOTION - Ethical methods of publicity, promotion and solicitation of funds.

6.- FUND-RAISING PRACTICE - In fund-raising:

(a) No payment of commissions for fund-raising.
(b) No mailing of unordered tickets or merchandise with a request for money in return.
(c) No general telephone solicitation of the public.

7.- AUDIT - Annual audit, prepared by an independent certified public accountant or trust company, showing all income and disbursements, in reasonable detail. New organizations should provide a certified public accountant's statement that a proper financial system has been installed.

8.- BUDGET - Detailed annual budget, translating program plans into financial terms.

176.684.01
402.784.62
80.398.31
14.687.42
1.831.89 ? 97
1.552.91
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97
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+ .08
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expense

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2.055.00
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1.200.00
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649.441.94 T

NIB

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, INC. (Non-Profit)
205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

The National Information Bureau, a non-profit corporation, was founded in 1918 with a two-fold purpose: (1) to maintain sound standards in its field of philanthropy and (2) to aid thoughtful contributors to give wisely. The accompanying folder gives more detailed information and lists the Bureau's eight basic standards.

Among the members of the NIB are foundations, business corporations, chambers of commerce, local united funds, community chests, councils of welfare, and individuals. Present members are located in more than 1,000 communities.

Potential contributors of money or leadership, who consult the NIB, may respond more quickly when the facts in this questionnaire are made readily available. The filing of information with us also may obviate the necessity of answering similar questions from numerous local communities.

REQUESTED INFORMATION

Name of organization: Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Address of principal office: 5 Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

When organized: 1944 **Incorporated as non-profit?** January 6, 1944

Date and place of incorporation: Atlanta, Georgia, Fulton County

Has the U.S. Treasury notified you that contributions are deductible for Federal income tax purposes? Yes **Date:** 7-28-47 **Please enclose copy of notification.**

LEADERSHIP

	Name	Main Business or Professional Connection
Chairman: of Executive Committee:	Raymond M. Wheeler,	physician, Charlotte, N.C. ~~See attached list~~
President:	John H. Wheeler;	President, Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.
Vice Pres.:	Albert W. Dent;	President, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.
	Marion Wright;	retired attorney, Danville Falls, N.C.
	Josephine Wilkins;	civic worker, Athens, Ga.
	Rufus E. Clement;	President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Secretary:-Treasurer: Ruth House Alexander

Treasurer:

Paid Staff Head (Name and Title): Executive Director: Leslie W. Dunbar

Last Prior Connection: Mt. Holyoke College, Professor of Political Science

List all members of governing board and their connections: Please indicate members of Executive Committee by asterisk; use separate sheet if necessary.

Executive Committee only:

Name	Main Business or Professional Connection
President & Vice Presidents (listed previously)	
Rayment Wheeler, Chairman; physician, Charlotte, N.C.	
Paul R. Christopher; Regional Director AFL-CIO, Knoxville, Tenn.	
James M. Dabbs; writer, Mayesville, S.C.	
H. Franklyn Williams; Vice-president, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.	
C. G. Gomillion; Chm. Social Sciences, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.	
Stephen J. Wright; President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	
Mrs. Grace Hamilton; social worker, Atlanta, Ga.	
Thomas W. Young; editor, Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va.	
John P. Nelson; attorney, New Orleans, La.	
Legal Counsel Joseph F. Haas; attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	

See separate sheets (A) for complete board list.

How many meetings in last fiscal year of your governing board? one (annual meeting) ~~one of complete board which is policy maker~~

Of your Executive Committee? four annually (at least four ~~every year~~)

Average number of members present (omit staff): Governing Body: 50-60 ~~Executive Committee:~~

Executive Committee: 11-12 (phenominally high)

How many Board members did not attend any meeting in person during last fiscal year? 6

Board - 6 Exec. Comm. - None ~~no~~

Do any Board members receive pay/or financial remuneration from your organization? No.

Are fixed-amount expense accounts paid to any Board members? Actual travel expenses for each trip, filed and signed with appropriate receipts from hotel, plane tickets, etc.

NATURE OF WORK

State the chief objectives of the organization. The Council was established to work on social problems in the South. It learned quickly that race is basic to all of them. Until the South emancipates itself from racial inequity, it can't make any rational progress on its other problems. The Council's future is to be a part of the South and have its programs develop with the issues and opportunities of the regio

Give a brief concrete statement (on a separate sheet if necessary) of the present work of your organization, directed to the above objectives:

see separate sheets: ~~B~~ 4

How many local branches or chapters currently? None

Do you consult or cooperate with other established agencies in the same or related fields? Yes; SRC is secretariat for group of more than 50 agencies which meets quarterly

Is your work duplicated or paralleled by other organizations? We try very hard not to duplicate the work of any other organization.

If so, please comment:

There is parallel work by all agencies working in race relations, civil rights, and civil liberties in the South. ~~SRC serves as secretariat for an informal gathering of over 50 agencies in these fields to avoid duplication and to plan cooperation~~ The informal group mentioned above meets for the specific purpose of avoiding duplication & fostering Coop. & exchange of ideas.

FINANCES

What is the fiscal year of your organization? January 1 through December 31

Total income last fiscal year: ~~$176,684.01~~ $795,158.14

Total disbursements last fiscal year: ~~$182,066.27~~ $649,441.94

Total approved budget for current year: $497,835.00
(By budget we mean a statement of program plans in financial terms.)

What methods of fund-raising are used or planned? staff and board responsibility; primarily by personal contact and written request.
Are fund raisers employed? No If so, on commission or salary?

What officers authorize disbursements? The executive director, the director of field activities, and the executive assistant.
What officers sign checks? The executive director, the executive assistant, and the secretary-treasurer. (All checks co-signed)
How often are accounts audited? Twice yearly.

By whom? Daniel E. Harrison Is your last complete audit enclosed herewith? yes and financial statement

(Organizations too new for a first audit should return special Pre-Audit Sheet.)

GENERAL

Do you consider that your operations at present meet the eight basic standards of the NIB, as listed in the accompanying folder? Yes

If not, please comment:

Check List of Enclosures to be returned with this form:

1. U. S. Treasury Ruling
2. Complete Auditor's Report (Original copy can be returned if needed.)
3. Current Budget
4. Reports on Program
5. Copies of Appeal Letters and Brochures (fund raising booklet)
6. If copies are currently readily available, please include Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, and Bylaws.

~~D Board~~ Board list

LWD, Exec Dir.

Signed by: M. G. Allright

Title Research Associate

Date Aug 21, 1964

Please place the NIB on your general mailing list for publications, reports and solicitation materials. Thank you.

We have. Publication list also enclosed; if any are desired, please let us know.

WISE GIVING

NIB

This is the NIB

Since 1918, the National Information Bureau has offered its members a confidential, impartial advisory service covering hundreds of organizations that solicit contributions on a national and international level.

A nonprofit institution dedicated to maintaining and strengthening standards of philanthropy, NIB has not only exposed flagrant charity racketeers but also has not hesitated to question the unethical practices of some of the giants in the field.

NIB MEMBERSHIP GIVES YOU

. . . confidential reports on more than 500 individual organizations soliciting contributions for national and international philanthropic programs. These reports are sent to you upon request, when you need and ask for them. For legal reasons, reports are released only to members.

. . . newsletters and bulletins, two to three times a year, containing information of interest to the concerned giver.

. . . special consultative services, including the checking of contribution lists for members wishing to insure the wise distribution of their philanthropic dollars.

. . . a national watchdog service to help keep philanthropies in its field true to the ideals and standards that should characterize all charitable organizations.

Wise giving is important

Americans give an estimated 8 billion dollars each year to charitable, philanthropic and religious organizations. Most of these organizations are reasonably sound, but unfortunately some are not. A few are downright frauds. Others are guilty of mismanagement or of irresponsible use of contributed funds.

To protect their giving, many thoughtful contributors have joined NIB. Their support helps also the NIB's efforts to maintain sound standards in its part of the philanthropic field.

are foundations, corporations, chambers of commerce, individuals, and united funds, community chests and councils in about 1,500 communities. The following foundations and corporations, listed by special permission, are illustrative:

Foundations:

Carnegie Corporation • Commonwealth Fund
Field Foundation • Ford Foundation
Grant Foundation • Ittleson Family Foundation
W. K. Kellogg Foundation
New York Community Trust
Rockefeller Foundation • Russell Sage Foundation

Corporations:

American Telephone & Telegraph Co.
CBS Foundation Inc. • Ford Motor Company
General Mills, Inc. • International Harvester Co.
Johnson & Johnson • The Kroger Co.
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
National Broadcasting Company, Inc.
The New York Times
The Pfizer Foundation, Inc.
Procter and Gamble Company
Schenley Industries, Inc. • Sears, Roebuck and Co.
Shell Oil Company • Socony-Mobil Oil Co., Inc.
Standard Oil Company of California
Time Incorporated, etc.

Basic standards in philanthrophy

Philanthropic operations entail a high degree of responsibility because of the element of public trusteeship involved. Compliance with the following basic standards is considered essential for approval by the Bureau:

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   (a) No payment of commissions for fund-raising.
   (b) No mailing of unordered tickets or merchandise with a request for money in return.
   (c) No general telephone solicitation of the public.

7. AUDIT — Annual audit, prepared by an independent certified public accountant or trust company, showing all income and disbursements, in reasonable detail. New organizations should provide a certified public accountant's statement that a proper financial system has been installed.

8. BUDGET — Detailed annual budget, translating program plans into financial terms.

NIB

Range of NI

The NIB prepares confidential reports
zations that solicit contributions at th
such programs as:

Promotion of the "American Way of Life"
Fighting Communism
Get-out-the-vote
Promotion of the Constitution, civil liberties, law enforcement, etc.

Health activities in such fields as:
Alcoholism • Arthritis
Blindness • Cancer
Cerebral Palsy • Diabetes
Epilepsy • Heart
Medical Education • Mental Health
Nephritis • Nursing
Rheumatism • Social Diseases
Tuberculosis • Etc.

Welfare
Child and family welfare
Intergroup relations
Legal aid
Rehabilitation
Service to the aged
Leisure time activities

The NIB does not report on religious
nor single institutions such as individual

Contents of

NIB reports, usually three to eight pages, generally co

Background: What was the origin of the organization, and is it incorporated as non-profit?

Purpose: What is it trying to accomplish?

Program: What did it actually do last year? What does it plan to do next?

Personnel: Who are its leaders, Board of Directors, and staff head?

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IB reporting

ts on more than 500 nonprofit organi-
he national and international level for

Promotion of "Free Enterprise"
including mass education on economics, desired relationships between American business and government, taxation, labor, etc.

Veterans
Army, navy and marine veterans
Mothers and children of veterans
Handicapped veterans

International Relations
with peoples in Asia, Africa, Europe, the Near and Far East, South America, etc.

Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation
for underprivileged peoples in all parts of the world

Conservation
Parks and forests
Wild life

us, fraternal or political organizations,
al colleges.

NIB results

consider for prospective contributors such questions as:

Finances: What were income and disbursements last year? Current budget? Accumulated assets? Are contributions tax deductible?

Evaluation: Is the organization reasonably responsible and effective? Does it meet the eight basic standards of the NIB? In addition to providing facts, the NIB frequently offers comments and conclusions, growing out of more than four decades of experience, as an aid to members for their consideration.

Memberships

Contributor members provide most of the NIB's essential income each year. Some contribute and join because they believe that support of our work to maintain and strengthen standards and practices in the field of philanthropy should be an integral part of their own philanthropic giving. Some join to become eligible to receive our confidential reports on philanthropic organizations that are sent individually to members on request. Some join because they both want our reports and believe strongly in our basic standard maintenance work.

The minimum annual contribution membership for an individual is $15.00 and for a corporation or foundation is $25.00, deductible for income tax purposes. Memberships are available at these moderate rates to assure that small donors, as well as large, can have access to essential information for wise giving.

But the NIB could not finance its program on this minimum basis. Fortunately, many contributors wish to join as regular members at $100.00 to $500.00 a year, and often increase their support as they become better acquainted with our program. Thus, individual memberships range up to $500.00 annually, corporation memberships and contributions to $750.00, and foundations to $2,000.00.

Whatever membership contribution you care to make, however, we warmly welcome your support and hope you will join us. Every new NIB member means another informed donor who can contribute with assurance to this country's reputable philanthropies and ignore the appeals of national organizations that do not measure up to basic standards.

All contributions and memberships to NIB are deductible for income tax purposes.

Are YOUR contribution dollars supporting

. . . an organization that raises contributions by mailing up to 40 million items of unordered merchandise to the public each year? Approximately 79 cents of each dollar received in return is used for promotion, postage, and merchandise, leaving only 21 cents of the contributor's dollar for administration and welfare work.

. . . an organization that lists among its sponsors a number of prominent leaders including two college presidents. Actual control of the organization rests in a Board of Directors consisting entirely of members of its *paid* staff. The more contributors give to it, the more the staff can vote salary increases to themselves.

. . . an organization whose name is a by-word in many homes, yet for eight years its annual income has averaged one million dollars more than its expenditures for welfare services? It now has accumulated assets totaling more than 16 million dollars, primarily to serve about 250 direct beneficiaries per year.

. . . an organization that recently mailed more than 11 million fund raising letters in one year, misleading the public as to the scope of its work? It then falsified its financial report to hide the cost of its fund raising, which was more than 68 cents out of each dollar contributed.

PROTECT YOUR OWN NONPROFIT DOLLAR

What they say about the NIB

"The more help . . . from such agencies as the NIB . . . the more productive . . . giving will be."

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

"You have . . . been most helpful . . . in giving us confidential details about the finances, organization and purposes of many groups that have sought financial aid. . . . It would indeed be difficult for this Foundation to operate effectively without this kind of service."

— A $100,000,000 FOUNDATION

"Most folks want to help people less fortunate, however they are afraid of giving to improperly administered institutions. I'm impressed with the thoroughness with which the NIB goes into the qualifications of these agencies and delighted to be a member."

— L. U. N., Jr.

". . . suggestions by the NIB . . . will help protect you and your pocketbook. . . ."

— READER'S DIGEST

"We appreciate the excellent reports. . . . It is assuring to contributors to know that there is an organization like NIB doing this important work . . . and doing it so well."

—A MANUFACTURING COMPANY

"The effect of the bureau's vigilance is far out of proportion to its own budget. . . ."

— SATURDAY REVIEW

"We are very happy to renew our membership and . . . to increase it. . . . We appreciate very much all the help you have been to us."

— A $20,000,000 FOUNDATION

". . . the NIB, the Dun and Bradstreet of philanthropy."

— TIDE

". . . this Company is increasing its support of the Bureau to $500. . . . Again may I take this opportunity to thank you for being so cooperative."

— A NATIONAL CORPORATION

"Company executives are advised to consult their community organizations . . . or the NIB when in doubt about solicitations."**— BUSINESS WEEK**

Board of Directors

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Vice President Ralph H. Blanchard
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Mrs. Carl Josephson
Mrs. Sexton Procter

The National Information Bureau, Inc. is a non-profit organization, founded in 1918, with a two-fold purpose: (1) to aid thoughtful contributors to give wisely and (2) to maintain sound standards in its field of philanthropy. This folder deals primarily with the first half of the Bureau's work. For more information on our standard maintenance work, ask for a copy of our last annual report.

NIB **NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU**
(Non-Profit)

205 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
Telephone: LE 2-8595

File
Nat'l. Information Bureau

September 24, 1964

Mrs. Carl Lieberman
National Information Bureau
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Lieberman:

We have reviewed your summary of our Financial Statement, and it appears to be all right. There is a typpgraphical error which you probably have already detected in Section I; unfortunately, we don't enjoy any income from taxes.

Your summary shows excess expenses over income for general operations last year, and this is correct. Receipts and disbursements for general operations were, however, in balance as you know. I think your inquiry is the final push needed to get me to order some changes in the format of our audit and financial statement; a format which considerably predates my occupancy of this job. I have thought for some time that we need a more clear and easily comprehensible presentation, and we shall have one.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Recd 9/16/64

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU

To maintain sound standards in national philanthropy . . . To advise and protect contributors

Non-Profit Service for Contributors Founded in 1918

NIB

205 East 42 Street
New York 17, N. Y.
LExington 2-8595

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D. PAUL REED
Executive Director

B. D. BURHOE
ERICH GOTTLIEB
MRS. CARL JOSEPHSON
MRS. SEXTON PROCTER
Research & Advisory

September 14, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed please find a draft of part of the financial section of our report. We would appreciate it if you would check these figures for accuracy and then return the corrected copy to us.

Thank you for all your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Carol F. Lieberman

Mrs. Carl Lieberman

CL:JD
enc.

The accounts of the SRC are complex; the following figures are rough totals taken from a financial statement for the year ending December 31, 1963:

I. Income: General Operations

Contributions			
Foundations	$140,000		
Labor and other organizations	600		
Individuals	3,600		
Churches	2,000		
		$146,200	
Sales of Literature, Taxes, Etc.		30,500	
Total Income			$176,700

II. Expenses: General Operations

Salaries, Social Security Tax and benefits	$115,600	
Travel	9,000	
NEW SOUTH	10,600	
Printing	7,600	
Rent	7,200	
Miscellaneous	32,100	
Total Expenses		$182,100

Excess of Expenses over Income ($ 5,400)

III. Receipts: Special Projects

Voter Education Project	$384,100	
Southern Leadership Project	40,000	
Special Fund for Education Projects	10,000	
Public Opinion Survey	17,500	
Aid to Independent State Councils on Human Relations	51,300	
Miscellaneous Projects	2,200	
Total Receipts		$505,100

IV. Disbursements: Special Projects

Voter Education Project	$323,700	
Southern Leadership Project	45,900	
Research in Student Adjustment	12,700	
Public Opinion Survey	17,500	
Aid to Independent State Councils on Human Relations	55,900	
Miscellaneous Projects	11,700	
Total Disbursements		$467,400

Excess of Receipts over Disbursements for special projects $ 37,700

Combined Income (General Operations and Special Projects) $681,800

Combined Disbursements (General Operations and Special Projects 649,500

Excess of Total Income over Total Disbursements $ 32,300

The Council has budgeted $597,713 for 1964. This money has been alloted as follows:

General Operations	$212,729
Special Projects	384,984
Total	$597,713

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU

To maintain sound standards in national philanthropy . . . To advise and protect contributors

Non-Profit Service
for Contributors
Founded in 1918

NIB

305 East 45th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017
LExington 2-8595

5/29/67
MY

May 25, 1967

DIRECTORS

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Vice President

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Secretary

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MRS. ETHEL C. PHILLIPS
IRA A. SCHUR
W. M. UPCHURCH, JR.

. . .

D. PAUL REED
Executive Director

MELVIN C. VAN DE WORKEEN
Associate Director

MISS REBECCA BROMLEY
MRS. DAVID A. INGIS
MRS. CARL M. LIEBERMAN
Research & Advisory

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of May 22 enclosing materials about the Southern Regional Council. We are pleased to have this information and will study it with interest.

We appreciate your telling us that Mr. Paul Anthony is now your Executive Director, and we have made this correction in our files. If there are additional materials about the activities of the Council which you believe might be helpful to us, we shall be pleased to receive them.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin C. Van de Workeen

Melvin C. Van de Workeen
Associate Director

MCV:mf

May 22, 1967

Mr. Melvin C. Van de Workeen
Associate Director
National Information Bureau
305 East 45th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Workeen:

Your letter of May 15th to Mr. Dunbar has been received. Mr. Dunbar is no longer with the Southern Regional Council but is now executive director of the Field Foundation in New York. Mr. Paul Anthony who succeeded Mr. Dunbar is now out of the country and I am, in his absence, replying to your letter.

Attached for your information are our 1966 audit, 1967 budget, a board list which lists our controlling members, officers and members of our Executive Committee, a 1966 program report. On a separate sheet I have answered item #5 by listing the dates of our Executive Committee meetings and Annual Meeting in 1966. I have also attached, in answer to item #7, a typical form letter used in soliciting funds from foundations.

If additional information should be needed please let us know.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

form letter used - PA ltr of June 10, 1966
To Mr. Robt. Klein, Division Fund.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Executive Committee Meetings - 1966

January 10, 1966	-	10 of 15 members present
April 18, 1966	-	9 members present
September 12, 1966	-	7 " "
November 16, 1966	-	9 " "

Annual Meeting - 1966

November 16 - 18, 1966	-	66 of 100 members present

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU

To maintain sound standards in national philanthropy . . . To advise and protect contributors

Non-Profit Service for Contributors Founded in 1918

NIB

305 East 45th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017
LExington 2-8595

SWS Please Bobby? I'd appreciate what I think is asked for here. What do you think? MF

DIRECTORS

ALEXANDER LINDEY
President

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Vice President

CRAIG R. SMITH
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. . .

D. PAUL REED
Executive Director

MELVIN C. VAN DE WORKEEN
Associate Director

MISS REBECCA BROMLEY
MRS. DAVID A. INGIS
MRS. CARL M. LIEBERMAN
Research & Advisory

May 15, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the past you have sent us information on the Southern Regional Council which was very helpful. We are preparing to bring our report on your organization up-to-date and it would be helpful if we might have the items on the enclosed "check list."

Thank you, in advance, for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin C. Van de Workeen

Melvin C. Van de Workeen
Associate Director

MCV:mf
Enc.

Question #5

Ex. Office Meetings - 1966

Jan. 10, 1966 - ~~10 pres~~
~~10 mem~~
10 of 15 Members present

April 18, 1966 - 9 present

Sept. 12, 1966 - 7 present

Nov. 16, 1966 - 9 present

Annual Meeting
Nov. 16-18, 1966

66 of 100 present

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, INC.

CHECK LIST

✓ 1. Audit - your most recent audit report of total income and disbursements.

2. Interim Treasurer's Report, if audit report for the past fiscal year is not yet available.

✓ 3. Budget, as approved by your Board, for the current fiscal year.

Board List

4. Personnel - name of paid staff-head, and the present members of the controlling Board, its officers and members of the Executive Committee; where possible, please include the main business of professional connection of each Board member.

See attached handwritten sheet

5. Meetings of Executive Committee and controlling Board during the past fiscal year; please list the date of each meeting and the total number of Board members present in person at each meeting (omit staff, guests, those present by proxy, etc.).

✓ 6. Program Report on activities last year; also any additional information on program or finances that you believe might be helpful to a prospective contributor.

? None

7. Fund Raising Materials - please enclose sample fund-raising brochures, form letter, etc., used during the past year.

See attached?

Write OK
9/9/59

NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HENRY DAVID
DIRECTOR OF STAFF STUDIES
ELI GINZBERG
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
BRYNA BALL

September 4, 1959

CHAIRMAN
ERWIN D. CANHAM
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
JOHN A. KROUT
DR. LEO BARTEMEIER
LEE A. DUBRIDGE
A. J. HAYES
MARGARET HICKEY
ROBERT M. MACIVER
ALONZO G. MORÓN
WILBUR C. MUNNECKE
FRANK W. PIERCE
JACOB S. POTOFSKY
ROLAND R. RENNE
SARA E. SOUTHALL
CHARLES P. TAFT
ROBERT W. WOODRUFF
HON. JAMES D. ZELLERBACH

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

The National Manpower Council is now engaged in a study of "The Waste of Manpower," its sixth major study. You are, of course, familiar with the Council and its work, but you will find the enclosed booklet helpful, for it describes its purposes and will bring you up to date on its publications.

The purpose of this letter is to invite you to attend the East Coast Regional conference for "The Waste of Manpower" study which the Council is holding on October 9-10 in New York City.

We hope to bring to this working conference twenty to twenty-five participants from the East Coast region who can provide information about and insight into the central concern of the present study--that is, the failure to develop or utilize the manpower potential of various groups in the population. Among these groups are racial, ethnic, and other minorities; older persons (both in and outside the labor force); migrant workers and their children; functional illiterates; and persons with physical and related disabilities.

Waste of manpower, obviously, can occur for many reasons, including poor preparation for work as a result of educational, training, or other deficiencies; lack of opportunities to develop skills on the job; employment in jobs which do not effectively utilize developed skills; and restrictions on opportunities for employment or training which are based on irrelevant considerations. The conference is designed to illuminate these and other sources of waste and the ways of reducing or preventing manpower waste.

The conference will be held at the St. Regis Hotel, 55th Street and Fifth Avenue, New York City, and will begin with luncheon on October 9. Afternoon and evening sessions are

scheduled for that day, and there will be morning and afternoon sessions on the 10th, with the conference closing at about 4:30 pm.

The National Manpower Council will, of course, cover the travel, hotel, and other expenses incurred by the conference participants.

I hope very much that you can attend the conference and in that way contribute to the Council's present study. Will you be good enough to let me know as promptly as you can whether we can count upon you to participate in the conference.

I look forward to hearing from you shortly.

Sincerely,

Henry David

Henry David

jda
Enc.

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

September 30, 1959

The St. Regis Hotel
55th and 5th Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve a single room for Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, October 6 - 9, 1959 in the name of Mr. Harold Fleming. Please mark for late arrival on the 6th.

Confirmation by return wire would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary

MF

NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HENRY DAVID

DIRECTOR OF STAFF STUDIES
ELI GINZBERG

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FRANK W. PIERCE
JACOB S. POTOFSKY
ROLAND R. RENNE
SARA E. SOUTHALL
CHARLES P. TAFT
ROBERT W. WOODRUFF
HON. JAMES D. ZELLERBACH

October 2, 1959

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 5 1959

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Dr. Henry David has asked me to tell you how pleased we are to learn that you will be attending the East Coast Regional conference on "The Waste of Manpower" which the Council is holding on October 9 and 10 in New York.

The conference will be held in the Louis XVI Suite at the St. Regis Hotel, Fifth Avenue and 55th Street, and will begin with luncheon at 12 noon on October 9. The conference participants will be together for dinner that evening and for luncheon on October 10. If for any reason you will not be with us for luncheon or dinner on the 9th, will you please let me know as soon as possible.

An agenda for the conference is enclosed, and a list of participants will be available at the conference.

We look forward to seeing you at the St. Regis on October 9th.

Sincerely yours,

Bryna Ball

Bryna Ball

cr
Enc.

NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

"The Waste of Manpower"

Eastern Regional Working Conference

St. Regis Hotel
New York City
October 9-10, 1959

AGENDA

The National Manpower Council is currently engaged in a study called "The Waste of Manpower." The failure to develop or to utilize the manpower potential of various groups in the population is the central concern of this study. Waste of manpower can occur for many reasons, including poor preparation for work as a result of educational, training, or other deficiencies; lack of opportunities to develop skills on the job; employment in jobs which do not effectively utilize developed skills; and restrictions on opportunities for employment or training which are based on irrelevant considerations. Among the groups being studies from the viewpoint of manpower waste are racial, ethnic, and other minorities, older persons (both within and outside the labor force), migrant workers and their children, functional illiterates, and persons with physical and related disabilities.

- - - - - - - - - - - -

1. How is manpower waste within each of these groups to be identified and measured?

2. What significant changes affecting the members of these groups have recently taken place or are now going on, in terms of preparation for work, the kinds of jobs held, and opportunities for advancement in employment?

3. What are the realistic goals--both immediate and long-range--which can be set with respect to better manpower development and employment opportunities of the members of each of these groups?

4. What are the key problems and difficulties which must be overcome to achieve major gains in the manpower development and utilization of members of these groups?

NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

EAST COAST REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR "THE WASTE OF MANPOWER"

October 9 and 10

St. Regis Hotel

New York City

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

William L. Batt, Jr.
Secretary
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
Department of Labor and Industry
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Luis A. Cardona
Chief, Employment Section
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
322 West 45th Street
New York 36, New York

Omer Carmichael
Superintendent of Public Schools
506 W. Hill Street
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Kenneth B. Clark
Associate Director
Northside Center for Child
Development, Inc.
31 West 110th Street
New York 26, New York

A. L. Feldman
President
Puritan Chemical Company
916 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 18, Georgia

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Hipolito Gutierrez
Assistant Supervisor
Employment Section
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
322 West 45th Street
New York 36, New York

Margaret Hickey
Ladies' Home Journal
Independence Square
Philadelphia 5, Pennsylvania
(Member, National Manpower Council)

Lawrence O. Houstoun, Jr.
Executive Assistant to
the Commissioner
State of New Jersey
Department of Labor and Industry
20 West Front Street
Trenton, New Jersey

Lewis W. Jones
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Philip Kaiser
American University
School of International Service
Massachusetts & Nebraska Avenues,
N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Elizabeth J. Kuck
International Harvester
180 North Michigan
Chicago 1, Illinois

Herman H. Long
Director
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Division
Board of Home Missions
Congregational Christian Churches
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Alonzo G. Morón
Educational Consultant
Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
(Member, National Manpower Council)

Paul H. Norgren
Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc.
1270 Sixth Avenue
New York 20, New York

Dan Raabe
Senior Personnel Adviser
Consolidated Edison Company
of New York, Inc.
4 Irving Place
New York 3, New York

Charles E. Ramsey
Department of Rural Sociology
333 Warren Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Reverend Kenneth A. Roadarmel
General Secretary
New York State Council of
Churches
600 West Genesee Street
Syracuse 4, New York

Charles F. Schwan, Jr.
Washington Representative
Council of State Governments
1025 Connecticut Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Henry D. Sheldon
Population Division
Bureau of the Census
Washington 25, D. C.

Julius A. Thomas
National Director of
Industrial Relations
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Robert A. Thompson
Associate in Housing
The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

National Manpower Council

Bryna Ball, Associate Director
Henry David, Executive Director
Peter Eilbott, Research Assistant
Eli Ginzberg, Director of Staff Studies

THE NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

Established at Columbia University in 1951 under a grant from the Ford Foundation to study significant manpower problems and to contribute to the more effective development and utilization of the nation's most precious resource —its people.

THE NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

Its sixteen members are drawn from industry, labor, education, and public service. They are:

Chairman

ERWIN D. CANHAM
Editor-in-Chief, *The Christian Science Monitor,*
Boston, Massachusetts

Deputy Chairman

JOHN A. KROUT
Vice President, Columbia University,
New York, New York

DR. LEO BARTEMEIER
Medical Director, The Seton Psychiatric Institute,
Baltimore, Maryland

LEE A. DuBRIDGE
President, California Institute of Technology,
Pasadena, California

A. J. HAYES
President, International Association of Machinists,
Washington, D. C.

MARGARET HICKEY
Editor, Public Affairs Department, *Ladies' Home Journal,*
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

ROBERT M. MacIVER
Lieber Professor Emeritus of Political Philosophy and
Sociology, Columbia University, New York, New York

ALONZO G. MORÓN
President, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia

WILBUR C. MUNNECKE
Vice President, Field Enterprises, Chicago, Illinois

FRANK W. PIERCE
Former Director, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, New York, New York

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York, New York

ROLAND R. RENNE
President, Montana State College, Bozeman, Montana

SARA E. SOUTHALL
Personnel Management Consultant, Santa Fe, New Mexico

CHARLES P. TAFT
Headley and Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio

ROBERT W. WOODRUFF
Chairman, Finance Committee and Director, The Coca-Cola Company, Atlanta, Georgia

HON. JAMES D. ZELLERBACH
United States Ambassador to Italy, Rome, Italy

THE STAFF

The National Manpower Council Staff, whose offices are in the Low Memorial Library of Columbia University, is headed by

Executive Director
HENRY DAVID

Director of Staff Studies
ELI GINZBERG

Associate Director
BRYNA BALL

THE COUNCIL'S PUBLICATIONS

The National Manpower Council publishes the results of its studies, each of which centers on the *quality* of the nation's manpower—that is, on the training, skills, capacities, and creativeness of the American people.

In each of these volumes there is a Statement by the Council, which presents its major findings and recommendations, and chapters by the Council staff. To date, the following volumes of Council studies have appeared:

STUDENT DEFERMENT AND NATIONAL MANPOWER POLICY. 1952. (out of print)

A POLICY FOR SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL MANPOWER. 1953.

A POLICY FOR SKILLED MANPOWER. 1954.

WOMANPOWER. 1957.

The Council also publishes the proceedings of its national conferences which are based on its studies and held at Arden House, the Harriman Campus of Columbia University. To date, the following volumes of proceedings have appeared.

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE ON THE UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL MANPOWER. 1954. (out of print)

IMPROVING THE WORK SKILLS OF THE NATION. 1955.

WORK IN THE LIVES OF MARRIED WOMEN. 1958.

The Columbia University Press is the publisher for the National Manpower Council.

WORK IN THE LIVES OF MARRIED WOMEN

Seeking to explore further some of the social, economic, psychological, and cultural implications of the revolution in women's employment, the National Manpower Council brought together at a five-day conference over eighty participants from government, industry, labor, education, social welfare, child care, civic organizations, and the churches. Four major themes engaged their attention: the Education, Training and Guidance of Women for Reentry into the Labor Force; the Utilization of Womanpower; the Income Earned by Married Women; and Working Mothers and the Development of Children.

The volume reporting this conference, *Work in the Lives of Married Women,* deals with the following and other significant questions: Why do married women work? What happens to the income they earn? Does a mother's absence from the home because she is employed jeopardize the healthy development of her children or contribute to juvenile delinquency? Do older women make good workers?

Work in the Lives of Married Women contains the addresses delivered at the conference by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell; Katherine Brownell Oettinger, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Erwin D. Canham, Editor-in-Chief of *The Christian Science Monitor* and Chairman of the National Manpower Council; five study papers, "The Children of Working Mothers: A Psychiatrist's View," by Leo Bartemeier, M.D., "Supplementary Income Earned by Married Women," by Frances Lomas Feldman, "Utilizing 'Older' Women Workers," by Howard S. Kaltenborn, "Education for Reentry into the Labor Force," by Esther Lloyd-Jones, and "Effects Upon Children of Their Mothers' Outside Employment," by Eleanor E. Maccoby; reports of the conference discussions; and a summary of conference findings by Henry David.

"The prepared papers and summaries of the discussions provide a comprehensive and readable statement of current knowledge and opinion on the questions under study."—*American Sociological Review*

"This book probes some very important problems which should be carefully considered by anyone responsible for hiring labor. The discussion sections . . . are particularly revealing."—*Personnel Journal*

220 pages. Cloth $4.75

WOMANPOWER

Since 1890, the number of working women has increased from 4 million to 22 million. Since 1940, the growth of the female labor force has been especially rapid. Today, nearly 30 percent of all the married women in this country hold jobs. More than half of the employed women are married, and almost half of them are more than forty years old. The touchstones of the "revolution" in women's employment are the kinds of work women now do, the kinds of women employed, and their reasons for working. The Council deals with these developments from the viewpoint of the country's total manpower resources and recommends ways of insuring the more effective development and utilization of womanpower.

Twelve chapters by the Council staff cover:

The New Concern with Manpower
Women in the Labor Force Today
Women in Business and Industry: an Employer Appraisal
Trends in the Employment of Women
The Impact of World War II on Women's Employment
The Secondary Education of Girls
Post-High School Education and Training
The Labor Market Behavior of Women
Shortages of Highly Trained Personnel
Women in the Armed Services
Work in the Lives of Women
Public Policy Issues

"*Womanpower,* by the National Manpower Council, provides a better understanding of women's important role in our economic life. The book presents vividly the nation's present and future need for the skills and talents of women workers. I believe it is a significant contribution which will do much to enlighten all of us on the great economic potential of American women."—*James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor*

"This is a book which will be read time and time again with profit by all who have an interest in the changes in women's employment and in women's maximum success and adjustment to it . . . this many-faceted study is valuable to all students of manpower problems. The work is almost encyclopedic in its coverage. . . ."—*Science*

371 pages. Cloth $5.00

IMPROVING THE WORK SKILLS OF THE NATION

This volume reports on the conference attended by sixty-nine representatives from industry, labor, education, the armed services, and government. Following up on *A Policy for Skilled Manpower,* they considered how the secondary schools, industry, and the community can contribute to the improvement of the nation's work skills. Chapters reporting their discussions illuminate the complex interrelationships involved in the development of skill.

The volume contains in addition the following addresses and papers: "The Problem of Skill Development," by Eli Ginzberg and Henry David; "The Investment in Manpower," by Courtney C. Brown; "Our Secondary Schools and National Manpower Needs," by Clarence Faust; "Vocational Guidance and the Skills of the Work Force," by George B. Baldwin; "Industry's Training Effort in Improving the Work Skills of the Nation," by Karl R. Kunze; "Conservation of Technical Manpower in the Armed Services: A Problem in the Management of Skills," by Edmond H. Leavey, Major General, USA (Ret.); "The Government Stake in Skilled Manpower," by the Honorable James P. Mitchell; "The Community and Secondary Education," by O. H. Roberts, Jr.; "The Placement Function in an Industrial Society: The Unexplored Core of the Manpower Problem," by John J. Corson.

"The conferees performed a valuable service by calling attention to matters that should be considered by persons developing training programs or conducting research studies in this field."—*Industrial and Labor Relations Review*

"The styles are as varied as the writers, the plot is as simple as civilization's survival, and the literary excellence pops out in much of the writing, which has clarity, punch, and challenge."—*The Christian Science Monitor*

203 pages. Cloth $3.50, *Paper* $2.25

A POLICY FOR SKILLED MANPOWER

The American economy, based on a complex and constantly evolving technology, requires ever more and better technical and skilled personnel. This volume provides the first comprehensive evaluation of the critical role played by the nation's nine million skilled workers and technicians, and suggests means for better developing and using its manpower resources in this field.

The Council's Statement recommends ways of strengthening the contribution made by secondary education to the acquisition of skills; developing a more effective program for vocational guidance; providing more equal opportunities for all individuals to acquire skills; improving the facilities and methods used to train skilled and technical personnel; and increasing knowledge about our manpower resources.

Chapters by the Council staff deal with:

Skill and Economic Development
Trends in Skilled and Technical Manpower
Education and Training of Workers: An Employer Appraisal
The Armed Forces and Skilled Manpower
Secondary Education and Preparation for Work
Issues in Vocational Education
Types of Vocational Schooling
How Workers Become Skilled
Opportunities, Incentives, and the Acquisition of Skill
Vocational Guidance and Counseling
Public Policies and Skilled Manpower

"The book deals with issues and practices in secondary education with a firmness and fairness that are bound to command the respect of the professionals."—*Teachers College Record*

"The recommendations resulting from the studies deserve careful consideration by leaders in business and industry, and in labor, education and government."—*U.S. Quarterly Book Review*

". . . a sound and important contribution to the problem of preserving and increasing the manpower resources of the United States. This report is doubly important in that it touches upon fields of education hitherto sadly neglected by our educational institutions."—*Technical Education News*

299 pages. Cloth $4.50

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE ON THE UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL MANPOWER

Sixty-six experts from all parts of the United States met at Arden House to consider ways of making more effective use of scientific and professional personnel. Engineering, medicine, and teaching were the three professional fields upon which the conference centered its attention. These fields are marked by distinctive, if not unique, utilization problems, and the effective use of the personnel in each of them is of critical importance to the nation's well-being.

This volume presents accounts of the authoritative discussions on engineering, medical, and teaching personnel; reports of the discussions of the conference as a whole; and a constructive interpretation of its findings. It makes available the following papers specially prepared for the conference: "Issues in the Utilization of Scientific Manpower," by James D. Zellerbach; "An Economist's View of the Manpower Concept," by Kenneth E. Boulding; "Manpower Utilization from the Point of View of Top Administration," by Frank Pace, Jr.; "Technicians and the Utilization of Professional Manpower," by Seymour L. Wolfbein; "Some Thoughts on the Utilization of Engineers," by George M. Maverick; "Problems and Potentialities of Using Paramedical Personnel to Insure the Most Effective Utilization of Medical Personnel," by Marcus D. Kogel, M.D.; and "More Effective Utilization of Teachers," by Henry Chauncey.

"The report is recommended for the interest of the controversial issues raised for discussion as well as for the practicality of its suggestions and findings."—*Science*

"Among the significant publications which are emerging from time to time in the field of manpower this volume will undoubtedly find an important place."—*American Journal of Physics*

"This should be of value to persons in any field, and the six 'major approaches' [to effective utilization] can well form the basis for a sound approach to manpower problems in any field."—*The Scientific Monthly*

197 pages. Cloth $3.50

A POLICY FOR SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL MANPOWER

Recent scientific developments, projected defense requirements, and continuing personnel shortages in certain fields have served to focus the nation's attention on the relatively small but crucial segment of the labor force engaged in scientific and professional work. This volume is a comprehensive evaluation of the role of these five million persons in the economy and of the problems encountered in meeting current and future demands for highly trained personnel.

In its Statement the Council offers recommendations for developing more reliable knowledge about our human resources; for strengthening institutions that educate and train scientists and professionals; for maintaining a continuous flow of students into institutions of higher education; for expanding the opportunities for capable young people to secure advanced training; and for utilizing more effectively the available supply of scientific and professional manpower.

Chapters by the Council staff cover:

The Growth of the Professions
Training and Occupational Distribution
The Potential for Higher Education
Research and Development
The Armed Forces and Highly Trained Manpower
The Nature of Manpower Shortages
The Engineering Profession
Physicists
Teachers
Physicians
Manpower Policies in a Democratic Society

"Although this report is considered by its authors 'to be exploratory rather than definitive,' it is by all odds the most adequate of available sources of data and ideas concerning the intellectual resources of America and their present and potential utilization."—*American Scientist*

"The book is valuable for the solid research which it reports but is perhaps even more valuable for its success in bringing into focus so many aspects of the manpower problems in science and the professions during fast-changing times."—*American Journal of Physics*

"Altogether, the book is an able and concise presentation of the most significant problems regarding scientific and specialized personnel."—*Monthly Labor Review*

263 pages. Cloth $4.50

STUDENT DEFERMENT AND NATIONAL MANPOWER POLICY

The Council's first study examined the student deferment program of the Selective Service System. Together with the Statement and recommendations by the Council, this volume presented essential information on the program, analyzed the military manpower pool and the method of selecting students for deferment, and dealt with deferment for skilled and specialized personnel. It also appraised student deferment policy in the light of democratic values.

The Council's Statements from each of its studies are also published separately. Copies of these Statements reprinted from A POLICY FOR SCIENTIFIC AND PROFESSIONAL MANPOWER, A POLICY FOR SKILLED MANPOWER, and WOMANPOWER, are available upon request from the National Manpower Council.

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

Government and Manpower, a study of key manpower problems of government in America and of the impact of public policies on the development and utilization of the nation's manpower, will be published in 1959. The proceedings of the Arden House conference based on this study will appear early in 1960.

The Council's study of *The Waste of Manpower* will be concerned with the nature and extent of manpower waste, the groups most subject to underdevelopment and underutilization, and the kinds of remedial action available.

It will be followed by the Council's final publication, *Manpower Policies for a Democratic Society.*

NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

Telephone: MOnument 6-2234

October 13, 1959

Miss Bryna Ball
National Manpower Council
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss Ball:

The conference last week was an extraordinarily pleasant and invigorating occasion, and I want to thank the Council staff most warmly for including me.

My expenses were as follows:

Airplane fare, Atlanta-NYC-Atlanta.....	$119.13
Airport limousines	5.70
Hotel (10/8 and 10/9)	34.00
Meals	3.50
Taxis	6.40
TOTAL:	$168.73

My appreciation and best regards to you, Henry David, and Eli Ginzberg.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Encls: Jim Montgomery pamphlet
Nashville Tennessean reprint
Constitution & Jo urnal editorials (10/25/59)
Wall St. Journal on "Cost of Segregation"
1959 Program Report
"L" Reports #2,3,4,10, 11
New South: Jan. 1958, "High Cost of Segregation"
Sept. 1959, "What Might Follow School Closing"
Green-Gauerke Study

October 28, 1959

Dr. Eli Ginzberg
National Manpower Council
Columbia University
New York, New York

file

Dear Eli:

Here are a few things of ours and others bearing on the economic implications of segregation-desegregation troubles. We feel that a major job of public interpretation of these facts is still to be done.

Also enclosed is an overall report on our program activities this year, which you may find of interest.

I found the recent conference enjoyable and instructive and will hope for an early opportunity for further conversation.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures.

Natl Manpower Council

CONSERVATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

November 4, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of October 28th and the enclosures which you were good enough to send along. I will read them over the next few days and I am sure that I will be enlightened by them.

Please do look in on me when next you are in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Eli Ginzberg

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

HCF at Commodore
Hotel till Sat. afternoon.
(Daytime Fri. + Sat - meetings
of Nat'l Manpower Council,
St. Regis Hotel.)

Sat. Evening thru
Sun. afternoon. Ambassador
Hotel, Atlantic City.

Home app. 10 PM Sun.
night.

N A T I O N A L

M I N O R I T I E S

A S S O C I A T I O N

I N C .

National Headquarters

Glover Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

The following are the officers and directors of the Association as of March 25, 1946:

National President.....C. B. Schultz
Texarkana, Arkansas

National Vice-President.....W. W. Schuette
Memphis, Tennessee

National Secretary-Treasurer.....W. D. Tompkins
Little Rock, Arkansas

National Counsel.....J. Ross Robley
Attorney-at-Law
Little Rock, Arkansas

Board of Directors: C. B. Schultz; W. W. Schuette; W. D. Tompkins; J. Ross Robley; and Martha L. Travis, Ashdown, Arkansas.

NOTE: The Board of Directors shall be increased to a membership of fifteen as soon as practicable on an inter-racial basis, in accordance with recommendations of the National Advisory Board.

NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

The National Advisory Board shall be made up of duly elected representatives of Local Chapters of the Association.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
OF
NATIONAL MINORITIES ASSOCIATION, INC.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, the undersigned, have this day voluntarily associated ourselves together for the purpose of forming a corporation under and pursuant to the laws of the State of Arkansas, and, WE HEREBY CERTIFY:

FIRST: The name of the said corporation is:

NATIONAL MINORITIES ASSOCIATION, INCORPORATED

SECOND: The purpose of this corporation shall be to form and perfect an association designed to pormote cooperation, education, and effective employment, education and opportunity for all people in business, industry and the professions without regard to color, religion, or previous condition.

The Association is formed under the laws of the State of Arkansas as a non-profit corporation without capital stock for the purpose of promoting cooperation, education and benevolent purposes.

The structure of this Association shall be the relation of members, chapters and Board of Directors. This is to be achieved through the incorporation of the Association as a non-profit corporation.

The powers of this corporation shall be the issuance of memberships to individuals, charters to autonomous chapters, and the publication of such magazines, periodicals and other additional literature as to further the purpose of this corporation.

The foregoing clauses are to be construed both as objects and powers; and it is hereby expressly provided that the enumeration herein of specific powers shall not be held to limit or restrict in any manner the general powers of the corporation granted to it by right of its existence, as outlined in Section 2257 of the Arkansas Corporation Act.

THIRD: The principal office of this corporation is to be located in the City of Little Rock, County of Pulaski, State of Arkansas.

FOURTH: There shall be no capital stock of this corporation, but the Board of Directors may from time to time, and upon such terms and conditions as it may deem advisable, issue certificates of membership, and in such number as said Board of Directors may from time to time decide.

FIFTH: The members of the governing board shall be styled "Directors" and the number of such directors shall be not less than five, but may be increased or changed in the manner provided by the General Corporation Act of this State. The first Board of Directors shall consist of five members, whose names and post office addresses are as follows:

C. B. Schultz	212 E. 20th St.,	Texarkana, Arkansas
W. W. Schuette	2588 Malone St.,	Memphis, Tennessee
W. D. Tompkins	1601 Woodrow St.,	Little Rock, Arkansas
Martha L. Travis		Ashdown, Arkansas
Helen T. Tompkins	1601 Woodrow St.,	Little Rock, Arkansas

SIXTH: The existence of this corporation shall be for a period of fifty (50) years.

SEVENTH: In furtherance, but not in limitation of the powers granted herein, the corporation shall have authority to set up and establish offices in any State of the United States and all parts of the world. The officers of this corporation shall be a President, Vice-president, and Secretary-Treasurer, the three of whom or their successors in office and two other members shall constitute the Board of Directors, provided that the Board of Directors shall have the right to enlarge their numbers to not more than fifteen. The Board of Directors shall have exclusive management and control of all finances of the Corporation; contract for all literature,

periodicals or publications, pay all office expense or any other expense necessary for perpetuating the corporation, or carrying on any activity connected with or incident to the conduct of the business of the corporation.

Chapters organized by this corporation shall have a right to make their own Constitution and By-Laws so long as nothing therein is in conflict with the National policy of the corporation as established by its Board of Directors.

Amendments to the Constitution shall only be made by the Board of Directors and shall be by a majority vote of the members thereof.

We, the undersigned, being each of the original incorporators, for the purpose of forming a corporation to do business both within and without the State of Arkansas, and in pursuance of the General Corporation Law of the State of Arkansas, effective and as subsequently amended, do make and file this certificate, hereby declaring and certifying that the facts hereinabove stated are true and accordingly have hereunto affixed our signatures this 3rd day of January, 1946.

(Signed) C. B. SCHULTZ

W. W. SCHUETTE

W. D. TOMPKINS

STATE OF ARKANSAS)
) SS.
COUNTY OF PULASKI)

On this 23rd day of January, 1946, before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public, in and for the County and State aforesaid, personally appeared C. B. Schultz, W. W. Schuette, and W. D. Tompkins, known to me to be the persons described in and who executed the foregoing instrument and who acknowledged to me that they executed the same freely and voluntarily and for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal, the day and year in this certificate first above written.

(signed) CARL J. MEURER
Notary Public
In and for said County and State

(SEAL)
My commission expires this
27 day of APRIL, 1946.

CONSTITUTION

of the

NATIONAL MINORITIES ASSOCIATION, INC.

and

LAWS GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT OF CHAPTERS

ARTICLE I - NAME

NATIONAL MINORITIES ASSOCIATION, INC.

ARTICLE II - CONSTITUTION

This Constitution shall be the Supreme Law of the National Minorities Association, Inc., Headquarters, Little Rock, Arkansas

ARTICLE III - PURPOSE

The purpose of this corporation shall be to form and perfect an Association designed to promote cooperation, education and effective employment, education and opportunity for, all people in business, industry and the professions without regard to color, religion, or previous conditions.

ARTICLE IV - DUES & ASSESSMENTS

SECTION 1 - The fees for membership in a Chapter shall be Two Dollars until after the Chapter has been granted a Charter and thereafter may be established by the Chapter By-Law at not less than Two Dollars nor more than Twenty-Five Dollars per year.

SECTION 2 - One Dollar and Fifty cents of the membership dues shall be paid to the National Secretary-Treasurer at the time membership application is reported thereto, of which 50 per cent is to be used for operation expense, publication of periodicals as hereinafter provided, and promotion of the organization of chapters, the other 50 per cent is to go into a Sinking Fund as authorized in Article XVI.

SECTION 3 - The membership dues shall not be less than at the rate of Two Dollars per year.

SECTION 4 - Membership dues are due and payable upon application of membership.

SECTION 5 - Assessments may be levied by the National Executive Board of the National Association in the following manner: The National Executive Board shall have the authority to levy assessments of One Dollar in any one calendar year. If further assessments are deemed necessary by the National Executive Board it shall become mandatory upon them to send a communication to all Chapters stating reasons for the assessments and asking their approval of the assessment. Such assessments shall be levied only when approved in the following manner: Each Chapter shall hold a specially called and duly advertised meeting for the purpose of considering and voting on the assessment. The total number of the members in attendance at all of these meetings shall be computed, and a majority vote of this number shall determine.

SECTION 6 - Assessments are due and payable at such time as set by the National Executive Board. Any member of the Organization failing to pay his assessment within thirty days of the last date said assessment is due and payable shall be delinquent.

ARTICLE V - OFFICERS

SECTION 1 - The National Officers of the Organization shall be a President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer and Board of Directors not less than five, but may be increased or changed in the manner provided by the General Corporation Act of the State of Arkansas.

ARTICLE VI - DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL PRESIDENT

SECTION 1 - The National President shall preside at the sessions of the Convention in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution. He shall preside at the sessions of the National Executive Board. He shall advance the interests of the Organization.

SECTION 2 - The National President shall execute the instructions of the National Executive Board and have the Organization within the provisions of the Constitution and shall report his acts at the regular meetings of the National Executive Board.

SECTION 3 - The National President shall appoint such Representative as he may deem necessary from time to time, subject to the approval of the National Executive Board.

SECTION 4 - The National President shall have power to withdraw any power delegated to any elected officer when he becomes convinced that the officer has been derelict in his duty or been guilty of a dishonest act.

SECTION 5 - The National President may suspend and remove from the payroll any appointed Representative from his assigned duties for the dereliction in the performance thereof, or for conduct unbecoming a Representative of the Organization, or to conserve the finances of the Organization, subject to the approval of the National Executive Board.

SECTION 6 - The National President may hire such legal, technical, or professional help as is necessary to efficiently operate the departments of the Organization subject to the approval of the National Executive Board.

SECTION 7 - The National President shall by appointment fill all vacancies occuring in the National Office subject to the approval of the National Executive Board.

SECTION 8 - The National President shall have authority to call special meetings of Chapter whenever he deems such meetings to be necessary to protect the interest of its membership after proper notification or consultation with officers of Subordinate Bodies involved. He shall have the authority to delegate such duties to any National Officer or Representative he may name provided such delegation of authority is written signed by him and bears the seal of the National Organization.

SECTION 9 - The National President shall convene regular and special sessions of the National Executive Board whenever necessary.

SECTION 10 - The National President shall devote full time to the affairs of the Organization.

ARTICLE VII - DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

SECTION 1 - The National Vice-President shall perform the duties assigned him by the National President. During the absence of the National President or his inability to act he shall perform the duties of the office of the National President, except that he cannot alter or modify any rules or regulations made by the National President without the approval of the National Executive Board.

SECTION 2 - The National Vice- President shall devote full time to the affairs of the Organization.

ARTICLE VIII - DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall attend all sessions of the convention and of the National Executive Board. He shall cause to be recorded the proceedings of the convention and meetings of the National Executive Board. He shall have charge of and preserve all books, documents and effects of the National Office, except such records and documents that properly belong to the office of the National President. He shall issue receipts for all moneys paid to the Organization; pay all bills and current expenses as approved by the National Executive Board. All expenditures shall be paid by checks countersigned by the National President when the latter is satisfied of their correctness. The National Secretary-Treasurer shall keep copies of all important correspondence sent out and received by the National Office and employ together with a detailed statement belonging to the Organization to the National Executive Board.

SECTION 2 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall be the custodian of the Funds of the Organization and at the direction of the National Executive Board shall deposit all funds of the Organization in some responsible bank or banks. He shall invest all funds in excess of a specified amount to be decided by the National Executive Board with banks giving interest-bearing certificates of deposit or invest such excess in bonds of the United States Government.

SECTION 3 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall give bond, amount of which shall be determined by the National Executive Board, and paid for by the Organization, to insure the faithful discharge of his duties.

SECTION 4 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall perform such duties as are herein provided for in this Constitution or may be assigned to him by the National Executive Board.

SECTION 5 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall keep a complete record of the membership of the Organization. He shall keep a correct record of the members of each Chapter and Regional Organization, and shall make a written report to the National Executive Board quarterly.

SECTION 6 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall, with the consent of the National Executive Board, employ such assistance as may be necessary to conduct the affairs of his office.

SECTION 7 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall conduct all correspondence and receive all applications for Charters and Countersign such Charters as are granted by the National Executive Board and signed by the National President.

SECTION 8 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall at the end of his term of office deliver to his successor in office all books, money, property, papers and other belongings of the Organization in keeping, and his books and affairs shall at all times be open for inspection by the general officers.

SECTION 9 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall devote full time to the affairs of the Organization.

ARTICLE IX - DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

SECTION 1 - The National Executive Board shall have power to revoke Charters and to reorganize Subordinate Bodies in one of the two following manners:

A - In case of disputes or conditions within a Subordinate Body that might threaten its existence the National Executive Board by majority vote may reorganize the Subordinate Body by ordering a special election to be held within thirty days after the members in good standing are notified by mail. Under this provision the elected officers of the Subordinate Body shall continue to hold office until the election and may run for election. The National Executive Board may have two representatives to work with the Chapter Election Committee.

B - For violation of this constitution or in case of disputes within any Subordinate Body the welfare of its membership or its existence, the National Executive Board after a hearing, revoke the Charter of suspend any officer or officers from office and take over supervision of the Subordinate Body until its affairs have been properly adjusted. In any case of suspension of officers,

an election of new officers shall take place within sixty days from date of order where upon Subordinate Body shall be returned its autonomy under this Constitution.

SECTION 2 - The National Executive Board shall approve all Charters and initial supplies necessary to operate the Subordinate Bodies of the Organization.

SECTION 3 - The National Executive Board shall decide all questions involving the interpretations of the Constitution between conventions.

ARTICLE X - SALARIES AND EXPENSES

SECTION 1 - The salaries of the National President, the National Vice-President, the National Secretary-Treasurer, and the National Membership Directors for the services rendered by each of said Officers during their term of office shall be decided and approved by the National Executive Board.

SECTION 2 - The National President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer and Membership Director shall not serve in any capacity as an officer of any Chapter, Regional Organization, or other Subordinate Body beyond a period of thirty days after having been elected a National Officer of the Organization.

SECTION 3 - All National Executive Board members shall serve under the general direction of the National President subject to the decision of the National Executive Board.

SECTION 4 - The compensation of any member of the Organization performing service under direction of the National Executive Board shall be an amount for the time lost equal to his earning capacity except that this remuneration shall be not less than ten dollars per day or in case of National Representative, Sixty Dollars per week.

SECTION 5 - When any member is required by the Organization to perform services away from his home, he shall be allowed, in addition to the amounts set forth above, first-class transportation fare by the shortest route to and from his destination and actual hotel and incidental expenses, not to exceed ten dollars per day provided that an itemized bill shall in all cases be rendered to the National Secretary-Treasurer.

SECTION 6 - The full-time salaried officers and employees with a year's service in the organization shall be allowed a two weeks vacation with pay, or pay in lieu thereof for each year, but such vacation shall not interrupt the ordinary workings of their office.

ARTICLE XI - OFFICIAL PUBLICATION

SECTION 1 - There shall be published at least once a month by the Organization, a publication designed to educate the membership and acquaint the membership with the activities of the organization. The title of said publication shall be "NATIONAL MINORITIES", or its successor designation, official publication of the organization.

SECTION 2 - "NATIONAL MINORITIES", shall be under the supervision of the National Board of Directors who shall select a Publication Committee consisting of the National President and two members of the National Board of Directors. The Publication Committee shall be directly responsible to the National Board of Directors in carrying out the tash of publishing, "NATIONAL MINORITIES". The Editor of "National Minorities" shall be appointed by the National President, subject to approval of the National Board of Directors. The Editor shall have the power to appoint Associate Editors, subject to the approval of the National Board of Directors to assist him in his work. The Editor shall be paid a fixed sum as set and approved by the National Board of Directors.

SECTION 3 - The National Secretary-Treasurer shall allocate out of each per capita tax paid to the organization twenty-five cents for a subscription fee and this subscription fee shall be placed in a fund to be known as National Minorities Fund.

SECTION 4 - All incomes from advertising in the official publication "NATIONAL MINORITIES" shall be credited to the National Minorities Fund.

SECTION 5 - Mailing cost shall be charged to each Chapter for the number of copies they have sent out.

SECTION 6 - This publication is to be sent through the U. S. Mail to each member of good standing.

SECTION 7 - Price of single copies shall be ten cents per copy.

SECTION 8 - All Chapter publications shall be in conformity with the policies of the organization and must first be authorized by the National Executive Board.

ARTICLE XII - LAWS GOVERNING THE CHAPTERS

SECTION 1 - All subordinate bodies shall submit any and all laws governing said subordinate bodies to the National Secretary-Treasurer for approval by the National Board of Directors.

SECTION 2 -Each subordinate body shall strive to obtain the objectives set forth in this Constitution and maintain free relations with other organizations.

SECTION 3 - Each Chapter shall have the right to make their own Constitution and By-Laws as long as nothing therein is in conflict with the National Policy of the corporation as established by its National Executive Board.

SECTION 4 - Each Chapter shall have the following officers: President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer.

SECTION 5 - Amendments to the Constitution shall only be made by the National Board of Directors, and shall be by a majority vote of the members thereof.

ARTICLE XIII - DUTIES OF CHAPTER OFFICERS

SECTION 1 - It shall be the duty of the Chapter Recording Secretary or Secretary-Treasurer to keep a correct record of the proceedings of the Chapter, furnish the National Secretary-Treasurer with the names and addresses of all Chapters, read all documents and correspondence to the Chapter membership and keep them on file for future reference.

SECTION 2 - It shall be the duty of the Chapter Financial Secretary to receive all dues, membership fees, assessments, fines and other income of the Chapter, and to give official receipts for same.

SECTION 3 - It shall be the duty of the Chapter Financial Secretary of Secretary-Treasurer to keep a record of all the members, members suspended, expelled, deceased, transferred and reinstated during his term of office, and notify the National Secretary-Treasurer of same, and perform such other duties as the Chapter By-Laws prescribe or the Chapter Executive Board may direct.

SECTION 4 - It shall be the duty of the Chapter Secretary-Treasurer on the demand of the National Secretary-Treasurer to produce his books for examination and audit.

ARTICLE XIV - CHARGES AND TRIALS OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

SECTION 1 - Any elected or appointed officer of the organization may be removed from office for any violation of this Constitution or of the By-Laws of the Chapter of which he is an officer, or because of the commission of any act which may be deemed to impair the usefulness of the organization or which is unbecoming to the dignity of his office.

SECTION 2 - All charges brought must be in writing and signed by the accuser and filed with the National Secretary-Treasurer who shall refer such charges to the appropriate Trial Body and shall give notice in writing by registered mail of such charges to the accuser and the defendant and of the

time and place of the hearing, which hearing shall be held within one month after the receipt of such charges.

SECTION 3 - By not less than a two-thirds vote of the member of the Trial Committee a National Officer or National Board Member may be reprimanded, fined, suspended, or expelled if found to be guilty of charges filed against him.

SECTION 4 - At no time shall the Trial Committee hear charges with less than four of the National Board members assembled.

SECTION 5 - Any officer or member involved in any case either as an accuser or a defendant shall be disqualified from sitting on the Trial Body in his own case.

ARTICLE XV - APPEALS

SECTION 1 - Any member of the Organization wishing to appeal from the action, decision or penalty must do so in writing within thirty days after the aforesaid action, decision, or penalty, becomes effective.

ARTICLE XVI - FINANCIAL STATUS

SECTION 1 - An advancement of monies up to five thousand dollars, which is the amount to be used in fostering this organization, is to be solicited and made. In consideration of this advancement, The Corporation agrees to repay this advance by setting aside one-half of all memberships received until this amount is repaid in full, plus ten per cent interest, prior to the creation of the "Sinking Fund".

SECTION 2 - The Sinking Fund shall derive as stated in this Constitution, Article IV, Section 2, plus all Donations of any name, nature, or description.

SECTION 3 - The Sinking Fund shall be reserved, to promote cooperation, education, and effective employment, education and opportunity for, all people in business, industry and the professions without regard to color, religion, or previous conditions. This fund must be used exclusively for this purpose and no other; and expenditures from this fund must be approved before payment by a majority of the Board of Directors acting on the recommendation of the majority of an advisory board selected by the various chapter, carried on by a mail ballot.

ARTICLE XVII - INITIATIVE

SECTION 1 - Any alteration, addition to, or amendment of this Constitution of the "NATIONAL MINORITIES ASSOCIATION, INCORPORATED", or any measure or policy may be initiated, adopted, and made effective by a majority written ballot of the members of the organization on a referendum thereon which shall be conducted, and the ballots shall be provided by the National Executive Board upon petition by ten per cent of the members of the organization or upon petition by ten of the chapters of the organization.

ARTICLE XVIII - ELECTION OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1 - All officers shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting of the Board of Directors and shall assume office at the close of that meeting.

SECTION 2 - No member shall be eligible to office who has not been a member of the organization for one year.

SECTION 3 - No member shall hold the same office more than twice in succession, and filling an unexpired term shall, in this regard, be considered as a term in office.

SECTION 4 - Should an officer resign during the organization year, the President shall appoint some member of the organization to assume the office temporarily, and order the Secretary to send notice of a special election at a special meeting, when the vacancy can be filled.

NATIONAL NURSING COUNCIL FOR WAR SERVICE, INC.
1790 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. · CIRCLE 5-8000

November 10, 1944

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. Ira deA. Reid, Director
Department of Social Studies
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Reid:

Of vital interest to the National Nursing Council for War Service is the matter of improving and increasing educational facilities for the education of Negro nurses.

Because of this, we are arranging a conference at Dillard University December 1st and 2nd for the purpose of bringing educators, vocational counselors, and a few nursing educators together to discuss such points as: basic philosophies of education which should guide the educational approach to nursing; the use of existing college facilities to improve the status of nurses; the need for collegiate schools of nursing for Negro nurses; and the recruiting of college-trained women for the nursing profession.

Already knowing your interest in the conference of Higher Education for Negro Women, it would be highly desirable to have you attend this conference to participate in our deliberations. The conference will be kept on an informal basis with ample time for discussions on roundtables. If you can not use your own travel fund for your expenses, we can provide same for you.

I regret the lateness in writing you, but there have been some minor complications which retarded the planning of the conference somewhat. Will you be kind enough to wire me your reply?

Sincerely yours,

Estelle Massey Riddle
Estelle Massey Riddle
Consultant

EMR:tm

American Nurses' Association
National League of Nursing Education
National Organization for Public Health Nursing
Association of Collegiate Schools of Nursing
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses

American Red Cross Nursing Service
Council of Federal Nursing Services
International Council of Nurses
Division of Nurse Education, U. S. Public Health Service

Nursing Division, Procurement and Assignment Service, War Manpower Commission
Subcommittee on Nursing, Health and Medical Committee, Federal Security Agency
American Hospital Association

President's War Relief Control Board Registration No. D-26

February 12, 1945

Miss Estelle Massey Riddle, Consultant
National Nursing Council for War Service, Inc.
1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

Dear Miss Riddle:

Dr. Ira Reid has asked that I write and thank you for your letter of February 7 suggesting a cursory survey of the nursing situation in this community as a project for social studies students. His reaction to this suggestion is very favorable. He would like to see such a survey for the whole South.

Will you have the Nursing Information Bureau send the pertinent information to us at this address? The April issue of the Southern Frontier, monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council, is to be devoted to "Health". The material be useful to us, too, in working up this issue.

Cordially yours,

(MRS. PHILIP C. JAY, JR)

April Frontier

NATIONAL NURSING COUNCIL FOR WAR SERVICE, INC.

1790 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. · CIRCLE 5-8000

February 7, 1945

Dr. Ira deA. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Reid:

President Roosevelt's recent proposal to draft nurses brought to a focus the urgency of the nursing situation in relation to military needs. The National Nursing Council for War Service, representing ten national nursing bodies, the International Council of Nurses, and the American Hospital Association, has been publicizing and stressing the need for more nurses for the military and civilian areas since the beginning of the war.

The Council, from its inception, faced its responsibility for integrating the Negro nurse into the total war program. While considerable gains have been made, there is still great need for more active community concern relative to the nursing needs of the Negro people and ways by which these needs can be met now and in the peace years.

Because of this, I am writing to further solicit your cooperation in making your community more aware of its nursing assets, potentialities and liabilities.

We think the Negro Health Week observance in April might be an excellent time to concentrate on the nursing situation. I am writing, therefore, to suggest a cursory survey of the nursing situation in your community as a project for some of your students majoring in the social studies, the report of same to be given and publicized during Negro Health Week. Material is available in the Nursing Information Bureau, 1790 Broadway, New York City, giving ratio of hospital beds and nurses needed according to the population. Figures are also available to estimate needs in certain specialized areas as tuberculosis, cancer, etc. The increased demands for maternity care and the venereal disease control programs are aspects of nursing care on which a greater amount of concentration is needed.

May I have your reaction to this suggestion.

Very favorable

With thanks for your interest and cooperation, I am

Very Sincerely yours,

Sincerely yours,

Estelle Massey Riddle

Estelle Massey Riddle
Consultant

EMR:tm

American Nurses' Association
National League of Nursing Education
National Organization for Public Health Nursing
Association of Collegiate Schools of Nursing
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses

American Red Cross Nursing Service
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International Council of Nurses
Division of Nurse Education, U. S. Public Health Service

Nursing Division, Procurement and Assignment Service, War Manpower Commission
Subcommittee on Nursing, Health and Medical Committee, Federal Security Agency
American Hospital Association

President's War Relief Control Board Registration No. D-26

NATIONAL NURSING COUNCIL FOR WAR SERVICE, INC.
1790 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • CIRCLE 5-8000

March 2, 1945

Mrs. Philip C. Jay, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Jay:

Please pardon my delay in responding to your letter of February 12th. The hearings on the Nurse Draft Bill have taken the time of so many of the officials in the Nursing Information Bureau, it was not possible to compile a reference list before this week.

Please be assured that we are highly pleased that the Southern Regional Council is interested in undertaking such a project. I am sure it will bring to the forefront many of the basic problems of that area, and will project certain approaches, in keeping with the proposed plans for post-war health programs.

I am sending you a copy of "Facts About Nursing" and "Schedule for a Survey of Community Nursing Service." The American Journal of Nursing should be available in the nursing school libraries, if not in your public library.

Sincerely yours,

Estelle Massey Riddle

Estelle Massey Riddle
Consultant

EMR:tm
Enc.--2
(Under Separate Cover)

American Nurses' Association
National League of Nursing Education
National Organization for Public Health Nursing
Association of Collegiate Schools of Nursing
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses

American Red Cross Nursing Service
Council of Federal Nursing Service
International Council of Nurses
Division of Nurse Education, U. S. Public Health Service

Nursing Division, Procurement and Assignment Service, War Manpower Commission
Subcommittee on Nursing, Health and Medical Committee, Federal Security Agency
American Hospital Association

President's War Relief Control Board Registration No. D-26

September 27, 1946

Mrs. Estelle Massey Riddle
National Nursing Council, Inc.
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Mrs. Riddle:

Thank you very much for sending us a reprint of your splendid article which appeared in the July issue of the Trained Nurse and Hospital Review.

We would indeed like to have some additional copies, and if you could send us some 10 to 25 copies we would be very grateful to you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

NATIONAL NURSING COUNCIL, INC.
1790 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • CIRCLE 5-8000

September 23, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 25 1946
Southern Regional Council

Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Sir:

Enclosed is reprint of the article prepared by Mrs. Riddle, which appeared in the July issue of "The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review." We have a limited number on hand and if you find it useful, a few copies can be sent until the supply is exhausted.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Clara Gladney

Secretary to
Estelle Massey Riddle
Consultant

EMR:ncg

Enclosure -- 1

American Nurses' Association
National League of Nursing Education
National Organization for Public Health Nursing
Association of Collegiate Schools of Nursing
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses
American Red Cross Nursing Service
Council of Federal Nursing Services
International Council of Nurses
Division of Nursing, U. S. Public Health Service
American Hospital Association
National Association for Practical Nurse Education
American Medical Association
Nursing Unit, U. S. Children's Bureau
American Association of Industrial Nurses

Community Support and the R.N.

Nurses Must Face Their Social Responsibilities

By ESTELLE MASSEY RIDDLE, R.N.

NURSING is confused." This statement is being made by nurses themselves, as well as by friends and consumers of nursing. Although it may offer some solace to realize that, in the world today, nursing has plenty of company in this State of Confusion, the situation is challenging rather than disheartening. The fact that world confusion throws the nursing profession into a tailspin is left-handed evidence of the vital role nursing plays in the whole social structure.

World War II brought a challenge to service which nurses met steadfastly. Unprecedented publicity was given Army and Navy Nurses, the U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps and, to lesser degree, nurses in civilian services. As a result, the consumer public gained new understanding of problems which may (or may not) be inherent in the nursing profession, but which nevertheless confuse and baffle nurses. At the same time, nurses broadened their horizons, and see more clearly than ever before the relationships between such factors as prices, wages, housing, international trade, etc., and the lives of people they serve, as well as their own.

Will this improved relationship between the nursing profession and the public continue now that the war is over? Will public interest in finding out why so many of the nursing schools are inadequate, and the reason for nurse shortages persist? Will those who volunteered for hospital duty interpret to the public the tremendous amount of teamwork necessary to give adequate nursing care? Will they remember that when the team is short, nurses, who are always on hand, "carry the ball" for the absent members? Will widespread application of discoveries in preventive medicine be delayed because we have too few nurses to carry on the educational program which must accompany every new medical and scientific discovery?

These and many other pertinent questions could be raised to emphasize the need for strengthening the links between nursing and its public rather than letting them rust away. For instance, take the nurse shortage, which is largely due to the public's increased use of hospitals through insurance plans, and because of better wages and education. Sixteen million people are receiving hospital benefits through the Blue Cross Plan alone. Is the nurse alert to the total implications of this new trend, or is she merely critical of the increased responsibility which she must assume?

Is she herself a beneficiary of group plans for health care? Are the patients well nursed? Is there convalescent care?

What about the people who cannot afford to pay anything? One-third of the families in the United States during normal periods have incomes so low that they cannot pay even the average cost of medical care, which is estimated to be twenty to thirty dollars per person per year. This group includes the large number of families whose annual incomes are under $1500.

President Truman's special message to Congress on November 19, 1945, included this statement: "A large portion of the population receives insufficient and inadequate medical care, chiefly because persons are unable to pay the costs of services on an individual payment basis when they are needed, or because the services are not available. In the past, the benefits of modern medical science have not been enjoyed by our citizens with any degree of equality. Nor are they today. Nor will they be in the future unless government is bold enough to do something about it. People with low or moderate incomes do not get the same medical attention as those with high incomes. The poor have more sickness, but they get less medical care. People who live in rural areas do not get the same amount or quality of medical attention as those who live in our cities."

The lower half of our people, whose sickness rates are highest, actually receive only 36% of the medical care, 67% of the hospital care and 18% of the dental care which they need. Inevitably, in the midst of these problems, nurses are in a unique position to interpret to the public their urgency, especially now that the public is sympathetically inclined toward the nurse. The responsibility of the nurse as a citizen cannot be over-stressed during these times.

Nurses who see at first hand that segment of our population which is ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed have a social responsibility to work with other groups for the eradication of the causes of these social ills. While seeming to affect only certain sections of a community, social ills are a threat to every citizen of the community, and eventually become the millstone around the neck of the nation.

Our war experiences, plus the coming demands of a growing national health program, point inexorably to a re-evaluation of the roles played by every individual needed to give the community adequate nursing service. The professional nurse must not limit her thinking to her place alone, as the place of the practical nurse, the nurse's aide and the hospital volunteer must be considered. They have become well known—and in many cases well beloved—by the community. The professional nurse has had to assume greater responsibilities due to advances in preventive and curative medicine and the shortage of doctors. Many of her former functions, such as making empty beds and other simple procedures, have been performed by auxiliary workers. Has she welcomed the other groups which, of necessity, are filling in the gaps of community nursing service? Or does she consider the coming-of-age of these auxiliary personnel as a threat to her professional status?

ALLONS—

In many states, efforts to license those auxiliary workers who nurse for hire have been blocked with the help of professional nurses through lobbying and political pressure. Since we can wave no magic wand and remove all the auxiliary nursing groups, what methods can be devised for meeting the situation realistically? How can improvement in preparation and service of the auxiliary workers be effected if no controls are established? Will the community continue its support of professional nursing if professional nurses fail to give leadership and support to issues which affect the community health?

Nurses, on the whole, are interested in their professional organizations. An editorial in the *American Journal of Nursing*, December, 1945, states: "State Associations lost no time in arranging for fall meetings when travel restrictions were removed. They are well aware of the unrest among nurses, the urgency of their need for leadership, and the necessity for constructive action. They report excellent and more general discussion of important matters than has been customary." Do these "important matters" include matters of concern to the public, as well as to the nurse? From Bernays' article, "Opinion Molders Appraise Nursing," (*American Journal of Nursing*, December, 1945, p. 1011) comes a significant statement: "One-third of our respondents came out strongly for public relations activities of the nursing profession, aimed at building up popular acceptance of the functions and duties of professional nurses and developing better understanding between nurses and public. While public relations will have an important part in bringing adjustments in this field, it can only indirectly affect the economic factors. These must be dealt with by the nursing profession, as part of the broad social and economic picture of health care for America."

It is in this "broad social and economic" area that the nurse needs to be activated. Bernays states that leaders are very positive about the excellent work of the nursing profession in the Army and Navy. Will the nursing profession be equally responsive to the call for maintaining peace? Many nurses who will give service to patients irrespective of race, color or creed will refuse to employ or work with nurses of a different race, color or creed. The individual anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-Catholic attitude, multiplied by the number who foster such bias, constitute a grave deterrent to the cause of peace. Will the nurses who have witnessed the tragic loss and maiming of lives in battle sit quietly as flames for another war are fanned?

Women's organizations are pressing now for the appointment of women by the State Department to important World Conferences, which are being called or are in process of formation. Will Nursing have

representation in any of these conferences dealing with the fundamental problems of people: health, housing, economics, politics, etc.? Are the nursing organizations giving support to the women's organizations which are pushing for measures of general benefit to the public? The "One World" emphasis must be reflected by nurses as well as other citizens.

As nursing seeks public support for nursing education we should remind ourselves that the ultimate justification which nursing schools can offer for their continued existence and public support is a product which is making a more effective adjustment to present life situations because of the kind of education received.

But neither the schools nor the public can make an intelligent appraisal of the matter without knowledge of what graduates and former students do and how they do it, and the relation of their post-school activities to their school experience, and the degree to which they function as citizens in the community.

The fact that the National Nursing Planning Committee has launched a "Comprehensive Plan for Nation-Wide Action in the Field of Nursing" which points to the necessity for an appraisal of our nursing schools and their products, indicates the concern of nurses about these problems. The extent to which results of the studies will lead to action will depend largely on the philosophy of the nurses themselves and their effectiveness in soliciting and using community support.

Nursing is essential to the community. It has been demonstrated in other fields that community response is forthcoming when proper motivation is crystallized into dynamic programs of action. Ours is the great moment and opportunity to gear the profession of nursing to the accelerated tempo of our communities and our world. We must meet the new challenges as courageously and forthrightly as nurses have met the great challenges of the past.

Reprinted from THE TRAINED NURSE AND HOSPITAL REVIEW, *July, 1946*

NATIONAL NURSING COUNCIL, INC.
1790 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • CIRCLE 5-8000

October 15, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

In response to your request of September 27th I am sending you under separate cover twenty-five (25) copies of the reprint "The Trained and Hospital Review" entitled "Community Support and the R. N." written by Mrs. Riddle.

Mrs. Riddle, who is away from the office at the present time, is very pleased to know that you have found such good use for the reprint.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Clara Gladney

Nancy Clara Gladney
Secretary to
Estelle Massey Riddle
Consultant

ncg

American Nurses' Association
National League of Nursing Education
National Organization for Public Health Nursing
Association of Collegiate Schools of Nursing
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses
American Red Cross Nursing Service
Council of Federal Nursing Services
International Council of Nurses
Division of Nursing, U. S. Public Health Service
American Hospital Association
National Association for Practical Nurse Education
American Medical Association
Nursing Unit, U. S. Children's Bureau
American Association of Industrial Nurses

Nat'l Organizations
Page 1

February 2, 1946

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm
President
State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

I am in need of the names and addresses of the officers, and executive secretaries especially, of State Teachers Associations and State PTA's. Will you be kind enough to send these to me or tell me where I can get them?

I trust that all goes well with you and your family. I am closer to you now and should have the pleasure of seeing you more frequently.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Nat'l Organizations, Negro

February 2, 1946

Dr. M. F. Spaulding, Secretary
National Association of Negro
Agricultural Workers
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Spaulding:

The Southern Regional Council frequently has interesting literature to distribute on a variety of subjects, and is anxious to get it before the people who are wide-awake and effective in their communities. Will you be kind enough to send us a list of the officers of your organization and, if possible, of local units where they exist?

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Nat'l Organizations
Negro

February 2, 1946

President Jesse H. Mitchell
National Negro Bankers Association
201 North Union Street
Danville, Virginia

Dear President Mitchell:

The Southern Regional Council frequently has interesting literature to distribute on a variety of subjects, and is anxious to get it before the people who are wide-awake and effective in their communities. Will you be kind enough to send us a list of the officers of your organization and, if possible, of local units where they exist?

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Nat'l Organizations Negro

February 2, 1946

Mr. Albon L. Holsey, Secretary
National Negro Business League
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Holsey:

The Southern Regional Council frequently has interesting literature to distribute on a variety of subjects, and is anxious to get it before the people who are wide-awake and effective in their communities. Will you be kind enough to send us a list of the officers of your organization and, if possible, of local units where they exist?

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD L. TRIGG
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 2, 1946

Mrs. Ruth C. Handy, President
National Association of Business and
Professional Women's Clubs
2103 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Handy:

The Southern Regional Council frequently has interesting literature to distribute on a variety of subjects and is anxious to get before the people who are wide-awake and effective in their communities. Will you be kind enough to send us a list of the officers of your organization and, if possible, of local units where they exist?

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Nat'l Org Organizations, Negro

February 2, 1946

Miss Hilda A. Davis, President
National Association of College Women
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Miss Davis:

The Southern Regional Council frequently has interesting literature to distribute on a variety of subjects, and is anxious to get it before the people who are wide-awake and effective in their communities. Will you be kind enough to send us a list of the officers of your organization and, if possible, of local units where they exist?

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Nat'l Organizations, Negro

February 2, 1946

Mr. James B. Browning, Secretary
Association of Social Science Teachers
in Negro Schools
Miner Teachers College
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Browning:

The Southern Regional Council frequently has interesting literature to distribute on a variety of subjects, and is anxious to get it before the people who are wide-awake and effective in their communities. Will you be kind enough to send us a list of the members of your organization?

Thanking you in advance, I am

Very sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Nat'l Organizations, Negro

February 2, 1946

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, President
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Dr. Bethune:

The Southern Regional Council frequently has interesting literature to distribute on a variety of subjects, and is anxious to get it before the people who are wide-awake and effective in their communities. Will you be kind enough to send us a list of the officers of your organization and, if possible, of local units where they exist?

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

February 14, 1946

Mr. O. K. Manning
Executive Secretary
The National Negro Business League
224 West Dallas
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Manning:

I am grateful for your letter of February 8 and for the list of officers of the National Negro Business League which was enclosed. We shall be glad to add these to our mailing list for literature which may be of interest to them.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

THE NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE

ORGANIZED 1900
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, FOUNDER AND FIRST PRESIDENT

OBJECT
TO PROMOTE THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
O. K. MANNING
224 WEST DALLAS
HOUSTON, TEXAS

February 8, 1946

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MRS. MARY E. MURPHY, MEMPHIS, TENN.

Mr Harold L Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter under date of February 2nd to Mr Albon L Holsey, in which you request a list of the officers of the National Negro Business League, has been forwarded to this office, and we are herein enclosing said list.

With every good wish, I am

Yours truly,
NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE
O. K. Manning
O K Manning
Executive Secretary

OKM:l

Encl-

OFFICERS

NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE

PRESIDENT-EMERITUS
Mr C C Spaulding
North Carolina Mutual
Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

PRESIDENT
Mr Roscoe Dunjee
P O Box 1254
Oklahoma City 1, Okla

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Mr L C Blount
301 E Warren Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

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Mr S B Fuller
438 E 35th Street
Chicago, Illinois

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Mr O K Manning
224 West Dallas Avenue
Houston 3, Texas

TREASURER-COMPTROLLER
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180 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta, Georgia

GENERAL ORGANIZER
Mr R E Clay
Box 36-A & I College
Nashville, Tennessee

REGISTRAR
Mr J R E Lee, Jr
State Negro College
Tallahassee, Florida

ASST REGISTRAR
Mr Robert R Moten, Jr
Tuskegee Institute, Ala

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Mr Claude A Barnett
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

LEGAL ADVISOR
Mr H McKinley Rowan
331½ N E 2nd Street
Oklahoma City, Okla

STEERING COMMITTEE
Dr J E Walker, Chairman
234 Hernando Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr George W Cox
N C Mutual Life Ins Co
Durham, North Carolina

Mr Leroy Crayton
9102 Quincy Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

STEERING COM (CONT)

Mr Carlton W Gaines
4864 Beaubien at Warren
Detroit, Michigan

Mr Joseph P Geddes
2826 Daneel Street
New Orleans, La

Dr F D Patterson
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mr A Maceo Smith
2011 N Washington Ave
Dallas 4, Texas

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr Don A Davis, Chairman
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Mr S L Belle
c/o 5th Ave &16th St N
Birmingham, Ala

Dr Henry A Boyd
523-2nd Avenue N
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dr Charlotte H Brown
Palmer Institute
Sedalia, North Carolina

Mr H Holland Fields
1644 South Street
Philadelphia, Penna

Mrs Christine M Fuqua
5300 McKinley Ave
Detroit, Michigan

Mr Belmont Haydel
3730 S Claiborne Ave
New Orleans, La

Mr P H Holden
1820 Live Oak Street
Houston, Texas

Mr T J Huddleston, Jr
Webster at 8th Street
Yazoo City, Miss

Mr James A Jackson
26 Broadway
New York City, N Y

Mrs Leah Jones
1131 N E 7th Street
Oklahoma City, Okla

Dr T W Josey
c/o 1430-12th Street
Augusta, Georgia

Mr Edward R Kirk
c/o 234 Hernando St
Memphis, Tenn

Mr Emmer M Lancaster
Advisor on Negro Affairs
Department of Commerce
Washington, D C

EXECUTIVE COM (CON)

Mr H M Morgan
212 Erwin Street
Tyler, Texas

Mr W D Morrison
317 Woodland Ave
Detroit, Mich

Mr A G Nelson
1921 E 24th St
Kansas City, Mo

Mr B G Olive, Jr
234 Hernando St
Memphis, Tenn

Mr F B Ottey
c/o 403 Charlotte
Nashville, Tenn

Mr Roosevelt Phillip
4600 So Wabash
Chicago, Ill

Mr G W Powell
410 Broad St
Jacksonville, Fla

Mr J E Robinson
2413 Dowling St
Houston, Texas

Mme Sarah S Washington
Atlantic Cy, N J

Mr M S Stuart
234 Hernando St
Memphis, Tenn

Mr Horace Sudduth
411 W 10th St
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dr H W Williamston
Enid Ave at 1st
Idabel, Okla

Mr O D Woods
4261 West Easton
St Louis, Mo

Mr James Young
319 N 2nd St
Muskogee, Okla

REGIONAL VICE-PRESIDENTS

Mr Fred A Allen
700 E Alexandria
Detroit, Mich

Mr Willard W Allen
1841 Pa Avenue
Baltimore, Md

Mr Booker T Bradshaw
Richmond, Va

NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE OFFICERS

(CONTINUED)

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Mrs Gertrude Chandler
609 Columbus Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

Mr M C Clark
5705 Woodland Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Mr M W Day
403 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr E W Duncan
1058½ Texas Avenue
Shreveport, Louisiana

Mr U S Falls
2810 Easton Avenue
St Louis, Missouri

Mr A G Gaston
5th Ave & 16th Street
Birmingham, Alabama

Mr James J Henderson
c/o North Carolina Mutual
Durham, N C

Mr W S Hornsby
Pilgrim Health & Life Ins Co
Augusta, Georgia

Mr J H McConico
905 Gaines St
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr George R Ragland
331½ N E 2nd Street
Oklahoma City, Okla

Mr G D Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Mr J E Smith,
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr M L Smith
c/o 4600 Wabash Ave
Chicago, Ill

Rev J S Benn
716 S 19th St
Philadelphia, Penna

Mr W H Williams
125½ Farrish St
Jackson, Mississippi

National Org - Negro

February 14, 1946

Miss Catherine L. Sharpe
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Dear Miss Sharpe:

I am just in from a ten-day trip which covered many miles and took me to Florida and Mississippi. I wish I could tell you some of the interesting things that are occurring in this region. At some time I may have the opportunity to do so.

As I recall, you at one time attended a meeting of a business organization in Philadelphia or New York. I have been trying to locate the offices of this organization in order to get a list of their members. I wrote to Mrs. Ruth Handy, President of the National Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, 2103 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, but the letter was returned. I am therefore unable to get any information about this organization.

Would you be kind enough to tell me whether or not this is the same group to which you belong? If not, please send me the name of the secretary of your organization.

I trust that all goes well with you and State Teachers College. With kindest good wishes to everybody there in the office, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

National Org-
Negro

February 14, 1946

Mr. T. M. Campbell
Field Agent
U.S.D.A. Extension Service
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mr. Campbell:

I had hoped ere this to see you personally. It seems, however, that my work has not brought me the opportunity to visit Tuskegee yet.

We frequently have literature that would be of interest to leaders in local communities as well as wider areas, and we would be very grateful for a list of the farm agents and home agents in the region under your supervision. You will do us a great service if you will send one of these lists to this office.

Whenever you come to Atlanta, we will consider it a privilege to have you call at 63 Auburn Avenue. I hope at the same time that I shall have the privilege of paying you a visit at Tuskegee.

With kindest good wishes, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

February 14, 1946

Mr. John W. Mitchell
Field Agent
U.S.D.A. Extension Service
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am very grateful for your letter of February 8 advising me as to the proper source of the list of county agents and home agents. I shall write to these people just as soon as the report of the Southwide Conference comes to my desk.

I really do miss seeing you. I had never thought of leaving North Carolina, but it seems that the call comes to all of us, and here I am in Atlanta.

Whenever I come that way I shall certainly stop and see you, and will expect you to do the same whenever you come here.

With kindest good wishes to you and Mrs. Mitchell, I remain,

Yours very truly,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

EXTENSION SERVICE

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia
February 8, 1946

Not write this comes

Dr. H. L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I am sending you a copy of the report of the Southwide Conference held last June in Washington. In the back you will find the names and addresses of those in attendance at this conference who are State supervisors in their respective states.

As indicated in your letter, I think it would be nice for you to contact these leaders directly and ask them to furnish you the names of agents in their territory. This would give you a direct approach to these key people. As you know, Mr. T. M. Campbell is the Field Agent of the lower South with headquarters at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. If you have not already contacted him it would be an advantage to do so.

You may rest assured that you will be given full cooperation from this office. I shall be visiting your office on my first trip to Atlanta. Should you or Dr. Johnson be coming this way at any time let me know and be sure to come to see us.

Yours sincerely,

John W. Mitchell

John W. Mitchell
Field Agent

JWM/p

National Org - Negro

February 26, 1946

Mr. H. Councill Trenholm
President
State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Trenholm:

Some weeks ago I wrote to you to request a list of officers of State Teachers Associations. I am sure that the pressure of business has prevented your getting this item to me and this letter is written merely to remind you of it. If you do not have all of them, I will be grateful for whatever you do have.

I am down here in your region now, and getting a thrill out of my new work. I hope to see you personally in the near future.

With kindest regards for yourself and your family, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Natl Org. Reg.

April 11, 1946

Miss Hattye E. Palmer
137 Clifton Street
Jackson 13, Mississippi

Dear Miss Palmer:

I am very grateful to you for your letter of April 5 listing the presidents and secretaries of the chapters of Iota Phi Lambda in the Southern region. We will be happy to send literature to these ladies whenever it is available, and would like to have their interest and cooperation in connection with our program.

With all good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:m

Southern Regional Council

1/10, 194

TO: HF ☐

FROM: GSM

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information	(X)	4. Reply	( )
2. Consideration	( )	5. Suggested Reply	( )
3. Recommendation	( )	6. Signature	( )

7. Please circulate to:

Director	( )	Sec'ty.-Treasurer	( )
Associate Director	( )	_____	( )
Pub. Relations Dir.	( )	_____	( )
_____	( )	_____	( )

8. Please return to this office. ( )

9. Please return to secretary for filing ( )

COMMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS

Have asked Marie to be on lookout.

26 - National Organizations - Negro

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Founder-President

Co. 9-5

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

(Affiliated with the National Council of Women of the United States, Inc., and International Council of Women of the World)

1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.
Telephone: COlumbia 4491

January 6, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We shall be happy to announce in Telefact, our monthly bulletin, the availability of material of the Southern Regional Council. We sincerely wish for you a successful new year.

Sincerely yours,

Jeanetta Welch Brown
Jeanetta Welch Brown
Executive Director

JWB:lr

Sending: Healthy South, Educated South, Vance, Race & Suffrage, Honest Answer

December 20, 1948

Mrs. Jennetta Welch Brown, Executive Director
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Brown:

From time to time our Council has had friendly contact with your group.

It has occurred to me that the National Council of Negro Women could be mighty helpful in getting some of the pamphlet material of the Southern Regional Council into the hands of people over the South or elsewhere.

Mrs. Bethune knows all about us. I send you a list of our various things. Most of them are timely in just the educational discussion which is going on in the South now. And we are selling them well.

Would Telefact be willing to carry some little reference to the availability of all or certain of these pamphlets?

I send you, in any case, three or four samples of the sort of thing we have. I would be grateful for a letter from you, giving us any ideas on ways in which the Southern Regional Council could become better known and more widely used by your membership.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Largest Circulated Negro Journal in the South. Read in Every State in the Union

The Black Dispatch Publishing Company

Publishers of "THE BLACK DISPATCH"

"A Paper With a Policy and a Purpose"

Post Office Box 1245

OKLAHOMA CITY 1, OKLAHOMA

RECEIVED
DEC 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

December 23, 1946.

Mr. G. B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am today placing the Southern Regional Conference on our mailing list, as per your request. I will be very happy to read Dr. Raper's "Machines in the Cotton Fields."

EKH

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Roscoe Dunjee

Roscoe Dunjee, Editor
THE BLACK DISPATCH

RD/emm

December 12, 1946

Mr. Roscoe Dungee, President
National Negro Business League
Box 1254
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Dungee:

We are very happy to send you, under separate cover, a copy of our pamphlet, MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS, by Dr. Arthur Raper, Social Science Analyst of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the November issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH.

I wonder if you would be interested in an exchange arrangement whereby we send you publications of the Southern Regional Council in exchange for those of the National Negro Business League? We would very much like to receive your publications, and we feel that many of ours would be of real interest to your organization.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

July 15, 1947

Mr. A. G. Gaston, President
National Negro Business League
P. O. Box 2621
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Gaston:

I am grateful for your letter of July 14 inviting me to attend the the annual convention of the League and to appear on your program at the suggestion of Mr. G. D. Rogers.

I accept this invitation with pleasure and would be grateful for information as to the date and hour when this information is available.

I look forward to seeing you and the many members of the League who will be in attendance.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

THE NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE

ORGANIZED 1900

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, FOUNDER AND FIRST PRESIDENT

OBJECT

TO PROMOTE THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO

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POSTOFFICE BOX 2621
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

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GEORGE R. RAGLAND, OKLAHOMA CITY
G. D. ROGERS, TAMPA, FLA.
R. R. REED, ATLANTA, GA.
J. S. BENN, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

July 14, 1947

ON TO TAMPA JULY 29-30-31

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DETROIT, MICH.
1ST VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. KITTY HALL, ST. LOUIS, MO.
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MRS. ELIZABETH SLOAN, MEMPHIS, TENN.
ASSISTANT PARLIAMENTARIAN
MRS. MARY E. MURPHY, MEMPHIS, TENN.

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Sir:

At the suggestion of Mr. G. D. Rogers, Regional Vice President of the National Negro Business League, it is a pleasure to me to extend to you an invitation to visit our national convention to be held in Tampa, Florida this July 29, 30 and 31st. We would be pleased to have you appear on our program at one of our sessions, and hope that you can find it convenient to accept. We regret that we did not notify you earlier.

Anticipating your presence at our Tampa convention, I am

Yours very truly,

A. G. Gaston, President
National Negro Business League.

AGG/t
cc: Mr. G. D. Rogers

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION

A NONPROFIT, NONPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ESTABLISHED IN 1934
DEVOTED TO PLANNING BY AMERICANS IN AGRICULTURE, BUSINESS, LABOR, AND THE PROFESSIONS
1606 New Hampshire Ave., N. W., Washington 9, D. C. • Telephone: Columbia 5-7685 • Cable: NATPLAN

M-4084
PR-11-60

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1960

MEMORANDUM TO EDITORS:

The attached Statement on Agricultural Aid for India has been adopted by the Agriculture Committee of the National Planning Association.

The Statement is concerned with the effort of underdeveloped, overpopulated India to produce a better life for its people -- and how the "United States could use its agricultural resources much more effectively than it is now doing to help India achieve a self-generating, advancing economy."

A list of NPA Agriculture Committee members signing the Statement is appended.

jk-900

OFFICERS: *Chairman,* H. Christian Sonne; *Chairman, Executive Committee,* Wayne Chatfield Taylor; *Vice Chairmen:* Frank Altschul, Clinton S. Golden, Leland Hazard, Beardsley Ruml, Lauren K. Soth; *Secretary,* Arnold S. Zander; *Treasurer,* Charles J. Symington; *Counsel,* Myron M. Cowen; *Assistant Chairman* and *Executive Secretary,* John Miller.

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION
1606 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

AGRICULTURAL AID FOR INDIA

India and China are engaged in an epochal, if not formally declared, contest to see which of these underdeveloped, overpopulated countries can produce the better life for their people -- China under severe Communist discipline, India under free democratic government.

The outcome of this contest may well determine the political development of all of Asia and much of Africa. The importance of this contest to world security is recognized by the American people and by the United States government. In fact, this is one aspect of our foreign policy on which the political parties and all segments of American society are thoroughly agreed.

The United States has supplied and is supplying large amounts of economic aid to India. Nearly one billion dollars worth of farm commodities alone will have been provided under Public Law 480 at the conclusion of shipments under the fourth P.L. 480 agreement signed in November, 1959. Commodities supplied under these agreements have been of great help to India in meeting a tight food situation in the second five-year plan. U.S. private agencies also have shown special interest in the economic progress of India.

The Agriculture Committee of the National Planning Association believes that the United States could use its agricultural resources much more effectively than it is now doing to help India achieve a self-generating, advancing economy. The United States has immense agricultural resources that cannot be efficiently used at home which could be employed in the battle for better diets in India.

If India can break the food barrier to accelerated economic growth, this accomplishment would go far toward winning the cold war for democracy in Asia.

The recommendations made here might well apply to other countries as well. We single out India in this statement as illustrative of a general problem and as a country where we believe the time is right for a massive United States effort in the field of agriculture, for these reasons:

1. The political climate is right.

India welcomes American food aid and technical assistance. In an interview on the TV program, "Face the Nation" (Columbia Broadcasting Company), Prime Minister Nehru of India was asked what kind of economic aid from the U.S. was most useful. He replied that the food provided under Public Law 480 was the most valuable.

The American agricultural exhibit at the World Agricultural Fair in New Delhi has been the "star" exhibit of the Fair. Indians have swarmed into the exhibit to learn more about agricultural methods. They have shown an extraordinary interest in American democracy and the American way of life, wholly aside from technology.

In short, we have established a fine working relationship between our two countries which makes further co-operation relatively easy. It makes sense for the United States to build on this foundation to help India make more rapid economic progress as an example of what can be done under democratic government.

2. The United States has excess agricultural resources.

When President Eisenhower opened the American agriculture exhibit at the New Delhi fair, he said that all nations should join in a "genuinely noble war" against hunger, as a step toward enduring peace. "Men right now possess knowledge and resources," he said, "for a successful world-wide war against hunger -- the sort of war that dignifies and exalts human beings."

The United States has large capacity to wage this kind of war. U.S. weapons for a war on hunger are not merely the vast quantities of grain which can be supplied to other countries needing food. More importantly, we have great capacity to teach others how to produce more food.

Helping the Indians to produce more is far more important than merely supplying them our surplus grains. All we could supply would quickly be eaten up by the rapidly growing Indian population, without lifting diets appreciably.

The United States has a great production-improvement organization, in the Department of Agriculture and the state agricultural colleges. This institution of agricultural research and education has made American agriculture the most productive in the world. It has been developed by public funds, and the public has reaped large returns -- in the form of security against food shortage, the highest quality diet in the world and cheap food prices.

In fact, the researchers and educators have performed so well that farm production right now is advancing at a faster rate than the demand for food, with consequent downward pressure on prices and incomes of farmers. Thus, the United States has surplus capacity in its agricultural industry, <u>including a surplus of new technology</u>.

We could well convert a portion of this research-education institution to work on food production problems for India. This would be an excellent way to wage a war against hunger, as President Eisenhower suggested.

3. <u>These are crucial years for India</u>.

India's third five-year plan ends in 1965-66. During those years the population probably will increase by about 50 million. Food will have to be provided for this growing population, plus an extra amount to provide for increasing consumption per person if economic progress is to be made. Also, India needs to increase output to provide reserves against drought or crop failure for other reasons.

The next five years may be the years that will determine whether democracy will succeed in India. It is fortunate for us that in this period the United States will have large excess supplies of agricultural products, as well as excess supplies of productive agricultural resources which could be devoted to Indian agricultural output.

The NPA Agriculture Committee believes this is the opportune time, therefore, for a major national effort to put India over the hump on food production.

Long-range contracts for supplies of grain from this country should be made as soon as possible, in co-operation with other exporting countries. Our sales of grain to India under Public Law 480 are not as effective in development as they might be if the Indian government had assurance of a minimum quantity for each year of the five-year plan. The United States could easily assure India the amount of wheat it has been getting under P.L. 480 for each of the next 10 years.

Assurance of this imported grain would not slacken the drive for increased food production in India. Shortages and high prices will continue despite these imports. Nevertheless, fears of a lag in the production drive could be dispelled by providing in the same agreement that covers the supply of special food imports, provisions for help on fertilizer plants, enlarged technical assistance, and other programs to increase food production.

Food supplied by the United States can become a major direct investment in Indian economic development, especially of public works. In many projects workers can be paid mostly in food. Accordingly, food can contribute as much as 70 percent of the cost of a road-building project which must be carried on by hand labor methods. In some kinds of factory construction, food may contribute 40 percent of the cost.

These imports should be employed as much as possible to build public works that would yield quick returns in food production. Land and water improvements -- such as terracing, surface drainage, and irrigation wells and tanks -- are examples. This work can be done largely with hand labor.

Technical assistance in agriculture to India should be expanded greatly, with emphasis on teaching the techniques for achieving a combination of improved production practices that will result in really big increases in crop yields. So far, the emphasis has been on chemical fertilizer and improved seed. Now we should push ahead on soil and water management, insect control, weed control, and engineering -- in combination with fertilizer and better seed.

The United States should encourage, by loans and other means, the construction of large new chemical fertilizer plants. Because of the scarcity of foreign exchange, there is great advantage in importing materials to build plants rather than furnishing the nitrogen fertilizer. Indian farmers are now ready to use larger quantities of fertilizer than they can obtain.

Many of our land grant college experiment stations could make analyses to demonstrate the value of fertilizer and other materials under Indian conditions. And we must stand ready to provide enough supplies of fertilizer, pesticides, seeds, etc. for training purposes.

In this war against hunger, we have the greatest resources of any country in the world, far more than our rivals in the Soviet Union.

To use these resources most effectively, we should make an all-out food drive in India -- a critical country, facing a critical competition, in a critical period of its political and economic development.

Footnote by Frank App: I fully agree with the statement pertaining to "Agricultural Aid for India." However, I do not think it is diplomatic or desirable to state that India may be the keystone for winning the cold war for democracy in Asia. India does not consider she is in a struggle for winning a cold war.

The under-developed nations of the world are no longer satisfied to live as they have in the past. The most important thing for these under-developed nations is to have able, progressive leadership which must be established along with such other aid as may be essential. However, unless we can assist in establishing leadership, our material aid will be too limited in the contribution it should make.

Footnote by Ralph S. Yohe: Democracy in Asia is under fire. This report deals with the great importance of India in this struggle. It should not be interpreted to mean that we should be less concerned with the development of democracy, or economic advancement in other under-developed countries. Or that we believe that India is the only critical area in Asia or the rest of the world.

AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE MEMBERS SIGNING THE STATEMENT

LAUREN K. SOTH (CHAIRMAN) - The Des Moines Register & Tribune
DONALD R. MURPHY (VICE CHAIRMAN) - Director, Editorial Research
Wallaces Farmer
A. C. HOFFMAN (VICE CHAIRMAN) - Vice President, Kraft Foods
* FRANK APP - Seabrook Farming Corporation
JOHN A. BAKER - Director, Legislative Services, National Farmers Union
MURRAY R. BENEDICT - Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of California
SAM HENRY BOBER - Newell, South Dakota
ROBERT K. BUCK - Waukee, Iowa
HARRY B. CALDWELL - Master, North Carolina State Grange
WILLARD W. COCHRANE - Dept. of Agricultural Economics, University of Minnesota
HARRY W. CULBRETH - Vice President, Nationwide Insurance
AUGUST DAHME - Aberdeen, South Dakota
ARVAL L. ERIKSON - Economic Advisor, Oscar Mayer & Company
JOSEPH W. FICHTER - Farm Consultant, Oxford, Ohio
OSCAR HELINE - Greenwood Farm, Marcus, Iowa
FRANK W. HUSSEY - Vice President, Maine Potato Council
ARTHUR MOORE - The Washington Bureau, McGraw-Hill Publications
WILLIAM H. NICHOLLS - Chairman, Department of Economics and Business Administration, Vanderbilt University
R. J. ODEGARD - O. J. Odegard Potato Company
JOHN J. RIGGLE - Secretary, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives
PAUL D. SANDERS - Editor, The Southern Planter
THEODORE W. SCHULTZ - Chairman, Dept. of Economics, University of Chicago
FRANK J. WELCH - Dean, College of Agriculture, University of Kentucky
OBED A. WYUM - Rutland, North Dakota
* RALPH S. YOHE - Editor, Wisconsin Agriculturist
GORDON K. ZIMMERMAN - Executive Secretary, National Association of Soil Conservation Districts

* See footnote at end of Statement.

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FOR RELEASE MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1960

PR-25-60
M-5063

Although the "past quarter century has been a period of substantial trade liberalization" in the policies of the United States and Canada, "the movement towards trade liberalization has evidently lost momentum during recent years," according to a statement of the Canadian-American Committee released today.

The Committee, in releasing its latest report, Changes in Trade Restrictions between Canada and the United States, points out that "in a number of instances some new barriers have been imposed." However, the report asserts, "such recent trimmings have not...seriously undermined a quarter of a century of progress in Canadian-American trade relations. Five trade agreements, substantial declines in tariff levels, and joint leadership in the creation and development of GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) are solid achievements."

Authors of the study are Constant Southworth of Washington, recently retired after 20 years of service relating to Canadian-U.S. economic relations in the U. S. Department of State, and W. W. Buchanan of Ottawa, a former member of the Tariff Board of Canada, It is the eighth in a series of studies on Canadian-

OFFICERS: *Chairman,* H. Christian Sonne; *Chairman, Executive Committee,* Wayne Chatfield Taylor; *Vice Chairmen:* Frank Altschul, Clinton S. Golden, Leland Hazard, Lauren K. Soth; *Secretary,* Arnold S. Zander; *Treasurer,* Charles J. Symington; *Counsel,* Myron M. Cowen; *Assistant Chairman* and *Executive Secretary,* John Miller.

U.S. economic relations sponsored by the Canadian-American Committee, established three years ago by the National Planning Association and the Private Planning Association of Canada.

The report shows that the over-all level of both U. S. and Canadian tariffs has dropped substantially over the past three decades, with the decline in the United States apparently being sharper than that in Canada. Liberalizing measures regarding valuation procedures were also taken during this period. Such easing of restrictions was, the Committee states, "a significant contributing factor to the very large expansion in Canadian-American trade."

However, the study warns, since 1951 both countries have retreated slightly by taking restrictive steps. The United States has established import quotas on certain products and both countries have increased certain duties and re-established wide discretionary powers and arbitrary valuation procedures.

As instances of such action, the report points out that U. S. quotas established on dairy products in the early 1950s brought repeated declarations by the members of GATT that the United States was nullifying its agreements. The United States has also imposed quotas on wheat and wheat flour, lead and zinc, and red-cedar shingles, commodities of importance to Canada.

In 1958, the United States broadened the President's authority "to increase duties in escape-clause actions" taken under legislation authorizing the reimposition of restrictions when, following a duty concession on any product in a trade agreement, imports should increase to such an extent as to cause or threaten serious injury to a domestic industry. The report points out that in a few cases these increases could be substantial -- in one extreme case as much as 2,300 percent.

Canada has taken restrictive steps "as regards both criteria for customs valuation and rates of duty," the report adds. In 1953, for example, new legislation permitted arbitrary valuation of imports at a higher level than prices in the coun-

try of origin. Similarly, a 1958 amendment to the Canadian Customs Act, the study points out, reintroduces the principle of cost of production as a possible criterion of customs valuation and "confers far-reaching discretionary powers on the customs officials in the use of this formula."

Such "arbitrary valuation of imports for assessing ad valorem duties can sometimes be as effective an obstacle to trade as the duties themselves," assert the authors. "Where the values established for the purpose of assessing duties are arbitrary or incalculable, it becomes impossible for the trader to foresee the amount of duty which will actually be assessed."

Nevertheless, they find, discretionary powers have been used with restraint on both sides of the border. They commend President Eisenhower and the U.S. Tariff Commission for "considerable restraint in carrying out the roles bestowed upon them by Congress in administering the escape clause," and point out that of 85 escape-clause cases completed during the last six months of the Truman Administration and the first seven years of Eisenhower's only 12 have resulted in restrictive action by the President.

In Canada, the report sees "little actual change" in the administration of the Customs Act despite the revised valuation procedures. However, the authors believe that the new provisions "could have mischievous effects should a recession of any severity occur while they remain on the statute books."

The report also notes that:

* Canada's tariff level has not fluctuated greatly over the past century, but that of the United States has varied widely;

* Since 1947, tariff changes have been negotiated multilaterally rather than by unilateral action. However, Canada's frequent rulings on goods "of a class or kind made in Canada" have in effect raised certain duties; and,

* Canadian negotiators have more discretionary authority in working out

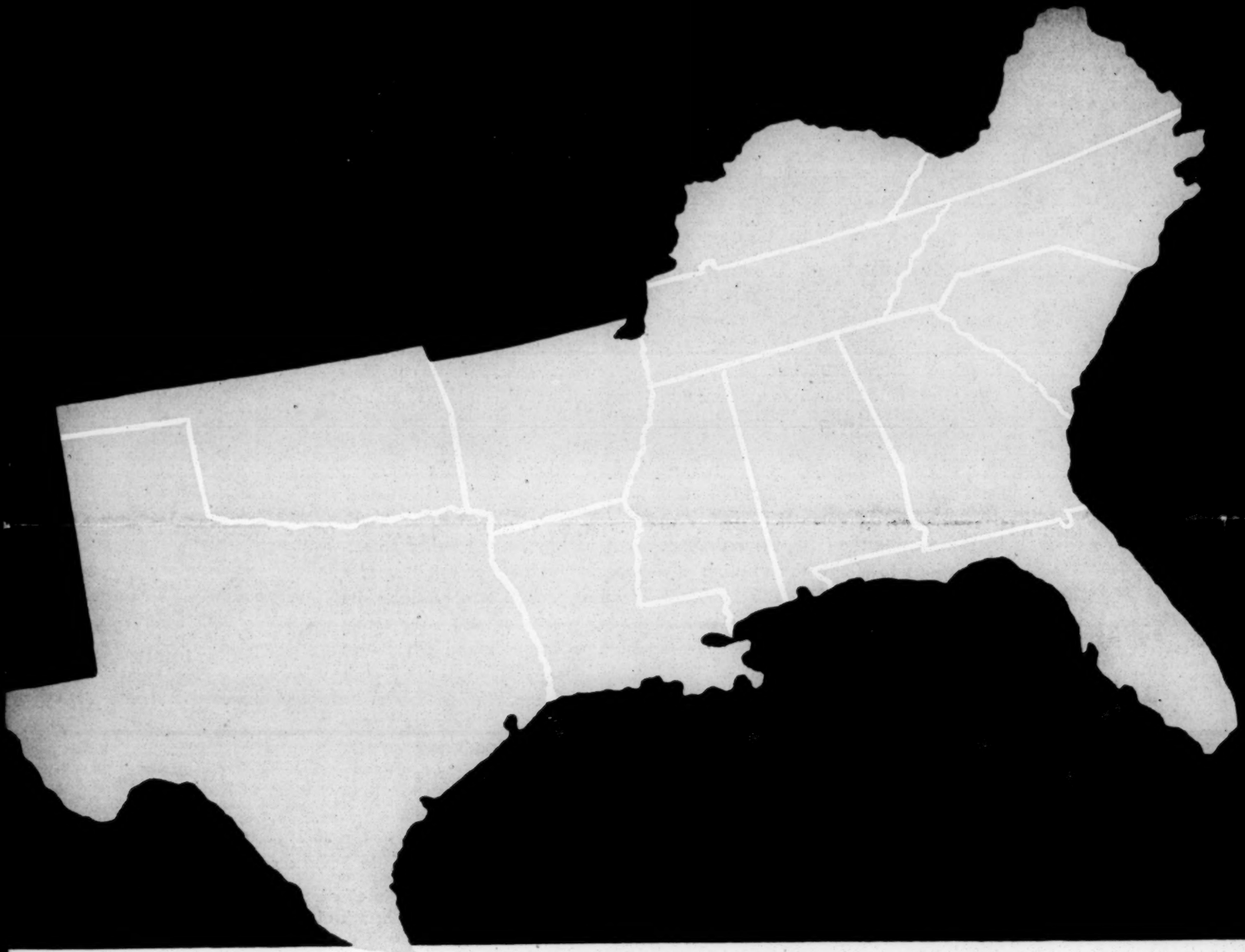
agreements than have their U. S. counterparts.

The Canadian-American Committee is composed of 60 leaders of business, labor, agriculture, and the professions in both the United States and Canada. In studying the various aspects of Canadian-American relations, the Committee tries not only to create a better understanding of problems which have arisen or may arise, but also to develop solutions in the mutual interests of both countries.

# # # # #

Changes in Trade Restrictions between Canada and the United States, by Constant Southworth and W. W. Buchanan; x and 65 pages; $2.00.

jk/850



THE COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN DEVELOPMENT

THE NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION

THE COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN DEVELOPMENT

The South has made remarkable economic progress in the last quarter century. It has begun to develop a balanced industrial and agricultural economy, greatly expanding its physical output, increasing its efficiency, and improving its income. However, the South's rapid gains have also brought problems of adjustment — and the region still has a long way to go to achieve economic parity with the rest of the nation. A considerable effort is needed to insure continued economic growth in the South and to make certain that this growth is orderly and beneficial.

The Committee on Southern Development is dedicated to this effort. It is a Committee of Southern leaders living and working in the South, organized to promote the orderly economic development of the South by ascertaining the facts, by accurate research, and by issuing policy recommendations to aid in the solution of Southern problems. It operates as a regional Committee of the National Planning Association, making its own reports and policy conclusions. Like the NPA, the Committee represents the three major economic groups — agriculture, business and labor — as well as the professions.

Rapid industrialization and new developments in agriculture are bringing many changes, and many problems, to the South. The South now appears on the verge of making a definite break with its past. But what of its future?

Will the South have a well-balanced economic growth or will over-specialization make its economy vulnerable to the swings of the business cycle?

Will the Southern industrial economy have a reasonably efficient regional integration, or will its industries be mostly unrelated branch plants? Will productivity in the older Southern plants keep pace with the productivity of the newer industries? Will the resources of the South, such as timber, be used up without proper conservation, leaving ghost areas behind?

Will the new Southern industrial economy develop concentrations so dense that they will become miserably congested, or will the benefits of economic growth be spread more evenly throughout the South? Will the South's rapidly growing urban centers soon look like their slum-ridden, inefficient northern counterparts, or will an urban structure be built more in keeping with the Southern tradition?

Where will the labor supply for this growing Southern economy come from when the remaining reservoirs of underemployed farm labor are exhausted? Are Southern educational institutions equipped to provide the kind of managerial and technical leadership required to hold the pace of Southern economic development? Is the South developing the needed number of business entrepreneurs?

Will Southern agriculture be able to develop larger, more highly mechanized farms which can provide the family living on each farm a considerably higher standard of living? Will growing Southern capital resources be used to give Southerners greater control of their economy, or will the South continue to leave the management of much of its capital to outsiders, and depend on outside capital to finance most of its economic growth?

The Committee will study the problems of Southern economic development that lie ahead, will report on them to the people of the South, and to the nation. It will utilize research on these problems undertaken in Southern institutions, supplementing this, where necessary, by its own research. The recommendations of the Committee will bear the imprint of Southern leaders, who look carefully, but with the wisdom of practical experience, at the careful research and analysis undertaken by the experts. The Committee will concentrate its work on those aspects of Southern development where assistance can best be given to advance such development and to lessen the problems it causes. With this object in view, the Committee has established subcommittees on:

—Private and public assistance to local planning

—Education

—Rural migration to industry

—Social environment for economic development

Since beginning its operations early in 1956 the Committee has selected the following specific projects to initiate its work:

1. An analysis of the trends of industrial location in the South since the war — geographical distribution, type of industry, size and labor force requirements.

2. A study of the types of private and public assistance needed to improve local planning. This study includes:

   —a case study of a successful program of local assistance provided by a Southern state planning board.

   —a study of aid to a small town through intelligent planning by a private company.

   —a study of successful local planning in one or more metropolitan areas.

   —case studies of citizen improvement associations.

   —case studies of rural development programs.

3. An examination of future labor requirements for Southern industry—by skills and areas—and of the sources of labor available. This includes study of population growth, age distribution of the population, labor force participation ratio, and migration from the South.

4. A study of the steps to be taken to expedite the movement of underemployed farm labor to Southern industry.

5. An analysis of the kind of economy that the South is in process of establishing: its relation to the national and international economies, regional trade and growth trends, financial and managerial requirements, and the problems which need to be solved to assure its stable, balanced and sustained growth.

The National Planning Association is a private, non-profit, nonpolitical organization of American citizens, devoted to the development of programs and policies which are in the public interest. NPA is not a government agency. It is the only research organization representing all the elements of our private enterprise economy — Agriculture, Business, Labor, and the Professions. It achieves the cooperation of each of these groups in making studies which benefit all of them. NPA believes that through effective private planning we can avoid a "planned economy".

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MacGregor Smith—Chairman, Florida Power & Light Company, Miami
Raymond D. Thomas—Dean, School of Commerce, Oklahome A. & M. College, Stillwater
Frank A. Welch—Dean, College of Agriculture, University of Kentucky, Lexington
J. H. Wheeler—President, Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham

JOHN MILLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
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CHANGES IN TRADE RESTRICTIONS

between CANADA and the UNITED STATES

Canadian-American Committee

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December 4, 1946
Room 210, Gazette Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Through the courtesy of my good friend, Jack McMichael, a member of our General Executive Board, who gave me your name and address, I am able to write you that a Southern Organizing Committee is now helping set up a regional program for the Religion and Labor Foundation. Our regional office is at the above Atlanta address.

Our first objective is a Southern Religion and Labor Conference in Atlan January 28-29, 1947, at which we expect at least 300 delegates coming from the different religious denominations and branches of the labor movement. In preparation for our conference we are hoping to have as many Religion-Labor fellowship meetings in the local community, as possible, where clergymen and labor representatives will become acquainted and plan to send delegates to Atlanta. If you care to have a speaker for a meeting at any time before the conference, kindly let me know. We earnestly invite you to attend the conference and to help us in making the preparations.

The Inclosed materials will tell you more about the general aims and activities of the Foundation.

Hoping to hear from you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Willard Uphaus

Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary

G.B.J. returned blank saying he hopes to attend meeting

The Southern Frontier
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

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JAN 6 1947
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN SPECIAL
Nelle Morton, Editor
See editorial note, page 5, Col. 3.

see p. 6

Economic Justice

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

Vol. XV No. 3 | 106 Carmel Street, New Haven 11, Conn. | 9 | DECEMBER, 1946

DOOM OR DAWN IN THE SOUTH?

By Rev. T. B. Cowan

Chairman of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Minister of the People's Church, Lexington, Ky.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN is an interdenominational and interracial movement of Christian men and women across the South who are concerned to apply the resources of their Christian faith to the critical and complex problems affecting the welfare of our land and its people. More specifically, its purpose is:

. . . to provide creative fellowship for all Christians who are trying to discover and give practical expression to the historic redemptive mission of the Christian faith;

. . . to afford an opportunity through such a fellowship for joint interpretation of the events of the time in the light of the Christian gospel;

. . . to uphold one another in times of stress, hostility, and suffering arising from the devotion of any of the members of God and His Kingdom's cause;

. . . to encourage Christian men and women in the South to unite the redeeming word with the redeeming deed in working for a social order in which the opportunities for the abundant life are most justly and fairly given to the masses of men;

. . . to afford a rallying center for all those whose first loyalty is to our Christian faith and practice rather than to any political or economic creed.

From THE STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The class structure of Southern churches is becoming more nakedly manifest during the present drive for membership by the two major labor denominations. The upper income churches are in the main bovinely indifferent to Labor's struggle for a place in the South. Some not so high in the ecclesiastical bracket suffer in silence from an uneasy conscience brought on by their written social pronouncements on Labor's right to organize and bargain collectively and their fear to make them known. Some ministers dreading a split in their congregations which have within them members of both competing unions, shy away from the prophetic task of relating eternal truths to events in time lest they be accused of favoring one union over the other. Thus in "the well-to-do" churches the basic issue of justice for all labor in the South is left voiceless or at best prudently whispered. In the lower income sects personal piety is confounded with a pale puritanism and a belief in the other world. Pre-millenial hopes are espoused as the main part of the "old time religion." Here the relevance of other-worldly truths for this worldly living is neglected in a fallible use of the "infallible Book" in the field of predictive prophecy. Ku Klux Klanism flourishes on the fringes of both churches and sects, and the fiery cross, a symbol of anti-Christianity, is diabolically equated with the spirit of the Christian Faith.

The churches in the South are largely dealing timidly with the truth, or wittingly or unwittingly they are evading the timeless relevance of the Gospel to events in time, or they have left this world in cloudy speculations about the next, or they are preaching a personal religion that has a minimum of ethical content and a maximum absence of any social vision. Where ministers have taken their ecclesiastical lives in their hands to herald the prophetic demands of the Divine Justice for all, they have either lost their ecclesiastical status according to cases on record, or they have been warned "to stick to the Gospel, or else. . . ." Ministers who are working with and for unions are troubled about being used as tools and many have left this work with a private smile for the success of the organizing drives. Workers who can take the fate of Labor in the South seriously in their own meetings are loath to hear any pronouncements about it from the pulpit. Some workers are finding the outlet for their desire for fellowship in the unions rather than in the churches.

The gulf between the workers and the churches is being bridged here and there by meetings between workers and ministers. The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen has arranged many such meetings in the years of its history, but it does not have the money to cover the ground or to do the needed evangelism that relates the insights of the Christian Faith to a region that is in bondage to the lords of economic power in the North and the lords of political power in the South.

The Labor leaders who see the place and power of religion in the South are all too few, and the ministers in the South who preach a religion out of this world are far too many. Yet it is the religion out of this world that must redeem the world. Southern fundamentalism has in it the root of the matter which was dug up and discarded by the bright boys of northern religious liberalism. The South has a broken faith—a faith that gives meaning to eternity but no meaning or dignity to life in time. It has confused Biblicism with religion, but never religion with ethicism. It has a religion, but no mighty and deep morality flows from it. If southern fundamentalism could break through its unbiblical use of the Bible and add to its faith in God's sovereignty and Christ's lordship, the passion of the prophets for social justice and Christ's agony for the Kingdom of God, it could herald the Good News that out-revolutionizes all revolutions in effecting radical social changes for the common good.

Hear ye Northern Barons and Southern Bourbons this word of the Lord: **"What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"** Or, **"Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."** Or this to both capital and labor: **"Beware of covetousness."**

There might be a sudden emptying of churches under such preaching, but it is more likely that the common people who have seldom heard the word after this fashion would hear it gladly. The clouds we so much dread might break in blessing on the South if the churches would bet their institutional lives on heralding the Divine Justice and the love of God in Christ for every last man, woman, and child of every color, class, and creed. Even Labor itself might come to see the curse of using a divide-and-conquer policy in a much divided area and realize that there is one Divine Justice for all men.

The tidal wave of Labor's organizing in the South is likely to leave its churches higher and drier than they are, unless they get into the fight for justice for the glory of God and the commonweal. Unless they are willing to be damned for the glory of God they are not likely to share in His glory. Unless they repent of the sin of ecclesiastical blamelessness and match this hour with a positive passion for justice, they cannot share the empowerment of Christ's triumphant tragedy. The only kind of goodness that has the ghost of a chance in the South or elsewhere is a militant love of God and His Righteousness before which all men are wrong and by which alone all men can learn to live together in peace.

THE CLERGY OF THE SOUTH LOOKS AT LABOR

By David S. Burgess

Last August as the CIO-AFL organization drive in the South was gaining headway, 25,000 southern clergymen received a letter from the Labor Commission of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, reminding them that practically every denomination with churches in the South had endorsed the right of working people to join unions of their own choosing and to bargain collectively through them. At some parsonages, the letter was thrown into the wastebasket with a resounding thud. At other church offices it was lost amid the many special pleading letters for other causes. Some ministers welcomed it and responded sympathetically. But in thirty or more cases, the recipients replied indignantly. Wrote one pastor from Lillington, N. C.

> I regret that so many of our so-called ministers have so far fallen away from their sacred vows to preach the Word as to sell out to such a band of racketeers as the CIO.
>
> . . . Your racket makes Al Capone look like a peanut pushing chiseler. You come about like the Jews of old and today trying to make (the church) into a den of thieves. . . .

Such pleasantries were, however, paralleled by some positive results. Twenty some churchmen joined the FSC partly because they knew that it stood for labor's right to organize. State directors of the CIO in the South, at the special request of the CIO drive director, Mr. Van Bittner, received the letters. The most important result of the letter was that thousands of ministers were made aware for the first time of the fact that their respective denominations were in sympathy, in word at least, with labor's legitimate aims.

Realistically, however, we must admit that the average southern minister is still woefully uninformed about trade unions, if not actually opposed to their growing power. This fact was reiterated by Cameron Hall, Industrial Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, who stated after his recent extensive trip throughout the South: "Labor leaders are finding growing difficulty in the opposition to trade unionism as such on the part of too many and too strong religious groups."

This antagonism arises from the fact that southern ministers, like all of us, are affected by the taboos and customs found in the matrix of southern society. Psychologically, many of them are still suffering from the wounds of the Civil War, and as a result their "train of consciousness" works like this: Modernism, Unitarianism—these came from the North and we must fight these imported heresies. Social equality for the Negro—the Northerners who don't ununderstand us or our colored friends down here are trying to jam this down our throats. Factories, big cities, movies, radios, Hollywood, the ways of the world—we must shout against these evils, and call to the mourners' bench prodigals from some northern Babylon. AFL, CIO, John L. Lewis, Communist, Jews, strikes, sit downs, racketeers, bombs—and the heat of righteous indignation is aflame in the clergyman's heart as from the wall he warns his people against the approaching hordes of the northern labor invaders.

The author is minister in the Delmo Homes project, East Prairie, Missouri, and chairman of the Labor Commission of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

The match that lights this flame of indignation is often the clergyman's woeful lack of accurate information about the aims and methods of the American labor movement. For instance, in the opinion of one minister who replied to the FSC labor letter, John L. Lewis is still the head of the CIO, he is still a Communist, and he has always received a fabulous salary unknown even to his closest associates. No doubt the weekly country newspapers of the South contribute to his ignorance, for their financial condition is so precarious that their editors willingly print the free boiler plate anti-labor propaganda supplied so generously by the N.A.M., the Gannett Publishing chain, and the like. Many of the urban publications of the South, such as the "Nashville Banner", likewise keep the Pastors' minds inflamed against the alleged communists and fellow travelers in the labor movement who, in the words of one minister, "are bent on filching every penny from the workingman's pocketbook."

Then turning to the average religious publication, a pastor can find no information about labor, for on this subject there is usually a strict silence. And even the minister who is potentially sympathetic with labor's aims suffers from ignorance. Comments one progressive Florida preacher: "I am not even acquainted with any labor organizer in this state," and yet adds hopefully, "I hope labor will send a well-informed speaker into this state to wake up labor."

Organized labor itself, I feel, must take a part of the blame for the condition of ignorance among the clergy regarding labor questions. When I stated this opinion to a prominent union leader, he replied: "We have found that the average small town minister is opposed to us. We never approach directly on a religious basis, for he would never believe our religious claims about labor being worthy of its hire, principally because some of the organizers are Jews and some others aren't full-fledged, church-attending Christians. We simply ignore the ministers. Instead we explain to the people we are trying to organize that unions aren't going to interfere with their church work, and that unions won't in any way lessen the prestige of their preachers. We talk unionism on a strictly business, bread-and-butter basis. We keep church and union matters separate, and ignore ministers whether or not they attack us.

To me, this is a very unrealistic policy. For southern clergymen, for better or worse, are still among the major moulders of public opinion. Ignoring them will merely create added mistrust in their hearts. Fortunately, such CIO leaders as Miss Lucy Randolph Mason and Mr. John Ramsay, together with certain AFL leaders, such as Broadus Mitchell, have attempted to inform and meet with church leaders over the South in an attempt to educate them. At the same time the more progressive

union organizers are appealing to prospective members not only with the argument that unions will raise living standards of working people, but that unions will create a better life for all the members of the community.

Beneath the task of freeing the southern minister of the prejudices of the South and educating him on labor questions is a religious problem stemming from the average pastor's views regarding the church, salvation, and the Holy Bible. For principal objections to the labor letter of the FSC came from those ministers who held the three following positions:

1) **The sole duty of the church is to bring men to Christ.** Hence it would make no statements regarding any social question, especially if such statements might have political repercussions. Though the definition of a "social question" has been flexible enough for southern churches to make pronouncements on tobacco, liquor, prostitution, and Sunday baseball, and through such pronouncements have affected the fate of politicians, most southern ministers tend to confine their remarks to pleas for better living and to thorough descriptions of the merits of heaven and the curses of hell.

2) **It therefore follows that a truly saved Christian is called "out of the world to live unspotted from it.** He must observe the Sabbath and keep it holy. He must never visit a "joint", nor be seen near it. He must not "fellowship with unbelievers." He must not join any organization which is dominated by the "unsaved", and as one minister pointed out, "In the case of unions the unsaved may be Jewish organizers from New York or some of the local drunks who may have signed a union card." Rather condescendingly a minister from Asheville, N. C., explains further, "So you can see no real child of God can take the same oath and belong to somethink that drunkards and sinners belong to. As the Bible says, 'Be ye not equally yoked with unbelievers.'"

3) **Trade unions bring agitation and confusion, and they prevent a man from living at peace with his neighbor.** The theological basis for this counsel of peace at any price is found in the eschatological conclusion typified by Jesus' declaration before Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this world; if it were of this world my servants would fight." (John 18:36). On the surface this appears to be the pacifist position, but such is not the case. It is rather the conviction, robbed of its true eschatological depth, that somehow God can conquer all evil alone and will reward the believer—if not in this life, then in the next. In its more pedestrian form, this counsel of peace results in a blind Pauline acceptance of all authority. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers" (Romans 13:1), or in the words of John the Baptist to the soldiers, "Be content with your wages." (Luke 3:14). Thus one pastor is led to the conclusion that since a man cannot serve two masters, he cannot serve both the factory boss and union boss; and since the factory boss earns his bread by the sweat of his brow and is a Christian . . ."—I hardly need to complete the argument. Another minister of the Gospel in his reply to the Fellowship declared, "I think the South was doing pretty well by itself until northern labor interests (Communist) took a hand. Since then I have seen no peace." Finally he castigates the Fellowship with the following words: God called his preachers to do right, not to be trouble makers.

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
P. O. BOX 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

August 26, 1946

My dear fellow minister:

As you know, workers in the South are awakening to their need for improving living conditions for themselves and their families. This means that they will be exercising their legal rights to organize and bargain collectively in unions of their own choosing.

In this present movement for human rights, the church in the South has an opportunity to do more than it has ever done for the common welfare. For a generation, southern churches in their official statements have upheld the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. Many Christians have seen in the labor movement an extension of democracy, and a way of life in which individuals have opportunity to achieve the dignity and self respect worthy of the children of God. Our Christian religion is rooted in the Bible message of God, speaking through the prophets for freedom and justice, and His revelation in Christ who came preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God on earth.

We confess that the church has too often denied in practice the Divine command to champion the cause of justice and to redeem men and women from exploitation and insecurity. All too often the church's pronouncements on labor have been ideals, rarely translated into practice.

The present hour is so critical that we are forced to face our responsibility by doing the specific things that would help the cause. We would suggest that you bring together your fellow ministers to discuss the meaning of Labor's campaign to your community and to the South. Invite representatives of Labor to explain what the unions' aims are and to explain how you can help. Make the most of Labor Sunday, the first Sunday in September, by arranging a special service and inviting unions to attend. Secure copies of your denominational pronouncements on labor for distribution among members of your congregation. Encourage your young people to discuss labor problems.

If democracy and religious freedom are to survive, we must count on a strong and idealistic labor movement. The best way to insure this kind of movement is for us to work with it in the achievement of its legitimate aims.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Burgess

T. B. Cowan

All of the three positions mentioned above result in the following characterization of the church in the South by a progressive Dixie clergyman:

> The church is an appendage of property and reaction. It is cursed with evangelical fundamentalism, ardent torpor, segregation, poor leadership, social timidity, and a nostalgia for the past which is as gone as it is glamorized. . . . The church suffers from institutional self-centeredness, from its excessive and false individualism growing in part out of frontier conditions; . . . its lack of a sense of human solidarity. . . . ("South Today", Spring, 1945)

At times this characterization of the southern church seems too near to the truth. Yet as one who has been too quick to condemn, I have begun to realize that the southern church has a potential strength which can be used to liberate southern working people from the bonds of ignorance, poverty, and secularism. In fact, it has a strength which the average northern churches—supposedly more advanced—have lacked. Above all, southern churches are much closer to the minds and hearts of their members. The congregation still believes in the Bible; it is less secularized than in the North; and the ministers still command the respect of the average member.

Secondly the southern churches are strong in the right way because the average pulpits are filled by men whose hearts are filled with a very profound sense of modern man's body and soul. Replying to the Fellowship labor letter, one Texas pastor wrote shortly after the defeat of Homer Rainey in the gubernatorial race: "The election shows that this state is in the hands of the rich. This state is being robbed of its rich resources, and labor and the farmers are in very serious conditions as to the standards of living and health." Yet such a pentecostal pastor, after seeing the evil of the world clearly is so overburdened by the bibliolatry of fundamentalism and so dissipated by the emotionalism of his sect that he is powerless to suggest Christian ways of living, within the context of the day, to his poverty-stricken congregation. Yet with all

(Continued on page 5)

RELIGION and

GEORGIA

The Methodist women of Georgia addressed a statement to each member of the Georgia legislature, denouncing the so-called "right-to-work" bill sponsored by Christian America in Georgia and many other states. Their statement follows:

"We, the Executive Board of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, North Georgia Conference, The Methodist Church, representing 22,000 women, wish to express to you, the lawmakers of our State, our grave concern over several measures you have before you.

"We wish to register our disapproval of the proposed amendment to the Constitution (House Resolution No. 22-114A) so commonly known as the 'Right-to-Work Amendment, but which we consider to be a 'Right-to-Starvation-Wage' Amendment.

"The proposed amendment is one of the first steps in the move to kill the practice of collective bargaining, which practice our Methodist Church supports.

"We believe, should this measure pass, the general public as well as workers will be the losers, because low wages and sweat shop working conditions would unquestionably result, and a condition would be created under which reactionary employers could ruthlessly exploit working men and women.

"We therefore wish to go on record as vigorously opposing House Resolution No. 22-114A."

TENNESSEE

The Farmers Union members in Carroll County eat cornbread from meal ground at their cooperative mill. They also grind their own stock feed, have a cooperative milk testing station, and are making plans for a cooperative cotton gin. Over three hundred families belong to the five Farmers Union locals from which delegates are elected to form the county organization, headed by A. C. Lange. Mr. Lange is also chairman of the Tennessee Farmers Union Organizing Committee. Speaking before a farmers meeting in an adjoining West Tennessee county recently, Lange said, "I'm a plain dirt farmer, but I am giving the next five years of my life to organizing the Farmers Union in Tennessee."

Tom White, a railroad worker from Lexington in the neighboring county, is Lange's most active co-worker. White is an official of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen who was

Fellowship crew at worship aboard S. S. Creighton Victory enroute to Poland with 800 horses and cattle.

instrumental in getting the Farmers Union started in Carroll County.

The Farmers Union members had an opportunity to show their attitude toward organized labor recently when the progressive mayor of Huntington, county seat of Carroll, backed the building of a shirt factory, the management of which had a closed shop contract with Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The Farmers Union backed the mayor when conservative businessmen tried to stir up the farmers against a union plant.

After working hard all day, Lange often drives to a back-woods school house and patiently outlines the Farmers Union program for working farmers and always has something to say about farmer labor unity. The same can be said for other leaders throughout the state.

"The day has dawned," said State Secretary Homer Crabtree in his Tennessee **Union Farmer** column, "when the laborer and farmer have awakened to the realization that they are dependent upon one another for prosperity."

NORTH CAROLINA

At the request of five Negro Tobacco Workers Unions, AFL, the Southern School for Workers—organized in 1927 with present headquarters in Richmond—went into Durham, N. C. for a field trip last January. After several days spent in attending union meetings, talking with rank and file members, and meeting with officers and committeemen, plans were laid for a week's series of classes

The program for the week was based entirely on those topics we found were close to the hearts of the union members: How to Use Grievance Procedure, Working on New Contracts, Understanding and Promoting State and National Legislation, and Working with Other Organizations in the Community.

Two of the work campers, Big Lick, Tennessee, 1946.

It was a stiff assignment for a week, but the members tackled the subjects with determination. Coming in from a day's hard work in the tobacco factories, they brought their ideas and questions, and for two and often nearer three hours, the union hall was alive with vigorous discussion. Nor was the week all talk—together plans were devised for further educational work within the unions, and one exciting session was held with a group of ministers to plan "How Labor and the Church Can Work Together in Durham." The night shift workers were determined not to be left out, so for their benefit the same program was carried on every afternoon for the week.

Only a week, but one in which over one hundred and twenty workers from the five unions met to sing, talk, and plan together. So real was their enthusiasm that not even the breakdown of transportation due to a heavy snow storm dampened their desire "to talk union."

For the past three years, the Southern School for Workers has placed its primary emphasis on a field work program, realizing that through work in the local union halls an ever-increasing number of workers can be reached.

LABOR NEWS!

ARKANSAS

Once a month in Little Rock what amounts almost to a miracle in the South takes place at the YMCA here, when church ministers and labor leaders sit down together to have lunch—and to talk. The ministers come from all denominations in the city, the labor men from all the unions in Greater Little Rock. The Ministerial Alliance, formed when two separate groups combined, urges upon the clergy the organization of a local Religion and Labor Foundation to grow out of these informal monthly sessions.

Each meeting is valuable in two ways: first, ministers and labor men are given a chance to meet each other on friendly terms, to talk together as individuals rather than as representatives of groups which are often opposed to one another because of lack of understanding.

Tobacco Workers AF of L Legislative Conference, Richmond.

Second, discussions of issues of equal concern to both groups are held at each meeting, with the problem introduced by either a religion or a labor man, and the floor then opened by discussion from all men present. "A Union Leader Looks at the Church", "A Clergyman Looks at Labor Unions", and "The Southern Cotton Oil and Seed Company Strike Conflict" have been among discussion topics.

Dr. Willard Uphaus of the National Religion and Labor Foundation has visited our group to talk on the role of the clergy and union leaders during the present drive for union organization in the South.

FLORIDA

Vigorous condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan as unAmerican, unChristian, and undemocratic, and vehement denial that the organization represents Protestantism has come from the Ministerial Association of Greater Miami in a statement made following the revival of the Klan in and around the Florida city.

"As ministers of the gospel of Christ," declares the statement from clergymen in Miami and outlying sections, "we not only oppose the position and principles of the Ku Klux Klan, but we also strongly advise our people to have no part in furthering its organization.

"We are not alone opposed to the Ku Klux Klan, but also to the apparent tendency on the part of many people to assume that the Klan is a Protestant organization. . . . We do not consider the Ku Klux Klan as representing Protestant Christianity in any condition or expression, since it is a denial of Christianity itself . . .

"The Ku Klux Klan is the precise denial of everything truly American and democratic."

Southern School for Workers table at CIO conference, Richmond, Va.

THE CLERGY OF THE SOUTH

(Continued from page 3)

of his deficiencies, he is deep in his insight and close to the people's hearts, and if at some future date he understands the revolutionary message of Jesus and the prophets, he may build a highway, for his eager congregation, leading to the better life.

OUR SPECIAL EDITOR

Miss Nelle Morton, the Special Editor of this issue of **Economic Justice,** is General Secretary of **The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.** Miss Morton is fully fitted by both education and experience to lead a movement like **The Fellowship** in the South. She was born in the mountains of East Tennessee, where her father was manager of a commissary in a lumber camp. She grew up in Kingsport, where she witnessed the rapid industrial expansion and knows at first hand the resulting problems.

Miss Morton is a graduate of Flora McDonald College, where she was president of the student body. She holds an M. A. in Religious Education from Biblical Seminary of New York. She served as Parish Assistant for four years in Plymouth Congregational Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn, where she came into contact with the lower east side of Brooklyn. Before becoming General Secretary of **The Fellowship,** she was for seven years Associate Director of Young People's Work in the Presbyterian Church in U. S.

We are proud to have had so able an editor assemble the materials in this bulletin. Thousands of copies of the bulletin will be distributed throughout the South as part of the preparation for the Southern Religion and Conference to be held in Atlanta, February 4-5, 1947.

Willard Uphaus

PREACHERS of DISUNITY

By Stetson Kennedy

Some of the very best union organizers in the South are preachers who have taken it upon themselves to promote the social as well as the theological doctrines of Christ.

Virtually every religious group in America has proclaimed the equal right of labor and management to organize freely for collective bargaining.

And yet there are in the South a handful of self-styled Christian preachers who have prostituted their calling by engaging in an un-Christian crusade to keep working people from forming labor unions. A few of these preachers are conscientious but misguided zealots; but most of them have prostituted their profession for money. It should also be said that most of them are of the jackleg itinerant class, without formal affiliation with any organized denomination—although some few belong to what these are wont to call the "highsteeple crowd."

This latter elite segment is diligently cultivated by the National Association of Manufacturers, "a union" of big industrialists representing some $60,000,000,000 in corporate wealth, through its "Committee on Cooperation with the Church." Among N.A.M.'s regional offices are three, situated in Atlanta, Dallas, and St. Louis.

The N.A.M. technique has been described as follows by "The Witness," news magazine of the Episcopal Church: "The National Association of Manufacturers, with plenty of what it takes to do the job, has turned to the task of converting the clergy to its point of view. The stunt is to get some highly respectable parson, innocent to the ways of the N.A.M. to invite the brethren to a nice dinner or luncheon, feed them well, pass out fat cigars, and then turn on the line through a paid employee who generally is a clergyman delighted to be on such a generous payroll."

When the N.A.M. propositioned the Federal Council of Churches—which embraces some 28,00,000 church folk in 24 denominations—about co-sponsoring a series of regional "Church-Industry" conferences, the Council of Churches insisted that representatives of organized labor be invited to participate. The N.A.M. reluctantly agreed to this, but at the same time has gone ahead with other "Church-Industry" conferences wherever it can find local church collaborators who are willing to leave out labor.

When such an affair was arranged in Memphis, the Rev. S. E. Howie, president of the Memphis Ministerial Alliance, berated businessmen for opposing the inclusion of labor representatives. "The church emphasizes human values, and capitalism emphasizes profits," he said, "and between these two emphases there is a fundamental antagonism."

Most of the big N.A.M.'s in the South have a regional outfit of their own, the Southern States Industrial Council. This Council—significantly organized the year Roosevelt took office—has consistently worked against unionism and progress. This year it came out into the open with its campaign against all forms of union security. Like the N.A.M. on a national scale, the Southern State's Industrial Council is doing what it can to convert preachers to anti-unionism.

In a letter to its members dated September 4, 1946, entitled "The Church in the Postwar World," the Council president declared, "I think one of the most vital and pressing questions relating to our future lies in determining the place the Church should have in our plans." Noting that ministers "have the respect and confidence of the people," the Council went on to say: "The businessmen and industrialists of the South have a marvelous opportunity—right here in a region where religion is inherent in the nature of the people. . . ."

Some southern industrialists, like millionaire manufacturer of road-building equipment R. G. LeTourneau, have sought to draw the cloak of religion around their own opposition to unions. LeTourneau, who adopted the notorious Bedeaux speedup system, has claimed God as a co-partner in his enterprises. Every attempt of his workers to organize a union has been beaten back by "preachers" brandishing Bibles.

A prototype of the preachers who have hitched onto the anti-union gravy train is "Parson Jack" Johnston of Columbus, Georgia. Ironically, 'Parson Jack" takes as his text Numbers 10:20—"Come thou with us and we will do thee good." Interestingly, **Parson Jack's Tabernacle,** as it was named upon its establishment in 1932, was named the **Roberts Memorial Baptist Church** in honor of Columbus Roberts, who donated the first building, and a year later still another building. The total value of the Tabernacle now is claimed to be $100,000. Roberts is prominent in the Coco-Cola Bottling Company, and has numerous other industrial interests.

"Parson Jack" has been preaching in Columbus since 1930. In 1932 he began to publish a weekly "religious" sheet called **The Trumpet,** and later an additional weekly paper, **The Columbus Tribune.** Up until 1945 **The Trumpet** was published as a monthly religious magazine, but during that year it appeared as a bi-weekly newspaper. In December of 1945 it was decided to change the name of the paper to **The Tribune.** "A Champion of the People, since the effort was not "religious", primarily, but secular. . . ." and to resume publication of **The Trumpet** as a special anti-CIO paper.

"Parson Jack" claims that by September of 1946, 14,000 copies of **The Trumpet** were being distributed weekly, mostly in Georgia. The employees of the following Alabama and Georgia textile mills are positively known to be receiving **The Trumpet** by mail at their homes, free, without having subscribed or asked for it:

In Georgia: Bibb Manufacturing Company, Swift Manufacturing Company, Swift Spinning Mill, Jordan Manufacturing Company, Eagle and Phenix, Columbus Manufacturing Company, Muscogee Manufacturing Company, Georgia Manfacturing Company, all of Columbus; Bibb Manufacturing Company (Mill No. 1, Mill No. 2, Payne City Mill, Macon and Bibb Shirt Company), Macon Textiles Incorporated, Atlantic Cotton Mill, Willingham Mill, all of Macon.

In Alabama: Avondale Mills, Sylvacauga; Russell Mills, Alexander City; West Point Mills, Lanette; Lanette Bleachery and Dye Works (West Point subsidiary), Lanette; and Gurney Manufacturing Company, Prattville.

It is significant that "Parson Jack's" **Tribune** has frequently carried "advertisements" of the major textile mills in the Columbus area. For instance, on February 21, 1946, there was a jointly-signed ad reading: "The policy of owners and managers, all responsible Columbus citizens, includes continuous operation, full employment and improvements in every way possible." It was signed by: Bibb Manufacturing Company, Columbus Manufacturing Company, Eagle and Phenix Mills, Georgia Manufacturing Company, Georgia Webbing and Tape Company, Jordan Mills, Inc.; Muscogee Manufacturing Company, Swift Manufacturing Company, and Swift Spinning Mills.

In a letter to someone who contributed one dollar to his "Christian Crusaders League" in September, "Parson Jack" attacked the CIO and said, "We are doing a little of everything to combat their efforts." His letter went on to say: "We are making the fight, or rather, putting on the 'Educational drive,' through the columns of our paper, **The Trumpet.** Of course, we say some things through the columns of **The Tribune** also, and certainly it is costing us lots of money. Certainly, we are receiving some assistance, or we would not be able to travel at all. . . ."

The author of this article is a "born" Southerner, whose love for the South drives him to discover truth as revealed in this article and in his recent book, 'Southern Exposure, published by **Doubleday & Co., New York, $3.00.**

'Parson Jack" continued: "The Mills (textile) are hedged off from helping, on account of the one-sided Wagner Act. . . . They can do but little to help, unless they subject themselves to fines, etc., by the Government. . . . In lieu of the facts mentioned above, if the citizens would 'wake up,' and come to our aid, we would be able to secure lists of workers, and . . . would be able to more effectively combat the situation."

"Parson Jack" offers his booklet, **Dangers of the CIO Movement** for 30 cents each in lots of 100 or more; **Churches Repudiate CIO "Bid for Fellowship"** with Them at 20 cents per copy in lots of 50 and up; and **It Is Not Too Late** at 85 cents each.

Like **Militant Truth,*** "Parson Jack" takes as his text, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers"; and then he seeks to show that unions are un-Christian. While acknowledging that "some" members of the CIO might be Christians, "Parson Jack" goes on to say, "so long as they remain connected with such men as Jacob S. Potofsky who was elected to take Sidney Hillman's place . . . they could not expect a Christian organization . . . to open her doors and invite them to 'come in and sup with us.' "

While "Parson Jack" spends most of his time fighting the CIO, he frequently attacks other unions as well. For instance, he has objected to the AF of L's encouraging its Negro members to vote, adding, "The AFL should not expect southern people to continue to 'hang on to their coat tail' while they leave the traditions of the southern people." "Parson Jack" has also charged that the 1946 American railroad strike was dictated by Stalin. He has said, "With regret, there is not a chance to answer the question, 'Is the labor movement Christian?' in the affirmative." And he has concluded, "We do not need to organize, but we sorely need to EVANGELIZE."

In an editorial entitled "A Right Ugly Affair," "Parson Jack" sought to blame Governor Ellis Arnall for the quadruple lynching near Monroe in Walton County, and concluded: "The Northern, Communist, Brownish, Brindle kind of looking crowd had better keep their mouths out of some things down here or there will be serious trouble which all of us will regret"

The Tribune went all-out for Talmadge as "The White Hope of Georgia." It was one of the several newspapers in the State which supported Gene. It also came to the defense of the "Grand, High, and Noble principles for which the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan stand," and charged that Northern "Jews and Catholics" were sending out "poison literature" against Talmadge.

A regular contributor to "Parson Jack's" **Tribune** is one C. G. Rape. One of Rape's semi-literate epistles published by "Parson Jack" said: "Yes, I am an ex-Klansman, and am proud to be a part of the FREEBORN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION, an organization that is composed solely of red-blooded Americans and not Jews, Catholics, and Negroes." He charged that: "The Jews, Catholics, and Negroes . . . have done and are doing all in their power to ruin and to destroy our government" and that "The CIO is one of their agents of destruction."

"Parson Jack" cites as one of his authorities on "subversive activities" Joseph P. Kamp, head of the so-called "Constitutional Educational League." Kamp was executive editor of **The Awakener,** twice recommended by the Nazis' World Service propaganda bureau. Associate editor of **The Awakener** was Lawrence Denis, author of **The Coming American Fascism.**

In his booklet, **It Is Not Too Late,** "Parson Jack" reprints an article by the Rev. Gerald Winrod, widely known as the "Jayhawk Nazi." Winrod is publisher of **The Defender** and is under Federal indictment for sedition.

Besides "Parson Jack", there are a handful of other preachers of disunity without papers. One such is the Rev. O. A. Hood, former pastor of the Fire-Baptized Primitive Baptist Church of Athens, Ga. The Rev. Mr. Hood has frequently lent his name as sole signer of anti-union propaganda leaflets distributed to employees of the Athens Manufacturing Company (textiles).

In another Georgia mill village a Holiness preacher in a sworn statement has related how the mill manager "called all of us preachers together and told us we should help keep the mess out—meaning the Union."

The preacher went on to say that the manager "let me go through the mill and shake hands with the help and let me invite them to church." Moreover, the mill manager "put a new roof on the church, paid $300 on the church, paid $250 on the parsonage, and gave me $50 and said to use it the way I wanted to."

And then, of course, the preacher paid off. In this case the mill manager gave him a form letter for resigning from a union, which the preacher took into the homes of the workers and urged them to sign. "I went to see Mrs. Barnwell and told her that it might be some help to her if she signed the form," he said, citing one such call. "Mrs. Barnwell signed the form and I mailed it to the union in Atlanta."

A common defense of mill owners when confronted with charges of subsidizing anti-union preachers (a violation of the National Labor Relations Act) is that the mills have traditionally contributed to the village churches, even when there was no union organizing campaign in progress. But needless to say, the integrity of the church is bound to suffer when subsidized by anti-union industrialists.

The future of the church is inextricably bound up with the material welfare of the people. It must not fail to give full moral support to the principle of collective bargaining through democratic unions.

* A full-length expose of this anti-union sheet, "The Truth about *Militant Truth*", by Stetson Kennedy, is available from Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 808 Perdino Street, New Orleans.

BEATITUDES

for the

WORLD OF WORK

BLESSED are they who see that the chief end of all work is to glorify God.

BLESSED are they who realize that before God all men are equal, and that all work must be made to yield real equality of opportunity for all.

BLESSED is all work when it is geared not to profits for the few but to a richer quality of life for all.

BLESSED are Management and Labor when they remember they are human beings and that problems of work are problems of human beings and human relations.

BLESSED also are Management and Labor when they make their first task not self-enrichment but service to the Community.

BLESSED are those Businesses and Labor Unions which do not discriminate against others because of color, class, or creed.

BLESSED are all places of work that have needed safety devices and heal thy surroundings.

BLESSED are the employers and employees who realize that a strike by either party is a childish confession of failure rather than the outcome of sincere negotiations by mature minds.

BLESSED are all concerns which make generous provisions for the aged and infirm so that their years of service to the community end not in tragedy.

BLESSED are the Industries and Labor Unions which protect children and youth from being robbed of their school years by forced labor.

BLESSED is the nation whose government, churches and schools, factories and farms are fully employed to meet not only the spiritual and physical needs of its own citizens but helping to free the world from fear and want. Rejoice then and be exceeding glad for the vision of peace through justice draweth nigh.

T. B. COWAN

SYMBOLS

They were symbols
The preacher said—
The bread and wine
In memory of him,
Of Jesus the Toiler . . .

I see other symbols.
Hungry and cold
They tramp America
Like ghosts passing by—
In the coal camps,
Dirty with dust,
Begging a crust,
A nickel, a dime,
Or an old coat
For winter time.

Toilers' children,
Gaunt and tired,
With rickets and flux—
These are symbols I see . . .

ECONOMIC JUSTICE
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Editor: Willard Uphaus
Special Guest Editor: NELLE MORTON

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VOICE OF THE CRACKER

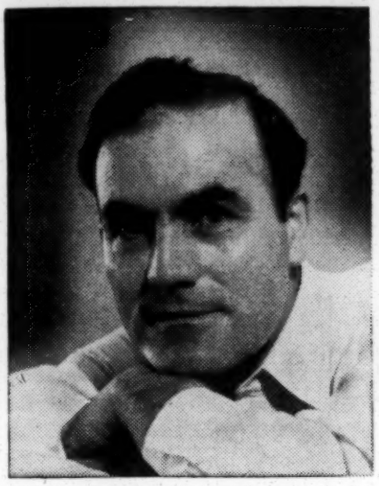
(To Charlie Gilman)

I'm the voice of
The Southern Cracker,
Once silent, inarticulate.
But I'm learning to look
And talk straight now,
Listen to me . . .
For you've listened to others—
Unfriendly voices,
Because I was quiet,
Laboring with arm
And back muscles
Beside the silent slave,
My voice was not heard. . . .

I'm learning that
The blood of my fathers
Made revolution
And hammered beauty
Out of a wilderness,
That America's dirt
Has sucked up my sweat
To keep soft hands soft
And make pot-guts potted
While hunger and rags
Disease and illiteracy
Shriveled the souls
Of my own children . . .
Oh, I'm the Cracker—
The Red-neck
Clod-hopper
Mountain hooger hill-billy—
The "white-trash" nobody.

And you've heard
That I'm a lyncher
Of Negroes,
The man with hood and night shirt!
But I tell you
You've heard falsely!
For the pattern was set
From the big houses
By those who now point
The unfriendly finger at me,
Who taught me to hate
And say "nigger,"
And the Negro to hate
And say "white-trash"
And both of us
To despise the Jew. . . .

Oh, I'm the Cracker,
And I'm learning—
Of **unity,**
Not **hate,—**
To look
And talk straight. . . . !



CLODS OF SOUTHERN EARTH:

By Don West

Published by Boni & Gaer N.Y.

$1.00 paper cover, $2.50 cloth.

"You say you want a poem with its roots in the earth; a poem that finds beauty in the lives of common people, and perhaps a poem that may sometimes show the reasons for the heartache and sorrow of the plain folks and sometimes point the way ahead. . . .

"I come from an old southern family. You've heard that one before, yes? Well, I don't mean what you think. Mine is a real old southern family. Oh, I'm no sprig off the decadent tree of some bourbon, aristocratic, blue-blood family of the notorious slave-master tradition. . . . I'm more southern than that. That represents only the small minority. My folks were the men who wore jean pants and the women who wore linsey petticoats. They had nothing to do with the genteel tradition. Some were the first white settlers of Georgia, and some were already settled when the white ones came . . .

"Some Southerners love to boast about their families, and I reckon I do too, a little. At least none of mine ever made his living by driving slaves. There's nary a slave owner up my family tree. The old story that we don't look too closely for fear of finding a "horse thief" is commonplace, of course. Indeed, wouldn't it be shameful to find one of our grandpaws doing such a petty theft? Who could be proud of a great-grand-daddy with ambition no higher than stealing a horse? B'gad, we Americans go in for big stuff! Steal a horse? NO! But steal a continent, a nation; steal the lives and labor of thousands of black men and women in slavery; steal the wages of under-paid workers; steal a railroad, a bank, a million dollars—oh boy, now you're talking! That's the real class. Those are the ancestors America's blue-bloods worship. But steal a horse—aw, heck, the guy might be hanged for that! . . . Do you think I'm telling about this tree just because it's mine? You're partly right. But the main reason is that, to a greater or lesser degree, it represents the great majority of southern whites. And their real story has never yet been adequately told. Some day I intend to do it, to tell about these people with rough hands, big feet, and hard bodies; about the real men and women of the South. . . .

"I love the South. Like hundreds of other southerners, I dislike some things about its customs and ways. But our folks have lived and died there. Our roots are sunk deeply from generations back. . .

"So I pass these poems on to you who may care enough to read them. They are little pieces of life—and death—picked up along the way. May they help to kindle little sparks that will grow into big flames!"

PINEVILLE, KENTUCKY, 1946

(News item: "Twenty-four miners killed by explosion. Company had sent men to work in mine after it was condemned by federal inspectors; twenty bodies sealed in mine.")

Twenty-four miners,
A blast and a boom
Twenty-four bodies
In a drift-mine room.

Some of them Negro,
All of them brave—
No segregation
In this common grave!

Twenty dead miners
In a common tomb—
Shake yourself, mountain,
To give them room.

Twenty together
Is no lonesome road,
Each helps to carry
The other one's load.

The great deep sorrow
For those who died
Cannot be buried
In a mountainside.

Go, America
And bow your head
Where Four Mile Hollow
Has sealed her dead!

JAckson 5253

Southern Region

NATIONAL RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

Room 210, 44½ Marietta Street, N. W.

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

8

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CONFERENCE CALL

All over the world today the common man is rising to claim his rightful place in a just and democratic society. The growth of the labor movement out of the needs and aspirations of working men and women in the South is one manfestation of this claim. In the presence of this manifestation a group of religious leaders in the South are recognizing their responsibility and that of the institutions they serve.

We feel that in labor's assertion of its right to organize, religious leaders face an unprecedented opportunity to put into practice their respective faiths, by interpreting labor's struggle in accord with the will of God for a social order of divine justice and an abundant life for all, and by banding together to effect this purpose. At this moment, Religion and Labor definitely have a common responsibility in building the Brotherhood of Man.

We invite you to attend the Southern Religion and Labor Conference at the Butler Street YMCA in Atlanta, February 4-5, 1947, at which churchmen and labor representatives will meet to formulate a program of action.

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Southern Committee
National Religion and Labor Foundation
44½ Marietta Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

RECEIVED
JAN 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

Thirty-two well-known southern religious leaders, belonging to various denominations and faiths, have issued a call for a Southern Religion and Labor Conference to be held in Atlanta, February 4-5.

In inviting interested churchmen and labor representatives to attend, these leaders declared that "The growth of the labor movement out of the needs and aspirations of working men and women in the South" is a manifestation of the fact that "all over the world today the common man is rising to claim his rightful place in a just and democratic society." The call points out, further, that religious leaders now "face an unprecedented opportunity to put into practice their respective faiths, by interpreting labor's struggle in accord with the will of God for a social order of divine justice and an abundant life for all."

The registration of delegates will begin at ten o'clock, Tuesday morning. The opening session at two o'clock the first afternoon will have a panel of four speakers, two representing the church and two representing labor, discuss the topic, "Labor and the Church in the South." The delegates will be greeted by three Atlantans, Dean Raimundo DeOvies of St. Philip's Cathedral, Mr. Henry Chandler, President, Atlanta Federation of Trades, and Mr. Charles Gilman, Georgia CIO Director. Dr. Alva W. Taylor of Nashville, who is General Chairman of the Conference, will preside.

There will be general sessions on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. On the first evening, the subject, "The Spiritual and Economic Basis of Democracy in the South" will be discussed by Mr. Paul L. Styles, NLRB Regional Director of Atlanta, and Dr. W. H. Borders, Minister, Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta. Dr. Liston Pope, Professor of Social Ethics at Yale University Divinity School, will be the principal speaker at the final Wednesday evening meeting, having as his topic, "The Social Meaning of Religion."

Throughout Wednesday, the second day, the delegates will divide into six workshops to plan programs of study and action on the following subject: 1. The Church, Labor and the Community; 2. The Media of Communication; 3. Economic Restraints on the Church; 4. Youth, Education and Labor; 5. The South as an Economic Dependency; 6. Social and Labor Legislation. In all, fifty speakers and consultants, representing the church, synagogue, labor, education, the press and radio will take part.

The Methodist Federation for Social Service and The Church League for Industrial Democracy (Episcopal) have endorsed the conference, as have also ninety individual leaders residing in different parts of the South.

The thirty-two signers of the Conference Call constitute the Southern Committee of the National Religion and Labor Foundation. They are: Dean Julia F. Allen, Berea, Ky.; Rabbi Isadore Barnett, Savannah; Dr. H. D. Bollinger, Nashville; Dr. William H. Borders, Atlanta; Miss Elizabeth Bowles, Atlanta; Dr. Cleveland J. Bradner, Jr., Danville, Va.; Dean B. R. Brazeal, Atlanta; Rev. David S. Burgess, East Prairie, Mo.; Dr. Edwin L. Clarke, Winter Park, Fla.; Rev. Robert M. Cook, Harriman, Tenn.; Rev. T. B. Cowan, Lexington, Ky.; Rev. Jack A. Davis, Sarasota, Fla.; Prof. Moses N. DeLaney, Raleigh, N. C.; Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, Atlanta,; Rabbi Muir Engel, Greensboro, N. C.; Rabbi Harry H. Epstein, Atlanta,; Bishop W. A. Fountain, Sr., Atlanta,; Rev. Sam F. Freeman, Jr., Little Rock,; Mr. George Harper, Nashville,; Mr. George J. Harrison and Dr. Maynard H. Jackson, Atlanta,; Rev. Charles M. Jones, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays and Rev. Harrison McMains, Atlanta,; Miss Nelle Morton, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Miss Rosalie V. Oakes, Atlanta,; Dr. B. J. Oliver, Jr., Lakeland, Fla.; Rev. William H. Poteat, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Rev. Lee C. Sheppard, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta,; Rev. Matthew H. Warren, Atlanta,; and Rabbi Sidney Wolfe, Corpus Christi, Texas.

Dr. Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation is the Conference Executive Secretary.

CONFIDENTIAL
Not For
Press Release

Southern Religion and Labor Conference
Butler Street Y.M.C.A., Atlanta, Feb. 4-5, 1947

PROGRAM

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4

10:00 A.M. Registration begins. Butler Street Y.M.C.A.

Time for delegates to get settled and to see exhibits and movies.

12:30 P.M. Fellowship Luncheon. Introductions. Singing.

2:00 P.M. "Labor and the Church in the South"

Presiding - Dr. Alva W. Taylor

Greetings

Dean Raimundo DeOvies, St. Philip's Cathedral, Atlanta
~~George Googe, Southern Director~~, American Federation of Labor, Atlanta
Henry W. Chandler Pres. Atlanta Federation of Trades
Charles Gilman, Georgia CIO Director, Atlanta

Panel Members

Rev. Cleveland J. Bradner, Jr., Minister, West End Christian Church, Danville, Va.
Lewis Conn, Director, Pittsylvania County Joint Board Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, Danville, Va.
Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Minister, Exter Avenue Methodist Church, Montgomery, Ala.
Frank Prohl, Director, Southern Conference of Teamsters, AFL, Atlanta, Ga.

Discussion

"Clods of Southern Earth" by Don West

4:30 P.M. Social Hour in Workshop Groups. Chairmen and Consultants to be announced.

6:00 P.M. Dinner

7:30 P.M. "The Spiritual and Economic Basis of Democracy in the South"

Presiding - To be announced

Speakers

Paul L. Styles, Regional Director, National Labor Relations Board, Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. William Holmes Borders, Minister, Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga.

9:00 P.M. Free Time. Movies on Religious and Workers Education.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5

9:30 A.M. Conference Service
9:45 A.M. Workshops
12:30 P.M. Fellowship Luncheon
2:00 P.M. Workshops. Session to draw up Action Programs
3:00 P.M. Plenary Session - Report of the Panel Representing the different commissions. Adoption of Action Program.
6:00 P.M. Dinner
7:30 P.M. "The Social Meaning of Religion"

Presiding - Rabbi Isadore Barnett, Congregation Agudath Achim, Savannah, Ga.

Speakers

~~Charles B. Gramling, President~~, Georgia Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, and Vice-President, Council of Churches of Christ in America, Atlanta, Ga.
Van A. Bittner, Director, CIO Organizing Committee, Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. Liston Pope, Professor of Social Ethics, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

Workshop Chairmen** and Consultants

I. The Church, Labor and the Community

**Rev. Frank Robertson, Minister, Baker Village Methodist Church, Columbus, Ga.
**Al Whitehouse, Director, District 25, United Steelworkers of America, CIO, Covington, Ky.
Rev. David S. Burgess, Chairman, Labor Commission, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, East Prairie, Mo.
Dr. Maynard H. Jackson, Fellowship Baptist Church, Atlanta.
Rev. Charles M. Jones, Minister, Presbyterian Church, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta.
Dr. B. J. Oliver, Jr., Professor of Sociology, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Fla.
John G. Ramsay, CIO Public Relations Representative, Austell, Ga.
Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Teacher, Author, Labor Arbitrator, Nashville, Tenn.

II. The Media of Communication

**Chairman - To be announced.
Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, Georgia Representative, National Religion and Labor Foundation, Atlanta.
Stetson Kennedy, Author, "Southern Exposure"
Ralph McGill, Editor, The Atlanta Constitution (not confirmed)
Jennings Perry, Nashville (not confirmed)
Allan L. Swim, Publicity Director, CIO Organizing Committee, Atlanta.

III. Economic Restraints on the South

**Rev. T. B. Cowan, Minister, The Church of the People, Lexington, Ky.
**Rev. Charles C. Webber, President, Virginia CIO Industrial Union Council, Richmond, Va.
Rabbi Muir Engel, Greensboro, N. C.
George J. Harrison, Associate Director, Southeastern Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Atlanta.
Rev. Harrison McMains, Minister, First Christian Church, Atlanta.
James Morgan, International Typographical Union, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Minister, Exter Avenue Methodist Church, Montgomery, Ala.

IV. Youth, Education and Labor

**George Harper, Secretary, National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, Nashville, Tenn.
**Miss Nelle Morton, Executive Secretary, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Dean Julia F. Allen, Berea College, Berea, Ky.
Dean B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse College, Atlanta.
Frank McCallister, Director, Georgia Workers Education Service, Atlanta
Miss Rosalie V. Oakes, Secretary, Southern Region, YWCA, Atlanta
Alan B. Peabody, President, Interseminary Division, National Religion and Labor Foundation, New Haven, Conn.
Dr. Liston Pope, Professor of Social Ethics, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Prof. Glenn W. Rainey, Atlanta

V. The South as an Economic Dependency

**Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, CIO Public Relations Representative, Atlanta
**Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Executive Secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Service, New York, N. Y.
**Dr. D. G. Garland, AFL Representative, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Frank A. Constangy, Attorney, Atlanta
Rev. Sam F. Freeman, Jr., Minister, Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Ark.
A. G. Mezerik, Author, "The Revolt of the South and the West"
Rev. R. Archer Torrey, Rector, Episcopal Church, Darien, Ga.
William Williams, Williams and Rosen Insurance, Little Rock, Ark. (not confirmed)

VI. Social and Labor Legislation

**Miss Margaret Fisher, Executive Secretary, Committee for Georgia, Atlanta
**Dr. George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta
Prof. C. O. Bacote, Professor of History, Atlanta University, Atlanta
Myles Horton, Director, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.
Steven Para, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. William P. S. Spofford, Jr., Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy, New York, N. Y.

JAckson 5253

Southern Region

NATIONAL RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

Room 210, 44½ Marietta Street, N. W.

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Georgia

B. J. OLIVER, JR.
Florida

ALVA W. TAYLOR
Tennessee

February 14, 1947

Dear Conference Delegate:

We inclose herewith a mimeographed report of the findings and recommendations of the workshops adopted by the Southern Religion and Labor Conference. This report is filled with many practical suggestions on church-labor cooperation in the local community. May God bless you as you bring the spirit of our Atlanta fellowship to your friends and organizations.

Will you please write me briefly how you now feel about the Conference? If you believe that there were real values, we hope you will tell us. Such information encourages us to carry on, and it also helps us secure funds for the advancement of the work. In writing, tell us, of course, how we can improve on the Atlanta experience, when we set up the next conference.

You will also find other helpful materials in this packet. We are prepared to fill orders for our new pamphlet, "Trade Unions and Preachers" by Rev. David S. Burgess. Please call on us if we can help you in any way.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Willard Uphaus

Willard Uphaus
Executive Secretary

WU:wn

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SOUTHERN
RELIGION AND LABOR CONFERENCE
Butler Street Y. M. C. A., Atlanta
February 4-5, 1947

REPORT OF WORKSHOPS

PREAMBLE

The organization of labor is one of the major humanitarian movements of our time. This movement has much in common with the principles and precepts of Biblical religion. Both demand equity, justice, the rights of the "least of these", the abolition of enforced poverty. Both seek the humanitarian organization of society, including the economic system, in terms of Brotherhood, the National Religion and Labor Foundation exists to promote these ends.

WORKSHOP I

THE CHURCH, LABOR, AND THE COMMUNITY

Historically, both the church and the labor movement have come into being in working-class communities, and in general, movements of reform and revolution, which have led to the betterment of the common man's lot, have arisen from the least recognized of our society. Yet today we find that churches have strayed from their prophetic origins to become stratified and lethargic, and in places the labor movement has become institutionalized and conservative. God, being the respector of no person or movement, is the judge of all and judgment is determined, in part, by how a movement or a person meets the problem of evil, race discrimination, economic injustice, mass exploitation, human wickedness. Today, these problems if America is to remain democratic, must be met by both the labor movement and the churches acting together to establish more Godly communities in America.

Therefore, to the ministers, priests and rabbis of the South we say: It is your duty to build churches and synagogues whose doors are open to all races and classes. It is your duty to educate your members concerning the social pronouncements of the church and concerning the specific means by which all men can better their economic condition. You should become intimately acquainted with all members of your community and you should stand as men of righteousness--tolerant, but firm in your convictions. Always, in peace or in crisis, you must not only serve as a mediator between the rival factions, but also as a stern prophet rebuking unrighteousness and upholding justice wherever they may be found, denouncing the sins of both greedy capital and labor. As you have joined the local service club to become acquainted with the town fathers and leading business men, you must also become an integral part of the labor movement as a chaplain of a local, fraternal, a trade union member or by some other method.

To the labor leaders of the South we say: It is your duty to educate the laity and clergy of the South about the aims and the methods of the trade union movement. It is also your duty, as a believer, to become an active member of some synagogue or church in your community. Thereby you can be an effective participant in the united effort to make the church live up to its word.

And finally, to both the ministers and labor leaders of the South, we say:

It is your duty to form in every major city and hamlet in America church-labor groups started with the initial purpose of creating a spirit of God-like fellowship between clergymen and labor leaders, and directed toward specific action projects for the betterment of community life in America. Aim at the beginning toward an inter-union, an inter-racial, and an inter-faith fellowship, with members eating, talking, acting and praying together. Progress toward this end may be slow, but remember that common hunger both physical and spiritual---of the stomach and of the soul---speaks a common language. Beware of neglecting your brothers and sisters of the rural South . . . those small farmers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, day laborers and migrants who are still the disfranchised majority of the South, handicapped by lack of educational opportunity, poverty and disunity. Your aim should be to create an understanding between the farm worker and the urban laborer, to name the organization which, under the disguise of being a people's organization, collaborates with the malefactors of great wealth both at home and in Washington, and to herald the organizations which are bringing a measure of freedom to those who labor on the land, in the shed and in the cannery.

WORKSHOP II

THE MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

In order to further the program of spiritual and social advance which this conference advocates, our committee recommends that greater attention be given to the available means of communication---the radio, newspapers, motion pictures, the spoken word, etc.

The committee believes that the conference and representatives of the organizations represented at the conference should take certain definite steps to provide the public with full information about their program. We recommend:

1. That we use all of our facilities and our influence to get opinion-forming agencies---the press, radio, motion pictures, schools and churches---to give greater consideration to the common objectives of true religion and economic democracy.

2. That we invite all public spirited agencies, particularly the churches of all faiths, to join with us in this undertaking.

We suggest implementation of this program in the following manner:

(a) By acquainting editors, writers, reporters, radio commentators, teachers, women's organizations, farm organizations and others with our program through personal contact, the writing of letters and the regular issuance of press releases.

(b) By supplying the communication services with accurate information, factual letters to the readers' column, and news fillers and cartoons.

(c) By correcting false and detrimental statements with which the public is constantly bombarded. (This can best be done by confining one's statements to factual and constructive information).

(d) By commanding, through use of letters and public statements,

those who voice opinions in harmony with our objectives.

We further recommend:

That the Religion and Labor Foundation study the possibilities of establishing a special committee and the assigning of a staff officer to the carrying out of the suggestions made herein.

WORKSHOP III

ECONOMIC RESTRAINTS ON THE CHURCH

In analyzing the economic forces in the community that interfere with preaching and exemplification of the full gospel of justice and brotherhood, the members of this group reached the following conclusions:

1. The primary economic restraining forces within our present economic system are those which struggle through individuals selfishly for profits, power and white supremacy.

Employers of labor who are members of the institutions of religion and almost universally on the governing boards of these institutions, exercise the major restraining influence upon the preaching and exemplification of the full gospel of justice and brotherhood.

Another economic restraining force---a phase of the one just given---is that exercised by the politicians representing the dominant economic group in the community.

2. The second conclusion was that because of the prevailing customs relating to white and negro groups and other minority groups, the religious leader is often restrained from preaching and carrying out his religious convictions and those of his religious body on brotherhood and justice.

3. The third conclusion was that while extremists on the side of either management or labor often use anti-semitism as a means of distracting attention from the real management-labor issues, Christian leaders, not wishing to take sides, fail to attack the scapegoat issue of anti-semitism.

SUGGESTED METHODS OF DEALING WITH THOSE ECONOMIC RESTRAINTS ON THE CHURCH

1. The religious leaders preach and exemplify the full gospel of their faiths---as expressed in the social creed of their religious body.

2. (a) The religious leaders get in touch with the leaders of the trade unions and of the co-operatives in their communities. This means rural and urban. Offer their services in conducting classes on economic issues in the workers and farmer educational groups. If there are no trade workers and co-operatives in their communities, contact the National Headquarters of the Farm and Trade Unions, urge that organizers be sent into the community, and through personal contacts with the workers and farmers of their communities, impress upon them their duty to join organizations of their own choosing.

(b) The religious leaders, in speaking to the Labor and Farm organi-

zations, urge the members of the same to affiliate with the religious organization of their own choosing; in an active capacity so that they can support their religious leader in carrying out the SOCIAL CREED.

3. Religious leaders invite the members of Labor and Farm organizations to attend and participate in their Labor Sunday services. Labor leaders invite religious leaders to attend and participate in their Labor Day meetings.

4. Religious leaders, wherever they have a Ministerial Union, work for an inter-racial and inter-faith organization wherever feasible. Also, invite the Local Unions of City or County Labor body to send fraternal delegates to their meetings.

5. Wherever there are discriminations in church, synagogue, or labor organizations, we recommend that members of both groups work for the elimination of these discriminations.

6. Religious leaders organize symposiums and forums on religion and labor before various church groups, i.e. Men's Brotherhoods, Women and Young People's Societies.

7. Religious leaders study labor-management conflicts in their community and offer their services as conciliators, mediators, and arbitrators.

8. Religious leaders and groups maintain civil rights in their communities. In case a trade union group cannot find a hall in which to meet, offer the use of a room in the religious institution. Protect the right of both labor and management to organize and bargain collectively, if need be to go on the picket line with the workers where they have been denied the right to organize and bargain collectively.

9. Religious leaders cooperate with the representatives of the organized labor, in organizing the employers of the unorganized church and synagogue printing plants.

10. Religious leaders and labor leaders analyzed Capitalism and the competing economic philosophies from the standpoint of religious and ethical principles and then work for that type of economic order which the individual feels is the highest and best.

11. Join the official social action group of your particular religious body.

12. Join the unofficial social action group of your particular religious body and work for its objectives. The following is a statement of purpose of one of the official organizations.

An organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society, and which seeks to replace it with social and economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges. It seeks the establishment of full democracy and unreserved brotherhood in our political, economic, and social life.

In case your religious group does not have an unofficial social action group, organize one.

13. Cooperate with Willard Uphaus of the Religion and Labor Foundation and with John Ramsay in the setting up of local Religion and Labor groups and local clergy and labor fellowship dinner groups.

WORKSHOP IV

YOUTH, EDUCATION AND LABOR

"My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge" was the underlying assumption accepted by the commission as a basis for their discussion. A young person, in the school and community has difficulty in obtaining an adequate picture of the whole life of the community. While business interests have access to the churches, schools and textbooks, and can use these sources against labor, labor doesn't have an adequate opportunity to present its views. The youth of the nation represents the potential labor of tomorrow. Becoming interested in and informed about labor and then problems while youth paves the way for broader understanding and helpfulness when a youth becomes a worker. Leadership of informed Churchmen with a personal knowledge of problems confronted by the working-man is essential to the advancement of the dignity of labor.

In the light of this situation, the Resolution Commission had the following suggestions to make:

1. Trying to get courses on labor history and problems into the curriculum of schools, colleges, seminaries. Where these exist, to attempt to get these courses related to the facts of life---working in factories, field, etc.

2. Where it is impossible, at present, to get labor courses in the curriculum, the commission felt that "dedicated and principled teachers" could, through their own ingenuity, work into some existing courses a complete picture, which would include labor problems.

3. Students can organize to request certain basic courses, invite speakers and discussion leaders who know labor, to campus, assemblies, conferences, workshop groups, etc.

4. The above two points are based on the recognition that the societal framework has to be changed so that school boards will be representative of all groups in the community.

5. Interested youth and adult groups can secure information from liberal and labor press---i.e. school librarian should have these books, newspapers and periodicals available.

6. Forums on basic labor issues.

7. Working contacts with labor and management (student mock labor-management conferences).

8. Elimination of inter-racial and inter-cultural barriers in all of these suggested activities.

9. (Economic Justice, January 1947, pages 7 and 8).

10. We recognize that books need to be made more realistic and applicable

to daily life and the giving of a well-rounded picture.

11. Industrial and rural work camps would serve an opportunity for getting young people in contact with working conditions, unions, management, etc.

12. Students doing volunteer work for various organizations like the Religion and Labor Foundation.

13. Work with vocational counselors and placements persons.

14. Organize democratic student groups.

WORKERS AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION

1. Workers Education and extension services in communities should be encouraged. That the National government devote resources and an educational extension service to labor.

2. Need for education in the labor movement is recognized in that some labor unions are guilty of hampering equal opportunities for all people. We recognize that this, in goodpart, is a reflection of our present economic and social system, which places emphasis on scarcity and profits. At the same time we feel it is important that the fact be known that the organized labor movement is largely responsible for initiating the free public education system, and vocational guidance in schools.

3. Unions and churches can use existing agency and program potentialities to get the needed changes in our educational set-up---i.e. teacher's union, if courageous, can assure academic freedom. While the major denominations and faiths have gone on record approving the right of labor to bargain collectively, it must be recognized that where its publishing houses are not organized, its literature and leadership not leading youth and adult to face the moral responsibility toward rights of working people, the church is not fulfilling its responsibility.

4. That a continuing committee of the conference prepare a digest of information about resource materials and agencies, that would be helpful for those who work in this field of religion and labor development.

CONCLUSION: We are after education, facts, and not indoctrination in both religion and labor. Religiously we must educate our people to abandon the existing idea that some people are inherently unable to develop higher living standards or to enjoy the finer things of life. Concerted community and educational efforts to reach the young people in the formative stages of life---public and high schools must be adopted.

While we recognize the need for basic economic and social changes we must nevertheless take a stand in the present situation that is based on the prophetic insight into that the nature of what a new society ought to be.

WORKSHOP V

THE SOUTH AS AN ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY

PREAMBLE:

In our study together of the economically dependent and subjugated status of the South, we have recognized the violation of human personality and brotherhood, principles basic for our religion. It is in an effort to serve these basic religious principles that we now seek to outline some of the ramifications of the disadvantageous status of the South, and to propose for conference adoption a program of action aimed at remedying the situation and developing a Southland marked by that abundance which is potentially in the hands of the people of the South by the grace of God, Who is the source of all good things.

We have recognized that a contribution to the solution of the problem of the South will be a contribution to the solution of the problem of the similarly situated West, the workers and farmers of the North, and the exploited and colonial people of the entire world.

PROBLEM:

To an astounding degree the economic ownership and control of the South is concentrated in a small number of billion-dollar corporations which in turn, through interlocking, are largely controlled by a handful of American families. To a disturbing and intolerable degree the wealth produced by the workers and farmers of the South has left the South to enlarge the already super-abundant coffers of the few monopolistic corporations and dominant families.

Letit be clear from the outset that the interests of the West are at one with the Northern common people. We are all threatened by the autocratic and monopolistic concentration of power to which we have referred. There seems to be an inevitable centrifugal or expansionist tendency or drive growing out of this unhealthy concentration. We speak here not only of the drive for foreign markets, but also for investments all over the world. The billions of dollars worth of capital available for investment now seek to control and own economic enterprises in virtually every area of the world. We have not been unaware of the fact that this situation serves as an ominous threat to the peace of the world. We know, therefore, that to free our Southland from its present subjugated and dependent economic status is to contribute in no small measure to the peace of the world.

We are sure further that a more democratic and equitable distribution of the power and wealth now concentrated in so few hands will contribute to the freedom, welfare and security of other peoples mentioned above, who are threatened by the present concentration of monopoly and power.

We have seen in our study many illustrations of the draining of the natural resources of the South by corporations, for example lumber interests owned and controlled in the northeast. We have faced too a serious and continuous draining of our region's human resources, as year after year young men and women migrate from our area to areas of greater economic opportunity. We have been disturbed by the evidences of the alarming extent to which the non-Southern control and ownership of the South has been reflected in the actions and inactions of our southern politicians, who often seem to work hand in glove with northern corporate

interests. The Bulwinkle Bill sponsored by a southern Congressman and supported amazingly by other southern Congressmen, is a striking evidence of the extent to which the link between present political machines in the South and Northern monopolies work against the interest of the South.

This freight rate differential, to which we have referred in the preceding paragraph, is one reason for the under-industrialization of the South when compared with other areas. This is a serious problem today. It will be far more serious if the expected mechanization of agriculture develops, and if a national depression sends back to the south unemployed workers in search of jobs.

The tendencies for economic nationalism and high tariffs, which have added strength today as a result of the Republican victory, present, as before a great threat to the South. On the whole, a high tariff system is in the interest of monopolistic northern industries and at the expense of the South as a whole, and perhaps especially its agricultural population. Under a high tariff the Southern farmer, for example, loses much of his market, notably his cotton market, and thus sees the prices of his product go down while he must pay higher tariff prices for his machinery, artificially maintained in the service of northern and monopolistic industries.

We all know that southern workers have been and continue to be paid less for their work than for workers at the same jobs in other areas. And the workers of the south have been handicapped in an effort to end this inequality by their lack of trade union organization, their lack of political rights (including often the right to vote) etc. We, the people of the South, have also suffered from a serious lack of education, including education about our problem and its solution.

Whence came the economic status of dependency and subjugation which is our great problem? Whence came the accompanying disability of our southern regions? One factor in the absentee control of the South is the Civil War and its economic consequences. To a significant extent, the Civil War represented not only a military victory, but an economic victory for capitalistic industry centered in the North. We have given specific attention, for example, to the railroad corporations and the power they attained following the Civil War. But we cannot and do not look to the Civil War and its aftermath as an alibi for the problems confronted by the Southern people. We have no desire for a return to a feudal system of human slavery. We want a truly and fully democratic South, controlled by all of its people in the interest of all of its people. We know that we cannot make the significant strides that are needed until we break more completely with the feudal patterns which separate the common people and deny that unity and brotherhood which they must have for a victory in a common struggle.

Program of Action.

1. Organize the common people: Workers into trade unions, farmers into progressive farmer unions, consumers into consumers' leagues and cooperatives, etc. Maintain the new threatened right and power of organized labor, including the right to bargain on an industry-wide basis---so important to elimination of present wage rate differentials, (including racial differentials). A strong, intelligent labor movement is our greatest hope for democracy and security.

2. Political education and action. The people must be informed of the facts and must all take political action as citizens, based on these facts. This necessitates universal suffrage and an end to all undemocratic voting restrictions,

as the poll tax, the white primary, etc.

3. Defeat the Bulwinkle Bill and continue the fight for full equalization of freight rates.

4. Stimulate home-owned industries, using such methods as the separation tax, the taxation of outgoing wealth, etc.

5. Expand Federal aid to southern states on the basis of need. Support the National Health Act, the Federal Aid to Education Bill, expansion of Social Security and the inclusion of groups now excluded (as domestic and agricultural workers), the continuance and expansion of Federal Aid to southern farmers through long-term, low-interest loans, etc., and of Federal Aid to highways.

6. More T.V.A's.

7. Regional planning on behalf of Southern resources and development.

8. Strengthen the anti-trust act.

9. Dispose of War surplus on a preferential basis to the advantage of southern communities and home-owned industry.

10. Continue and extend the Reciprocal Trade program.

We call on religious individuals and organizations to work with labor and other progressive groups for this program.

Points for Further Study.

1. Absentee ownership and control.
2. Cartels.
3. The link of political machines with non-southern monopolistic businesses.

WORKSHOP VI

SOCIAL AND LABOR LEGISLATION

Believing that principles are only made operative through specific programs of action the Southern Religion and Labor Conference adopts the following legislative platform for its work during the coming year:

We heartily endorse legislation on the Federal and State level which seeks to guarantee every man's God-given right to work, for we believe that every man has a basic right to a job. No adequate solution of labor-management problems is possible through restrictive legislation, specifically through anti-closed shop bills.

The right to work is not an absolute right but one governed by the rights of fellow workers. The right to organize and bargain collectively implies the right to use the required means for those purposes. But in our Southern states where a great number of employers consistently oppose unions or, at best, tolerate them, union security in the form of the Union Shop is a required means to attain a legi-

itimate aim of organized labor, namely security. Therefore, if we admit the natural right of workers to organize, we must not deny them a required means to exercise that right effectively.

The Union Shop, that is one in which the majority of the workers require all the workers to be members of a union, is a democratic institution. Majority rule is a fundamental principle in our democracy. To prevent the Union Shop on the pretense that it is unfair to the non-union minority is, in fact, an injustice to the majority in the shop. The union members probably risked their jobs and certainly made sacrifices to get their union recognized, to obtain good wages and working conditions, and to maintain job security. For non-union workers to profiteer on these sacrifices by accepting the fruits and refusing to contribute, morally and financially is clearly unjust. And yet, the state is being asked to legalize this injustice.

As a further guarantee of the right to work, we recommend that Southern employers and Southern unions must re-examine and revise employment practices resulting in discrimination and should take steps toward the inclusion in their collective bargaining contracts the principles of "equal pay for equal work" and "equal opportunity to work."

We support legislation for full production and full and fair employment in industry and in agriculture. Full production is necessary for domestic well-being and to feed and clothe a hungry and impoverished world. Your committee recommends:

(a) Endorsement and support of measures to raise the minimum wage standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act to an immediate 65¢ and an eventual 75¢ an hour, and to liberalize the coverage to include all classes of wage earners engaged in occupations which affect commerce between the states.

(b) The expansion and improvement of Social Security and the inclusion thereunder of farm workers, domestic workers and the self-employed.

(c) Standards of child labor legislation on the state level at least equal to the federal provisions of the F.I.S.A.

(d) That payments under Unemployment Compensation and Workman's Compensation be increased.

(e) That legislation for state wage and hour laws be introduced in the several states.

(f) That a State Labor Relations Act providing guarantees for the exercise of concerted organization rights and collective bargaining for workers in intra-state industry be introduced in the several states.

(g) We are deeply concerned by the already visible displacement of Southern farmers and farm workers by mechanized farming. This movement is gathering momentum; in the fore-see-able future millions of southerners will be without means of livelihood.

Therefore we request that the State and Federal Governments proceed at once to make plans and provisions for placing these displaced persons in productive work, supplying land tools for farming jobs on reclamation, and other needed

public work funds to carry these hapless people through the transition period.

Recognizing the likeness of God in every man of whatever race or color, upon which fact rests man's natural rights and in consonance with the fundamental principles of our democracy, we proclaim our belief in the enjoyment of equal rights for all citizens under the laws of the land.

In keeping with said belief we hereby declare that there should not be any denial of the fundamental rights of citizenship to any segment of our people based upon race or color. Accordingly therefore, we condemn such unfair and unjustifiable devices as the white primary and the poll tax.

While being unalterably opposed to the poll tax, we call upon the church and labor leaders to cooperate on furthering campaigns to persuade all Church and Labor members to pay their poll taxes to register and to vote.

We call upon the legislatures of the Southern states to desist from such undemocratic and unconstitutional practices and we call upon the Congress to enact anti-lynching legislation and to abolish the undemocratic filibuster.

Under the religious and democratic understanding of man, the full life for all men depends upon an environment which guarantees good and adequate housing, education, health facilities, social security and fair taxation based upon the individual's capacity to pay. We believe that it is the responsibility of democratically-elected governments on the local, state and federal levels to provide such a social environment for all persons by maintaining, strengthening and expanding present programs and by:

a. Providing good and adequate housing for all persons.
b. Providing equal educational opportunities for all persons in schools of the highest education standards.
c. Expanding social security programs so that all citizens are adequately covered with benefits which will guarantee adequate support in old age and in times of unemployment.
d. Adopting a program of compulsory national health insurance.
e. And revising state and local tax systems on the basis of equitable distribution and ability to pay. We feel that the general sales tax violates equity.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION AGAINST UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND FOR A JUST AND DURABLE WORLD PEACE.

Whereas the organized religious and labor movements have traditionally opposed universal military training, and whereas this opposition has been reaffirmed at recent meetings and conventions of these groups, and

WHEREAS the President has set up an Advisory Commission on Universal Training which has no labor and no adequate church representation, and

WHEREAS all the indications point to this "pro-conscription commission" bringing in a report in favor of universal military training, and

WHEREAS the organized religious and labor movements are dedicated to working for universal disarmament and world peace.

Be it hereby resolved that the Southern region of the National Religion and Labor Foundation go on record as opposing any form of universal military training or the extension of the Selective Service Act and

Be it further resolved that we urge wholehearted support of the United Nations program of disarmament and urge that the UN go on record in favor of worldwide abolition of universal military training.

RESOLUTION TO THE PRESIDENT

The (160) one hundred sixty members, delegates, and representatives of the N.R.L.F. now assembled in Atlanta, Georgia February 4-5, 1947 do along with the many other religious and labor groups, leading educators and authors, appeal that you declare an amnesty for the 6,000 or more C.O.'s who have been imprisoned, many of whom are members of religious and labor groups in America, thereby restoring to them all civil rights.

THE END

★ Jobs

★ Peace

★ Freedom

By Henry A. Wallace EDITOR

Reprinted from the Dec. 16th, 1946 issue of New Republic

Jobs Peace Freedom

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

by Henry A. Wallace

MY JOB AS EDITOR of the *New Republic* is to help organize a progressive America. It is a fighting job, the most worthwhile job I ever had. A world at peace is the hope of every American, and a progressive America is the hope of the world. To help build a program for such an America is as great an opportunity as my first days in the cabinet of Franklin Roosevelt in 1933.

I find no lasting defeat in the recent setbacks to the Democratic Party, but a challenge to make a new start. The American people have rejected, as they will always reject, a Democratic Party that is not militantly progressive. Americans have called for a new leadership. They will not find it in the present Republican hierarchy; until they find it, they will not rest.

Progressives are no small and beaten group. We stand as the proud inheritors of the greatest tradition in America, the Roosevelt tradition. Our task is to recast that tradition in terms of today. The progressives have not stopped fighting—they have just begun to fight.

It is no part of our tradition to look backward, reconstructing the fragments of the New Deal, bemoaning the loss of the wartime unity of the Allies and torturing ourselves with the thought: *if he had lived*. For Roosevelt there were no endings, only beginnings. To be faithful to the Roosevelt tradition today is to look ahead, seeking a new program for domestic prosperity and world unity, and new sources of support for that program among all Americans.

As we prepare for a new start, there is much we can learn from Roosevelt, both in his way of thought and in his way of action.

He was a progressive first and a Democrat second. Above all, he was a master politician, skillfully improvising from day to day new devices to hold together the cotton bloc, the silver bloc, union labor, the big city machines and, most important of all, the independent liberals. Often he seemed to be going in two directions at the same time. When a group would place its narrow, selfish interest above the general welfare, he would usually listen patiently and sympathetically. He called this "babying" them along. But there was always a system in his "babying." He always had his eye on the general welfare, even though he might be approaching it by the most indirect route. He combined this skilled

political in-fighting with a direct radio appeal to the common sense of the people.

In the international field, Roosevelt used the same techniques. Stalin was deeply bound to Marxism, Churchill to empire and the status quo. Roosevelt's faith was equally strong, but he never permitted himself to be tied to any rigid dogma. He believed that all anti-fascist forces could be held together by common interest and by common sense.

Where Roosevelt failed, it was because he lacked organized support. He had no unified labor movement and no coherent liberal movement with which to work. The people were for him but they didn't know how to help him. During all the days of the New Deal, there was no systematic educational work: nor, apart from the PAC, which reached only the industrial centers, was an effort made to build a political machine to express liberal thought in action. Only in Roosevelt's first term did the progressives really have a majority in Congress. After that, the passage of progressive measures was largely due to Roosevelt's own skill. In wartime, Roosevelt became a national leader and looked for support from all Americans. Had we fought the war in a spirit of blood, tears, toil and sweat, we should have been prepared for the inevitable hardship of the postwar years. But the all-party character of the Administration and the absence of widely accepted war aims obscured for us the essentially progressive character of the war. That is why in Europe progressives are on the march and in America reactionaries win the votes.

WE NEED to learn all these lessons as we start over. Once the gallant heart and political skill of one man saved first the United States and finally the world. A great movement will produce more great men. But today the work which should have been done can no longer wait. We need to do more than improvise. We must plan in long-range terms. We must gather together progressives and fighters for peace from all parties, all regions and all groups. We must organize a nucleus of progressive energy and inspiration. Our purpose is not to criticize from the sidelines. It is to develop a program and carry it to all Americans. No democratic group is beyond our reach in developing this program—farm, labor, veterans', middle-class, business, professional, educational and religious groups are a part of it. Our ideals are the ideals of a living, dynamic America. We shall fail only if we restrict ourselves. We shall succeed through the broadest appeal—carried to every county in America and to every country in the world.

WHAT IS the basis for our new start? There is nothing obscure in what we represent. We stand for the American tradition. Not the false tradition of dollar diplomacy or high prices created by monopolistic scarcity, but the true American tradition, the tradition that is universal and has never been completely fulfilled—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Those three conditions in our Declaration of Independence are today a Declaration of Interdependence for the world. Today they mean peace, freedom and jobs for all.

Diehards of the Right today assert that jobs for all are beyond the reach of a society based on peace and freedom. Diehards of the Left maintain that freedom must be sacrificed for the sake of jobs and peace. Modern imperialists dream that in the name of jobs and freedom we shall fight a third world war.

Rejecting all these, I stand for one idea: that jobs, peace and freedom can be attained together and can make possible One World, prosperous and free, within our lifetime.

We can achieve peace, jobs and freedom in One World without war. But we cannot preserve any one of these conditions in any country unless we achieve all three in all countries. Peace, freedom and jobs for all are indivisible. Before we win lasting peace, we must achieve some measure of world government and law. But society comes before government, as our own history proves. Before we get world government and law, all *peoples* must become in some measure part of One World. America will never be part of One World in which there is not civil liberty. The USSR will never be part of One World in which there is not economic and social security. All who really believe in One World recognize that the search for peace, freedom and jobs for all is one worldwide search. This search is the basis for our new start.

Jobs for all means action *now* to prevent a serious depression in the United States. A depression

is coming unless we act to prevent it. If depression comes, two-thirds of all veterans who have started their own businesses will go bankrupt; farmers will face foreclosure; workers will be unemployed. When 2.5 million veterans have no homes, when 20 million American families have incomes of less than $40 a week, when other millions have used up all their savings, a depression in America means disaster. Lowered production in America will cause depression everywhere.

TRADITIONALLY, Republicans are against government action to prevent depressions. Most Republican congressmen believe in complete freedom for large corporations to hold up prices by monopoly, while the prices of farm products and the wages of labor are beaten down. Traditional Republican policy calls for high tariffs, thus intensifying depression. For this reason, the world expects the depression to come sooner and to be more severe as the result of the Republican victory.

For years progressives have stood for high production. Recently, reactionaries have called for "production at any price" in an effort to destroy price controls. I hope they will go on calling for production, now that controls are off. One agency exists to help maintain production—the President's Economic Advisory Council. The Council is supposed to keep the President continually informed on the economic health of the nation and to make suggestions which the President can pass on to Congress. The fact that Congress is Republican does not relieve either the progressives, the Council or the President from working out an effective program. Businessmen and labor leaders will support it.

The function of business today is to produce goods abundantly at reasonable prices, pay decent wages and make a fair profit. Industry cannot and should not bear the sole responsibility for keeping our economy at full production. Full employment at fair standards is the responsibility of government. We are for whatever measures democratic government must take, in low-cost housing, public health, regional development, foreign loans, the provision of minimum standards, progressive taxation, the lowering of prices through trust-busting or the efficient operation of disorganized basic industries by government ownership or control.

Peace today means action to halt the dangerous drift toward war. This drift has gone so far that all governments act as if they had a mandate from their people to prepare to win the next war. Through this false mandate the most trivial issues become insoluble because they are seen as war preparations. The United States is led to squander its greatness in propping up corrupt and undemocratic regimes as supposed safeguards against communism. In the name of security, America is spending $13 billion a year on armaments and Russia is keeping five million young men in the Red Army while factories and fields lie idle. In the name of security, we are destroying UNRRA and refusing to send food and supplies to relieve famine and misery overseas because relieving famine and misery among other peoples is supposed to raise their ability to fight a war. To carry out a political purpose we are condemning thousands of people to death and millions to misery. In the name of security, German scientists are working in Russia to develop rockets capable of attacking America while other German scientists work in America to develop rockets capable of attacking Russia, at a time when American and Russian veterans are still dying of wounds inflicted by Germans. Our present search for security leads to insecurity and war. We are searching in the wrong ways, and the search itself is vain. Security alone can never be achieved. We can no more find security by searching for security than we can find happiness by searching for happiness.

OUR PROGRAM for peace is to abolish the causes of war. Real security is gained when democracy is practised everywhere, when living standards are raised, when all nations accept world law. Leaders of the present bipartisan bloc maintain that welfare comes after the peace settlement is made and security established. I answer that there will be no permanent settlement and no security until a world welfare program is begun.

This means a Peoples' Peace for every nation in the world based on the idea of an all-out effort to eliminate illiteracy and starvation. To establish a peoples' peace there must be international planning by the United States, England and Russia to increase the productivity of the so-called backward areas by irrigation dams, power dams, railroads, docks, highways, agricultural machines textile mills, machine tools and hospitals.

We need two 20-year plans. One, the elimination of illiteracy and starvation from the world by 1966. Two, the elimination of transmissible disease and the establishment of higher worldwide living standards by 1986. Technologically, it can be done. Morally, it must be done. Practically, it is cheaper than war and the only alternative to war.

This program of making world welfare a primary objective does not mean abandoning a security program. It means disarmament, including the effective dismantling of our stockpile of atomic bombs. It means opposing every step in the scramble for uranium resources and overseas air bases. It means supporting collective security through effective international inspection and control of activities that could be a part of war preparations.

ALL PEOPLES will support this program. They have had enough of the continuous battle for position in Germany, in the Balkans and Greece as the Anglo-Americans coöperate with the extreme right-wing elements and the Russians coöperate with the extreme left wing in nations where most of the people can't read or write and where there never has been any real democracy. They have had enough of the three great nations' reaching out to grab air and naval bases so they can attack each other. They want freedom of peaceful passage by sea and through the air combined with sufficient inspection to make sure of the peacefulness. They want the Panama Canal, Suez Canal, the Dardanelles and the Danube to be freely open to peaceful shipping on a basis that will fully allay the security fears of the Anglo-Americans and the Russians and at the same time enlarge the peaceful commerce of the world to the maximum. They want the oil of the Near East made available to the peoples of the world according to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and not according to the needs of the American, British or Russian military machines. Finally, we recognize that there will never be peace until justice and mercy have been given to the Jews in Europe and Palestine.

Freedom for us is basic; we can never compromise our faith in civil liberty. Man must have bread to live, but he doesn't live by bread alone and as soon as he has bread, he must have freedom to learn the facts of the world he lives in and the right to speak his mind about those facts. Those who deny this freedom have no part in the progressive movement.

THE DRIVE toward war today is a drive against freedom. Reaction—the same force which condemns vigorous government action for the general welfare as incompatible with freedom—is today cutting down freedom. The next stage in the drift toward all-out atomic war will put most of our freedoms at the disposal of an all-powerful military. At secret committee hearings the military will tell Congress why it needs a greatly extended secret police and why the United States should be in position to strike without the formalities of a declaration of war. The military, coöperating with their good friends among the larger corporations, will plan for decentralizing our factories and our population. The cost of preparation for all-out atomic war will be so high as to make the military more important as a source of employment than any 50 corporations. Everywhere we turn we shall face the government as the master of our economic and our personal destinies. Down this road lies American fascism—less brutal but infinitely more powerful in its ultimate compulsions than anything that Mussolini fostered. It is our responsibility as progressives to fight for an alternative to an atomic-arms race because only in this way can we preserve that freedom which is synonymous with the American way of life.

One of our most precious freedoms is the right to learn the truth. The common man is in danger of losing that right when 90 percent of his mental food is prepared for him every day by those who select the news to prove a point—and that point either reactionary or Marxist. We shall never have really warm friendship between the United States and Russia and a firm basis for peace until the peoples of both nations are given free access to the unbiased truth and complete freedom to express their reactions to that truth.

Freedom does not mean merely the absence of government control. The whole history of civilized social life has been the recognition that smaller freedoms must be given up in order to attain a larger freedom. Individual automobile drivers must give up their freedom to drive at 80 miles an hour in order to give all of us a greater sense of security on the highways. Individual farmers in Sweden must get a license to

cut down a tree on their own properties. Under the Soil Conservation Act individual American farmers were not given "benefit payments" unless they took measures to improve their soil. The New Deal restricted hundreds of small freedoms in order to gain a few larger freedoms.

TODAY democracy is a universal ambition. The Soviet government no longer prides itself on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It describes Soviet communism as "a higher form of democracy." Some Americans greet this assertion with derisive laughter. They forget that two-thirds of the world laughs at freedom in America, remembering our discrimination against Negroes, Jews and other minorities.

I prefer to accept the willingness of the Soviet leaders to think more and more in democratic terms—and, in accordance with the Roosevelt tradition, I shall search for the best in all peoples

The Soviet government bases its claim to democracy on the complete equality in the USSR among minorities and between the sexes; on the absence of any kind of discrimination; on the economic and social rights and opportunities guaranteed to all Soviet citizens; and on the absence in the USSR of powerful, private monopolies of press, radio and movies.

These arguments may be brushed aside in the US, but a large part of the world accepts them as a serious challenge to America. It is for us also to accept them as a challenge and make discrimination a crime, provide full and equal opportunities for all our citizens and enlarge freedom of expression.

We cannot hide the weaknesses in our democracy. If we take steps to overcome these weaknesses, then I believe the Russians, believing in the genuineness of our democracy, will move toward greater political freedom. Then one root cause of war will die away. Around these issues, I believe, our new start will be made.

Today, of course, we progressives are in the opposition in Congress. As a minority party the Republicans were interested solely in opposition and placed that opposition above the general welfare of the US and of the world. That is why we are suffering inflation and facing depression today. In contrast, the Democrats need to show how an opposition should act. They should generously support good legislation and vigorously fight bad legislation. We must not assume that all Republicans are reactionary tories. We must assume that many millions who voted Republican last November believe in One World and not in isolation.

Certainly as progressives we shall appeal to these millions. Our purpose is not to play party politics or palace politics, but to develop a program around which men of good will can gather. I have said many harsh things about the Republican Party, but I have never spoken badly of the rank and file of the Republicans. They were my people. My father was a Republican Secretary of Agriculture. I know how progressive the Republican farmers of Iowa can be when they really understand a problem. I have the greatest respect for the Republican farmers and small manufacturers of New England and the Middle Atlantic States as I have met them from time to time.

Of course, we need organization. The primary effort of progressives may be to rebuild the Democratic Party as a liberal party. But we are the captives of no party. If the Democratic Party is incapable of change, we shall strike out along other lines.

And we need a progressive press to develop our program, to organize a nucleus of support and to keep in touch with each other the world over. In days when reactionaries call the tune and the daily press dances to it, a weekly magazine is the best medium. That is why I have become Editor of the *New Republic*. I intend to make it the means through which the spirit of our new start can be expressed.

MY FIELD is the world. My strength is my conviction that a progressive America can unify the world and a reactionary America must divide it. My enemy is blind reaction, placing profit before production, depression before effective government and war ahead of a rising standard of living for the peoples of the backward areas. My friends are all who believe in true democracy. My master is the common man, striving to educate himself and his children for a richer, more abundant life. I seek no personal gain. If I have importance, it is because of the ideas that I have come to represent. They are major ideas, indestructible and on the march. ★ ★ ★

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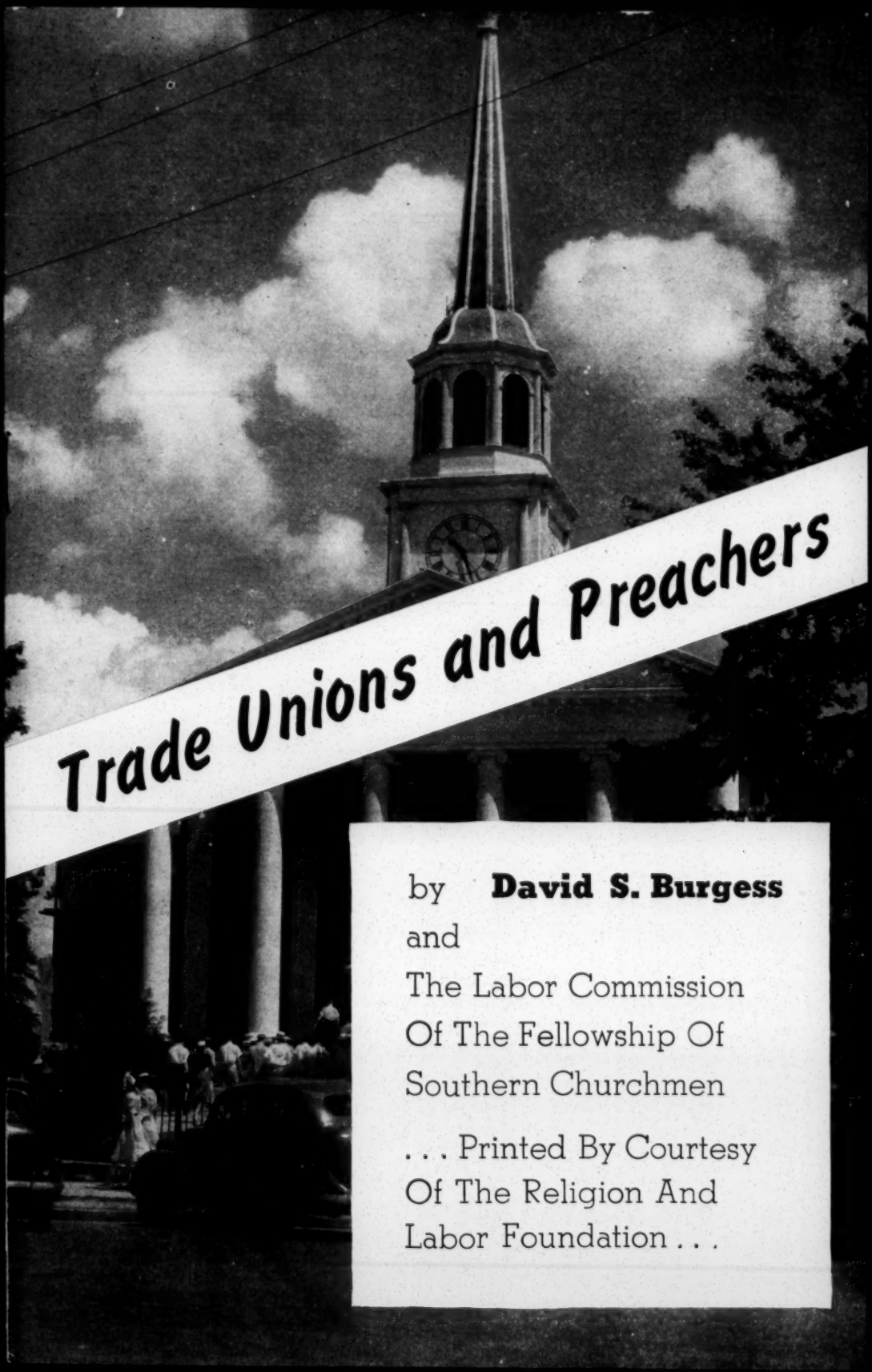


Trade Unions and Preachers

by **David S. Burgess**
and
The Labor Commission
Of The Fellowship Of
Southern Churchmen

. . . Printed By Courtesy
Of The Religion And
Labor Foundation . . .

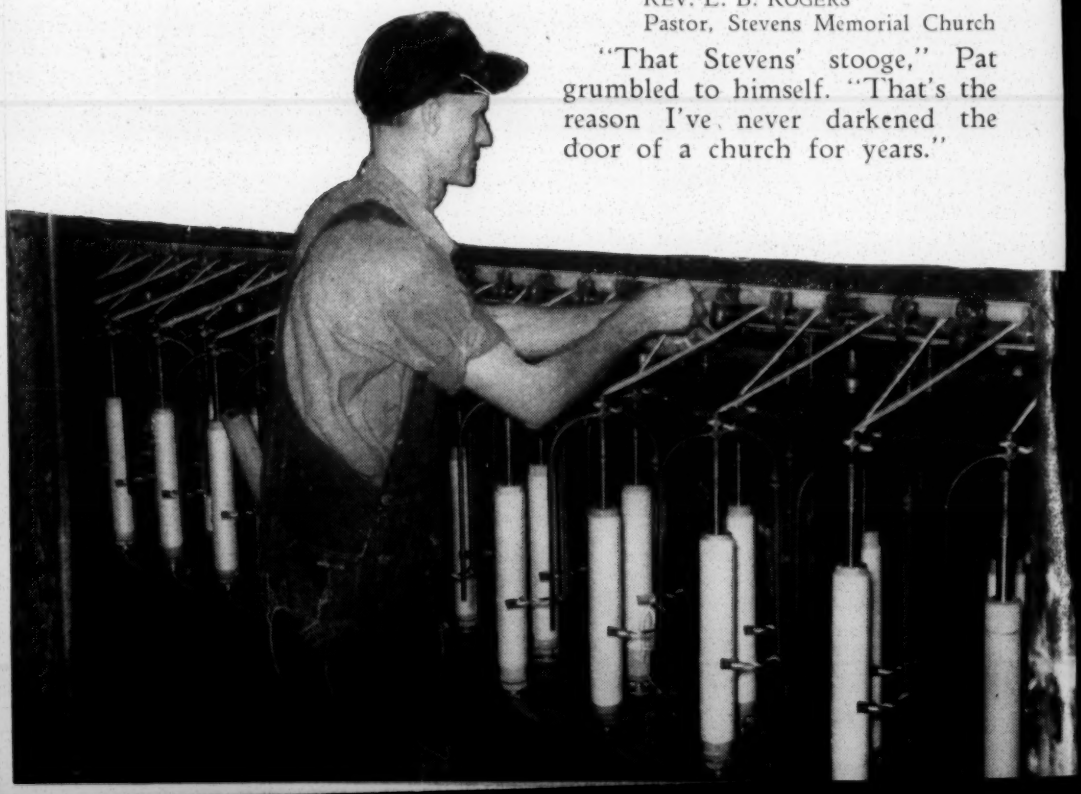
TRADE UNIONS

The smoke funnels of the giant Stevens textile mills loomed in the distance. Atlanta-born union organizer Pat Jones slowed his '35 Model A to thirty miles in order to read the sign, "Entering Millville, Population 10,345, Home of Happy Millhands." By the rich suburban homes, by the shacks of the happy millhands down to the main street he rode, and parked by a corner drug store. From his car window Pat slipped a nickel to the local newsboy, opened the paper, and read on the front page in large black type a letter to the editor:

We are all distressed by the impending union drive. Labor is happy here. Now organizers from the North who don't understand our problems are coming. Let us remember that those who take up the sword shall die by the sword, that union men who use force will be destroyed by force. The Christian religion teaches love, persuasion and mutual trust. Therefore, all good citizens of this town should do all in their power to prevent ignorant and unfortunate members of our community from being seduced by these greedy organizers, no matter how lofty their claims may appear.

Yours in Christ,
REV. L. B. ROGERS
Pastor, Stevens Memorial Church

"That Stevens' stooge," Pat grumbled to himself. "That's the reason I've never darkened the door of a church for years."



and PREACHERS

A Worker Asks Some Questions

Late that night down an unlighted street in a hot, box-like company house old Fred Styles, tired and spent after a day at the mill, was talking to his stocky wife, Alene.

"And what did that evangelist say, Hon?"

"Powerful preacher he is, Fred. Preaches right from the Good Book, but somehow I can't warm up to him. He ain't like our preacher, Joe Black. Smith says unions is anti-Christ and the union label, the mark of the beast. Those Yankee Jew organizers, as he calls them, are to be run out of town."

"But what did he say in a Bible way, Alene?" Fred inquired turning up the kerosene lamp for more light.

"Said you couldn't serve two masters — the Stevens at the mills and those Jew union bosses. Said atheists, Unitarians, communists, and free-love people make up those unions, and ended up on the text of not being equally yoked with unbelievers. Then he praised up the Stevens family as standing for law, thriftiness, paying debts, order, prayer, the Christian home, Southern womanhood, and the like."

"Well, to be honest, Dave Stevens ain't so bad."

Their conversation was interrupted by a knock on the door. Fred hobbled to the door, which creaked as he opened it.

"Why come in, Pat Jones," Fred remarked with kindness, beckoning tired Pat to a seat in the gloomy living room.

"How's the family?" Pat inquired, surprised by Alene's sudden exit to the kitchen.

"Okay, except for our son Joe who's been sick. But the millboss, Dave Stevens, sent around Doc Clark, and Joe's okay now. Hate to go begging to Stevens, though."

"That's just what I'm here trying to get at," Pat interjected. "If you were a union man, you wouldn't have to be asking Stevens for any favors. You'd be independent. You could hire a doctor yourself."

"Maybe so, but there's a catch in this union business somewhere. Preacher Smith said it was a Jew organization," Fred frowned.

"If you mean, Fred, there are Jews in the union, you're right. Good unions are open for every American. For Jews, Italians, and a lot of folks here in the South, the union's doing a lot to lick sweatshops, low wages, long hours. What's more, we've got an educational program, too. Northern and Southern workers got to stick together and not fight each other. Low wages in the South mean low wages in the North and vice versa. And speaking of that fellow Evangelist Smith, I'll bet he's never seen the statements of most of the Southern denominations favoring collective bargaining."

"What do you mean?" Fred queried with obvious surprise.

"Just this," retorted Pat reaching in his pocket and drawing out a little pamphlet. "Now show this to your preacher, and to Smith, too. It's a statement on how the denominations stand on labor questions."

And Gets Some Answers

The very next night Fred Styles invited in his pastor, Joe Black, a young clergyman fresh out of seminary serving what was known in popular parlance as the "millhands' church." At dusk the two were trying to sit comfortably, but without success, on the hard wooden benches on Fred's front porch.

"See here, preacher, what that union fellow gave me," Fred began.

"Let me see . . . say, this is interesting." He reads, "Here's a resolution passed by the Southern Baptist Convention at their annual meeting in Richmond, Virginia, in 1938. Listen. 'We recognize the right of labor to organize and to engage in collective bargaining to the end that labor may have a fair and living wage, such as will provide not only for the necessities of life, but for recreation, pleasure, and culture.'

"And the Methodist Church passed this—'We stand for the right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action; protection of both in the exercise of this right the obligation of both to work for the public good.'

"It says the Presbyterian Church of U. S., Synod of Tennessee, passed this: 'The right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively with employers is clearly an inalienable right in a democracy and has so been recognized by our government. Surely the church can do no less than to recognize these rights and uphold labor as it seeks to exercise these rights.'

"The Protestant Episcopal Church says this: 'We are convinced that the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people. It is based upon a sense of the inestimable value of the individual man.'

"And remember, Fred, our church took a stand for collective bargaining ten years ago."

"But, preacher,"—there was anxiety in Fred's old voice—"you don't fall back on what the church says. You're supposed to preach from the Bible. That Evangelist, Smith . . ."

Joe interrupted. "Now I'll bet, Fred, he's never preached from Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Micah in the Old Testament. It's hard to get an anti-union sermon out of them. Just a shepherd, Amos, went to the wicked city of Bethel to condemn the rich who sold the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes. Jeremiah condemned those who use their neighbor's services without wages. And to the prophet Moses, God said, 'I've seen the affliction of the people that are in Egypt and have heard them cry by reason of their taskmasters, and I am come down to deliver them.' This sort of applies to us now, doesn't it?"

"Gosh, Reverend, I've never thought of the prophets *that* way, or God *that* way," Fred ex-

claimed, leaning forward on his bench.

Joe was quick to add, "Jesus was *that* way, too. The poor heard him gladly. What he said about the rich young fool wasn't exactly complimentary. The rich never liked Jesus, but the poor did. He came that the poor — all men, in fact — might have the abundant life."

"But the abundant life won't come until all men are brothers, until all are converted," was Fred's quick response.

"Yet right now you have to start that brotherhood somewhere. St. Paul said to the early Christians, 'Not many wise men, not many leading men, not many of good birth are called.' That means to me that the true brotherhood must start among poor folks."

"But no white man can be a brother to a nigger," Fred asserted scornfully. "And niggers make up half the working folk of the South."

Joe was slow in replying. "To get back to the Bible: God's no respecter of persons. He made of one blood all nations of men. For decades the employers in factory and field have put white men against black men, and black men against white men. The employer takes the rake-off, and working folk get lower wages. Every city divided against itself cannot stand. Negroes and white folks are going to take it on the chin as long as they are divided."

"Still two wrongs don't make a right," Fred retorted, turning in his seat. "We working folk ought to be kind to the employer no matter how bad he is."

"Sure, be Christian. Kindness, however, must go with justice and equality. It's not right for you to be getting 30 cents an hour and your family going hungry while the company is making fat profits. Convert the employer if you can, Fred. But if you fail you've got to organize and try to bargain collectively for the sake of justice. And then if the employer won't listen, strike."

"That's just making trouble," exclaimed Fred emphatically.

"But, Fred, you can't dodge the question of power. The Christian gospel has something to say about this, about God's part in the people's struggle for enough bread, education, housing, and wages."

"Well," commented Fred obviously drawing into himself. "I'll study on it."

The Union Organizer Visits a Minister

A week later, after spending days and nights visiting the homes of the textile workers, Pat Jones sat in the home of Joe Black berating the attitude of the local clergymen.

"Now, Mr. Black, why are all these local clergymen against us?"

"Well, Mr. Jones," young Joe remarked calmly, "most of them were raised where the words 'union,' 'strike,' 'communist' were all in the same barrel as the words 'city-slicker' and 'sinner.' None of them have known the purposes or the methods of unions."

In reply Pat launched a series of specific complaints against the clergy, and in the course of the conversation, as the men responded to each others' frankness, Pat finally confessed,

"You asked me why the church has left a bad taste in my mouth. When I was a kid down here in the South my mother died of TB from working twelve hours a day in a cotton mill. She died a slow, creeping death. The local preacher prayed for her soul, sent her flowers, and droned something about the Lord giving and the Lord taking away, but he never seemed very interested in how working in that stuffy mill actually killed her. Preaching his crucified Christ and his vengeful God, he praised the mill boss, bragging that he never drank, smoked, or chewed. Maybe so, but that boss killed my mother, and even today hundreds of children in textile towns are hungry, and the workers, doing another man's will, live in daily fear of being fired. That's why I'm organizing today. That's why I'm done with churches which confuse and blind working people."

"You've got a point, Mr. Jones," admitted Joe, "yet I think all of us would do well to realize that today's labor movement had many of its original sources right in the church."

Pat frowned unbelievingly as Joe continued. "Read the 11th Chapter of Hebrews and you'll find a long list of the working leaders of ancient Israel — Noah the shipbuilder, Abraham the herdsman, Isaac and Jacob the farmers, Joseph and Moses the great liberators. All lived by faith that they were part of a long line of builders of a great brotherhood of men under God. Remember Jesus was a carpenter himself; Paul a tent-maker; the early Christians were poor and shared their goods. Their first-century working-class church has been the example of brotherhood for other working people down the centuries. They inspired the early Baptists to fight for political and religious freedom in Europe and America, where most of the first Baptists were working people. In filthy mines and factory towns, John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, preached to the church-neglected workingmen of England. His disciples,

or local preachers as they were called, went back to their jobs in the mines and fields and factories, and inspired by his message they organized the beginnings of the British trade union movement. Religion and religion alone made the workers know that they were not serfs but equals of all men. In trade union parades in England today the workers carry signed placards saying, 'Jesus leads and inspires us.' "

"Past history, though, doesn't make up for the fact that the church is slipping from its prophetic moorings," Pat replied, lighting his pipe for the fifth time.

"Granted. But the preachers are not wholly to blame. Take Rogers at the Stevens Church, for instance. He gets all of his information about unions from the foremen, school teachers, and merchants in his church who really don't understand unions. Why not let preachers like Rogers know why a Christian should be for labor organization?"

"Now be frank with me, Reverend," Pat smiled. "You know perfectly well that if I go and see Rogers he'll say that preachers should be concerned only with spiritual questions — sermons, a man's soul, heaven and hell, and the like. I wouldn't get anywhere."

"That all depends on what you and he mean by spiritual questions. God asks us to be brothers; Jesus showed us how to be brothers by his deeds, teachings, death and resurrection. Brotherhood is spiritual, isn't it?"

"Suppose, just to be a little personal, a fellow believes in brotherhood, but leaves God out of the proposition? Is that enough?"

"To me, it isn't. Brotherhood is being denied by many employers daily, and many workers are today willing to sell out to the boss for thirty pieces of silver. What's to keep you from bitterness and disillusionment if the proposed strike fails or if some of the union leaders doublecross you? Somehow, as I look at it, a man must have faith in God if he is to be kept from bitterness, vengeance, and selfishness."

Pat arose to leave without replying. "Thanks for the talk, preacher. Can't see that the churches do much good, though I'd like to hear you preach."

Joe arose. "Come as a spectator if you want, Mr. Jones. But the church won't be any better and more progressive unless folks with high ideals and determination join it. It's like a union in a way. Maybe the president or the vice president isn't the best fellow, but that doesn't keep you from joining to clean up the mess, does it?"

"Sort of hard to join the church when such fellows like Rogers are always interfering with the union work," Pat answered quickly reaching for the door handle.

"Would you like to meet Rogers?" Joe inquired without warning.

Pat was puzzled. "Yes . . . why yes, maybe I would after all, after you've made an introduction."

Two Ministers Have a Talk

"As I said in my letter to the *Times,*" the Rev. L. B. Rogers was expounding to Joe as the two lolled in comfortable easy chairs in the elder's spacious study, "this town has not been peaceful since those alien organizers came to town. The mills were started by the thrifty, church-attending Stevens family. They paid the factory hands what they were worth, made jobs for them, provided schools, playgrounds, houses. What more could the workers want?"

"That's just the trouble, Brother Rogers. The workers are now so dependent on the Stevenses, so willing to accept charity, they won't stand on their own feet."

"But Dave Stevens is kind to all of them. He doesn't fire a man without cause, and a fellow can always take his complaint directly to Stevens," remarked Rogers with an air of certainty.

"Sure. Yet he can still fire a worker without cause. He can fire or hire, school or not school their children, build or break their churches. All power's in his hands. How can you expect a worker to be responsible, enterprising, self-respecting when he is under the complete domination of his boss?"

"There's no domination about it, Black. A fellow can always talk to Stevens," Rogers announced with sureness.

"Granted. Yet a single worker going to the boss has only his labor to offer. Stevens owns the plants and has the cash. Thus, there is no bargaining equality between this fellow and Stevens. There can not be any such equality unless the workers join together in unions and bargain collectively with Stevens."

"Then," Rogers began with a sense of alarm as he leaned forward in his easy chair, "you've reduced it all to a dog-eat-dog affair. Jesus told people to help one another, not to grab for bargaining equality and the material things of life."

"I don't believe Jesus wanted one man, no matter how kind, to have all the power in a factory. Unions provide a needed check on the power of the factory owner. And unions just try to carry out the Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech and assembly. Unions act on a law passed years ago by Congress saying that workers had the right to join the union of their own choosing and to bargain collectively."

"Now be honest with me, Black," Rogers said patronizingly. "You know perfectly well that unions restrict the workers' freedom."

"In a few cases, yes. Like in churches or lodges, the control of a union may fall into the hands of selfish men and the workers suffer. But in the main, labor unions help the workers have greater freedom. Through unions they can let their desires be known to the management; they can fight for better wages, hours and working conditions. They obey the rules of their own union because they, and not the management, make them."

"Yet no employer likes unions," retorted Rogers.

"Some do. They find it far more satisfactory to have union grievance committees. The worker with a complaint takes his problem to the proper union representative. The latter takes all 'beefs' that can't be settled right on the floor to the responsible representative of management, and it is worked out in terms of certain well-defined relationships. If necessary, an elected union committee can go all the way to the factory owner with a problem and deal with him man to man, since one represents all the plant in which the other works; the other represents all the labor that works in the plant."

Rogers paused, arose from his seat and strolled to the window. "You're getting a little too technical for me, Black. Let's get back to the Gospel in our discussion. Let the church be the church by bringing men to Christ, by helping them to live unspotted from the world, and then all our union problems would be solved. Spiritual, not material, questions are our main concern after all." Rogers with his back toward Joe was looking out at the sky.

Joe moved uneasily and cleared his throat. "The trouble with me, Brother Rogers, is that I can't separate material from spiritual questions. A boy in our textile town stole a loaf of bread the other day, after his father was fired from the mill and his family was hungry. A woman sold her body to a stranger so that her child could eat. Calling the boy a robber and the woman a whore doesn't go to the heart of the matter. Their spiritual sinning had some material causes. You can't separate low wages from the spiritual welfare of the victims and the moral health of the whole community. Hence left to a man spiritually, the church has to say something and do something about bad schools, low wages, strike breakers, the right to organize, adequate recreation, freedom of speech, class and race discrimination, and the like.

Rogers sat down. "Then, Black, you leave out completely the need for conversion and a sense of responsibility for sin a man or woman commits."

"Oh, no. Without good and unselfish members unions won't get anywhere. It's only people with love in their hearts who can set the world aright. Conversion must be put in terms of loving God by bettering the world we live in."

"Then, why do you defend these outsiders — these selfish, unconverted organizers who are coming here only to stir up trouble?" Rogers was almost preaching now.

"These so-called agitators make little headway unless workingmen have real and pressing grievances,

Brother Rogers. These 'outsiders,' as you call them, are not as much outsiders as members of the Stevens mills Board of Directors who live in New York and whom Dave Stevens consults monthly."

"I still don't like the outside element. Now get me straight. I don't take any stock in the rantings of this Evangelist Smith against the Jews. That's Hitler's game of diverting the attention of working people from their real troubles to the hatred of some minority. But I don't like outside organizers telling the Stevens mill workers what to do."

Joe leaned back in his easy chair thinking of a suitable answer. Finally he replied, "At the request of a small group of millhands in this town the organizers were sent here by an organization representing textile workers all over America. Organized workers elsewhere know that their very jobs and wages are threatened by the high-hour, low-wage conditions in this and other southern mill towns. Workers have to stick together in some national organization."

"Not entirely. The Negro and the white worker in the South at least have little in common. One tries to get the other's job," declared Rogers strongly.

"But suppose Negro and white workers organized together for expediency's sake, to say nothing of the cause of brotherhood?"

"That will never happen. White workers are afraid. . . ."

"Sure they're afraid of each other, after these long years of segregation." Now Joe was preaching. "Competition among the races has kept wages down. But the informed white workers know that they must join with Negroes in unions for the common objectives of jobs, security, good pay. As the spokes of a wheel draw closer together nearer the hub, so workers, with their eyes on common objectives obtained through cooperation, will draw closer together, and their differences of race or religion will appear far less important."

For the first time, Rogers seemed to be moved by Joe's earnestness, "Behind your faith in unions, Brother Black, seems to lie a conviction that unions are somehow good for workers religiously."

"True. Unions give hungry souls a sense of belonging. That's now lacking in the mill village. Most of the workers are elbowing each other for a high seat at the table and each is seeking favors and special privileges from the boss. The unions will bring, in Christian terms, a sense of community. They will help men cooperate."

"Closer together for what — for violence and strike?" Rogers shot back.

"No, I hope not. But it's certain trouble will come if the management refuses to recognize the union, for almost every intelligent worker in that mill has years of stored-up resentment against the company. The question is: Will that resentment be channelled into violence and bad feeling, or into the workers' demands for fair play. With the union, gone will be the day of company spies, black lists, yellow dog contracts, company unions."

"But will the community benefit by the coming of the union?", Rogers asked earnestly. "After all, labor isn't the only group to be considered."

"Certainly. The workers will have more income to buy from the local merchants, to pay out in taxes for school buildings and better roads. They'd be self-reliant — no longer charity cases."

Rogers paused, and put his hands over his eyes as if the new

rain of ideas from Joe was too much for him. "You're too idealistic and blinded by your enthusiasm. Tell you what I'd like—to meet this organizer, Jones. I want to see how really altruistic he is."

Rogers Begins to Understand

"I am for fair play, began the Rev. L. B. Rogers, as he addressed Pat Jones, Fred Styles, and Joe Black, assembled the next morning in his comfortable study. "I'm for justice, but considering all I read about unions in the papers and hear about town, I'm a hard man to convince. I don't know much about the factory for I've never been beyond Dave Stevens' office, but I'm for justice. Now tell me, Mr. Jones, what's to prevent the workers from getting cheated by the union?"

"Well," replied Pat, surprised at the precision of the minister's question, "all locals in our international union operate under a uniform constitution which has provision for nomination and election of officers, audited accounts, recall of offers and so forth."

"Glad you are so business-like. With such efficiency you must be able to pay your organizers big salaries."

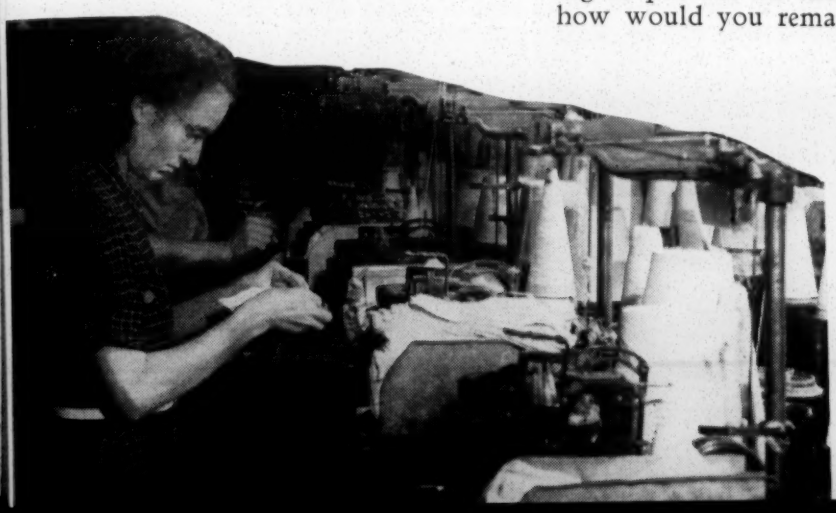
"Not judging by my third-rate hotel room in town. I've found that organizing is far from a lark. It's heart-breaking. Some folks don't want to be helped. Some who sign up think all problems are solved by a union, and thus when something goes wrong they begin to talk about the good old days when the boss told them what to do. But try as I will, I can't get away from organizing. It's sort of a call, as you preachers term it."

Joe Black then added jovially, "This fellow sounds like Moses in the wilderness trying to lead the children of Israel at a time when they were yearning for the fleshpots of Egypt."

"But I don't believe that even a Moses can force us preachers to take sides," Rogers stated sharply. "We should remain neutral in industrial conflicts and judge each side impartially. The church should reconcile classes. Taking sides would split the church."

This was Joe's chance. He asked quickly, "If a company won't bargain collectively in good faith, how about justice? Reconciliation has to go with justice."

"All right now, Joe, let's be specific," Rogers interjected, trying to put Joe on the spot. "Just how would you remain a Christ-



ian and still take the part of the strikers?"

Joe shot back: "First, I'd offer my church if the strikers didn't have a place to meet. Second, I'd let the whole community know how Protestant denominations, the Catholic Church, and the Jewish congregations stand on labor questions. Third, if injustice were done the workers, I'd let the people know about the messages of the prophets — Amos, Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah. I'd meet with the town and county officials, the governor and federal officials if necessary, to see if the strike could be settled to the satisfaction of both parties. And I might walk on the picket line if that doesn't work."

This time it was Rogers who remained calm. "You'll never lose your cutting edge. Remember, though, there are two sides to every question. You can't give the union leaders a blank check anymore than I can give Dave Stevens one."

"In that at least we agree," Joe remarked, turning to Fred and Pat with a twinkle in his eye. "No union man is going to tell me what to preach from the pulpit."

"Now that's not going to happen," Pat interjected. "We trade union fellows, if we win at the mill, need sympathetic critics — not yes men."

"Sort of occurs to me," Fred remarked philosophically, "that in your discussion you fellows forget that here in the South, the union folks are the church folks and vice versa. If the churches don't develop honest, loyal, self-critical members, you can't expect to have honest, loyal, self-critical union members either. There are some union leaders who think that if you give a man a better house and a high wage, he is automatically better. That ain't necessarily so. Give a man everything, and if nothing happens for the better inside his heart, then he's no better off." Rogers shook his head in assent and said no more.

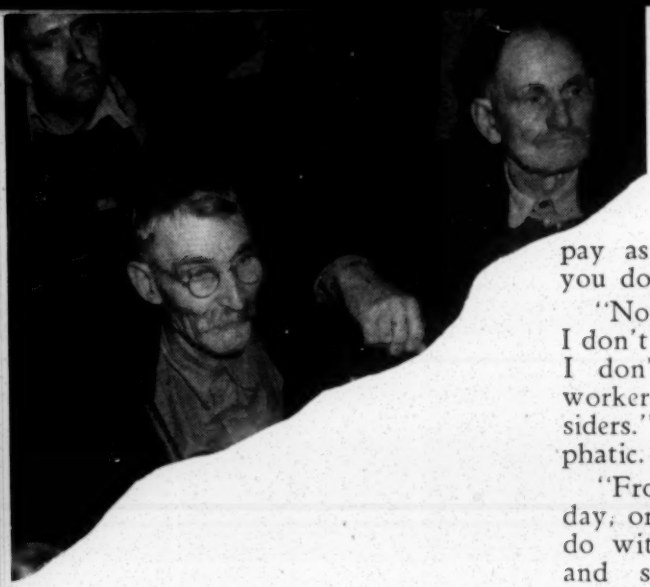
"That's right," agreed Joe. "To me the church and the labor movement are like two huge circles which overlap. In this overlapping space is the common concern of both good churchmen and good union members of raising the economic level of working people everywhere — the sharecropper in Arkansas, the welder in Pittsburgh, the pecan picker in Texas, the hungry and starving all over the world. We are not alone in this struggle, for God's in the struggle for justice, decency and love. . . ."

Rogers Visits the Mill Owner

That very afternoon, Rogers walked into the office of Dave Stevens, the plant boss. As the two men seated themselves Stevens remarked tiredly, "Sit down, parson; I wanted to see you even though I'm fagged out. The Board of Directors has just thrown this whole union business into my lap — to recognize the union or not as I see fit. By the way, I heard the union leader has been trying to organize you. Did you throw that Red out?"

"Why no! We just had a good talk. He's okay."

Stevens seemed too lost in thought to hear Rogers' answer.



He continued, "With these union men around I wish I knew what was really going on at the mill. Using company spies would make the workers suspicious."

"Your high ideals might put you out of business yet, Dave."

"I reckon so, parson. But the Stevens never believed in slavery. Great Grandfather Stevens was one of the few planters in this region who gave his slaves the chance to earn their freedom. He never got rich. His great grandson won't either. If my competitors cut wages much more, I'm going out on my ear. I can't pay high wages, keep up the company houses so nicely, put a new roof on Preacher Black's church, and still. . . ."

Rogers interrupted abruptly, "And still being a Christian might pay off if you were even more of a one."

Stevens was dumfounded. "What do you mean?"

Rogers looked Stevens in the eye. "To be frank, why don't you swallow your pride, quit playing God to your workers? Let them run their own affairs. And then when the union organizes your competitors, they'll be forced to pay as much for their labor as you do."

"Now get me straight, parson. I don't oppose unions as such. But I don't like unions where the workers are dictated to by outsiders." Dave Stevens was emphatic.

"From what I learned yesterday, only on matters that have to do with stabilizing the industry and standardizing wage scales would you deal with the national union. On local problems, you'd have a plant committee to deal with you or whomever you appointed to iron out the difficulties on the spot. With a union, Dave, you'd know what was going on at the plant — without spies."

"I'll bet the union, if it wins, will choose its most loud-mouthed member as president," carped Stevens, obviously back-tracking.

"If you promise to keep it a secret, I'll tell you who will probably be elected president. It's Fred Styles."

"Gosh, he'd be letting me down! Why, for the past twenty years we've given him steady work." Stevens was wrapped in thought again. "Maybe he's organizing, though, because the company might not have as kind a manager as myself in the future. Security reasons, you know."

Quickly, Rogers asked, "Now, Dave, to get to the point, are you going to recognize that union?"

"Well," Stevens hesitated, "there's nothing else to do — if the union wins the election. The law says. . . ."

"Good," Rogers smiled as he held out his hand for a farewell

handshake. "By the way, you'd better drop in on that old Pie-in-the-sky, Preacher Smith, down there on the lot across from your mill. A little brimstone of Smith's is good for the system nowdays. See if that's the kind of Christianity you think people ought to be taught. And if you do" — Rogers was smiling again — "guess we'll have to hunt a new Sunday School superintendent to take your place."

A New Era in Millville

In the plant election the union won by a large election. A contract was soon negotiated. That night Rogers, Joe, Pat, and Fred met together at Joe's home.

"Say," asked Pat jovially. "Who put the skids under that evangelist Smith just before the election?"

Rogers leaned back in his seat and slyly remarked, "It was none other, Mr. Jones, than your devil incarnate, Dave Stevens. For obvious reasons he hired Smith four weeks ago. But one night last week he heard the type of message he was preaching, and decided that Smith's exit would be good riddance to the churches and the whole community."

"That's hard to believe, Mr. Rogers," Pat said slowly, shaking his head in wonderment. "But to ask another question, did any union members join your church lately?"

"Not a soul, Mr. Jones. In fact one of the foremen resigned because I supported the calling of an election. I supported this measure because I thought it was right — not because it might bring in union members to my church. After all, it would be no more sensible, in my opinion, to support schools and hospitals purely for the reason that some teacher or nurse might sign up on the rolls."

Old Fred flicked the big cigar presented to him by the union membership following his election as president. The big cigar made little Fred a little dizzy, but very thoughtful, and finally he remarked philosophically, "Ministers and union men — we four — have just cooperated. Let's keep it up. Let's get ministers and shop stewards together so they can understand one another. Now maybe the best way is to have a social gathering of ten clergymen and an equal number of labor men."

"Sounds good," said Pat. "Yet how do we get started?"

"First, I'd suggest that each side get off its pet gripes against the other," Joe began with a twinkle in his eye. "I can just see a portly parson getting up there and saying, 'You labor men have too many labor gatherings on the Lord's Day, especially during church time. You condemn the clergy without knowing the clergymen personally or appreciating the difficulties of a well-meaning parson in a conservative church. If you want to change the church, gentlemen, get into it. And finally, I'm scared to death of you labor men who seemed to be interested in us clergymen so long as we can advance *your* cause, or *your* union. How about the whole community?' "

Pat retaliated quickly, "And I can just see some burly shop steward reply in these words, 'Gentlemen, don't you realize that we

labor men haven't been considered part of our milltown community? We're never asked to speak at civic functions, serve on community chest drives. We want to be part of the town, but you and the other ruling powers simply haven't let us.'"

"I hope that such a meeting won't be just a series of complaints," volunteered Rogers. "Maybe the best way for the clergy and workers to get their eyes off their differences is for them to work together on some common community project — say a community forum, a housing survey, the construction of a playground. And by the way, Mr. Jones, maybe you could come over to our church and talk to our men's club someday."

"Would be glad to. And maybe you could come down to our next union meeting, and give some of the greenhorns in the local much-needed instruction in parliamentary law."

"I want Pat to come to my church too, Rogers," Joe remarked. "Maybe he could show us what is meant by judgment beginning in the House of the Lord in relation to the janitor's wages and hours, the printing of denomination publications in a union shop in order to put in practice the denominations' frequent verbal endorsement of collective bargaining."

"And we unions could learn a little about cleaning up our backyards first too," replied Pat.

The four men were finally silent. Rogers declared, "You know, I'm beginning to like you all. What all ministers and labormen need is more fellowship and facts and the Christian Gospel."

All pictures are of southern textile workers and are used by courtesy of The Library of Congress, Southern School for Workers and a TWUA local in Danville, Virginia.

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FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

Box 577, Chapel Hill, N. C.

and

RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

206 Carmel St., New Haven, Conn.

February 20, 1947

Mr. Willard Uphaus
Natl. Religion & Labor Foundation
Room 210
44 1/2 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Uphaus:

Thank you for your letter of February 12. It was indeed a fine thing for Dr. McMains to invite Dr. George Kelsey to occupy his pulpit on Interracial Sunday. This sort of thing is all too rare, particularly here in the deep South.

I am pleased to have the mimeographed report of your recent conference. I regret very much that a heavy schedule of activities prevented my attending, except for a portion of one session. I understand that it was a very successful conference.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

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February 12, 1947

RECEIVED
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Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

On Inter-Racial Sunday just passed, Witherspoon Dodge and I attended morning service at the First Christian Church where Dr. Harrison McMains is minister.

With Christian courage and boldness, Dr. McMains had decided to have the appropriate message for the day put into practice. He had invited into his pulpit Dr. George Kelsey, a Negro minister, who teaches religion at Morehouse College.

The service was so wholesome, so inspiring, at times so moving, and throughout so completely Christian, that I am prompted to take this means of bringing it to your attention. We felt that we had witnessed and shared in an experience where history - Christian history - had been made.

No doubt you, like we, have been much troubled by the fact of unChristian forces now challenging the manifest will of God as to right human relations in our state. I find my thoughts dwelling on how powerful an impact could be made upon the Christian consciousness of our people if services similar to that conducted by Dr. McMains were held widely throughout Georgia. So deeply do I feel this that I find myself impelled to lay this suggestion upon the hearts and minds of my brethren in the ministry. Could not the denominational and joint-ministerial bodies designate a Sunday when such services might be held widely in Georgia in the near future?

My Christian hope and faith to this end are prompted by a most rewarding southwide conference of our organization last week at the Butler Street YMCA in Atlanta, where ministers of all faiths and of both races met in fraternal fellowship with other children of God to advance the cause of divine justice in human relationships.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Willard Uphaus

Willard Uphaus
Executive Secretary

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National

RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

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RECEIVED APR 14 1947 Southern Regional Council

March 29, 1947

Dear R - L Member and Friend:

"Looming like a shadow over us is the potential threat of war inherent in the 'Truman Doctrine'." This was the reaction of our General Executive Board at its New York meeting, March 26th, to the President's proposal to circumvent the United Nations and pursue unilateral economic and military intervention in Greece and Turkey.

We believe America should do more than ever out of her abundance to feed the needy peoples of the world, but this must be done on a non-political and non-military basis and through the proper agency under the United Nations.

The present maneuver by the President and Congress is likely to be pushed through before the people realize the full implications. The policy looks unsavory from every angle. Could it be that we are more interested in protecting the Eastern oil interests of our billion dollar corporations? Is it part of a scheme to foment an anti-Russia hysteria? Are we really concerned that the Greek people enjoy democratic freedom, and the wholesome development of their industrial and agricultural life? The answer to this question is certainly, NO! If we were, our financial assistance would be given only on condition that the bankrupt Greek monarchy and the totalitarian regime in Turkey get off the backs of the people.

Here is an issue of great moment to Religion and Labor. As workers we are concerned with the welfare of workers everywhere in the world. We are ONE WORLD. From the standpoint of an ethical religion, we are burned up over the dishonesty and hypocrisy in our nation's policy, which is poorly concealed behind a cloak of high-sounding phrases.

If you agree with us, will you:

1. Write to President Truman.
2. Write to your Representatives and Senators.
3. Write to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Representative Charles A. Eaton, Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs.
4. Make the matter the subject of discussion and resolution at church and union meetings.

The forces in Congress and in the country supporting capitalistic imperialism and anti-labor legislation, and opposing the confirmation of David Lilienthal, are part of the same pattern. They are not reconciled to democracy, whether at home or abroad. The signs are ominous! Time is short! Make your convictions felt.

Fraternally yours,

Willard Uphaus

Executive Secretary

WU:jm

(14)
The Southern Frontier
~~710 Standard Building~~
Atlanta, Georgia

Economic Justice

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

Vol. XV, No. 6 | 106 Carmel Street, New Haven 11, Conn. | 9 | March, 1947

Southern Regional Council
APR 15 1947

Pittsburgh Conference Charges Protestants With Heavy Responsibilities

Legislation Listed Among Subjects for Concern

Close to four hundred delegates representing twenty-seven different denominations responded to the call of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America to attend its first National Conference on the Church and the Economic Life in Pittsburgh, February 18-20. With few formal addresses and a maximum of discussion spokesmen from industry, labor, agriculture, the professions and the Cooperative Movement spotted issues, fixed responsibilities and outlined program.

Now that a reactionary Congress is bent on "doing something about Labor," **Economic Justice** calls particular attention to the proclamation on legislation.

"Local, state and national legislation is a major method of bringing about social change through the democratic process. The complex nature of the legislative process and of economic problems makes it difficult for Christian citizens to evaluate and support or oppose legislative measures. Therefore, the various church bodies, denominational and inter-denominational, should watch legislation and provide information for church people on issues which have implications for the Christian conscience. Furthermore, Christian people should be encouraged to participate in the political and legislative process. WHEN THE MORAL ISSUE IS CLEAR, OFFICIAL CHURCH BODIES SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO SPEAK ON LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONS. (Capitals Ours)

The moral issue is clear in Washington. Christians are taught that honesty is a cardinal virtue. The present flood of measures dealing with labor is based on obvious falsehoods. It is time to enforce the Pittsburgh proclamations, not only with research and publications, but with public meetings that expose these falsehoods. We list four of them:

1. **It is charged that unions are monopolies, and that therefore industry-wide bargaining must be prohibited.** The enemies of labor know that the anti-monopoly slogan falls on ready ears, for Americans do oppose monopoly. They confuse the real anti-monopoly fight by making it appear that organizations of working men and women are just as dangerous as the giant trusts and international cartels. In truth, industry has set the pattern for industry-wide bargaining, and unions had no other recourse if they were to exist. Reducing unions to local bargaining with individual units of great corporations, as Sen. Ball's bill intends, would mean the return of company unionism and general chaos. **Protest against S. 133.**

2. **It is charged that the closed shop is Un-American.** This falsehood is perpetrated on the public, despite the fact that this type of contract has come to predominate in the leading industries, such as steel, clothing, fur, rubber, textile, printing, maritime and electrical, and also has the endorsement of large sections of management. The closed shop is based on the established American principle that those who share in benefits should share in responsibilities. The check-off was in vogue long before unions called for it as a form of security. Americans who have just filled in their income tax blanks found themselves in the biggest closed shop of all. **Protest against S. 105.**

3. **We need a cooling-off period before strikes.** This lie is based on the

(Turn to page 6)

"Truman Doctrine" Leads To War, RLF Board Holds

Circumventing United Nations Called Ominous Step

The General Executive Board of the Religion and Labor Foundation meeting in New York, March 26, condemned the "Truman Doctrine" in relation to Greece and Turkey. "There can be no dispute about sending aid to the needy people of these countries and elsewhere, but the sending of military missions and funds for military purposes is a step toward war," the resolution declared. "Equally ominous is the circumventing of the United Nations and the taking of unilateral action by the United States."

As a peace program the Board adopted the following: (1) support of the Pepper-Taylor resolution, which will put the Greek-Turkish situation into the hands of the United Nations; (2) strong demand for universal disarmament, as embodied in the Tydings resolution; (3) support of the United Nations program for disarmament (this should include progressive reduction of armaments leading to a ban on all weapons, including the atomic bomb, and the elimination of the veto power); (4) support of the Landis Resolution (successor to the Martin resolution) which calls for the world-wide abolition of universal conscription; (5) vigorous opposition to any form of universal military training in the United States .

BOARD ELECTION RESULTS ANNOUNCED

At the meeting an announcement was made of the results of the election of Board members. The following twelve persons were elected by the RLF membership for a period of three years, beginning, January 1: Dr. Dwight J. Bradley, author and consultant; Rev. Allan K. Chalmers, minister, Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York; Dean W. J. Faulkner, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, Jewish Institute of Religion, New York; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister, Com-

(Turn to page 7, col. 1)

The Nature of the Christian Life

By GEORGE KELSEY

The world into which Christianity was born was one in which the problem of the improvement of life was a matter of primary concern. Great social and political dislocations had taken place; and people everywhere were gripped by a sense of insecurity and loneliness. The desire for salvation and better life was widespread.

Several religions and philosophies were on the field, all claiming to have the answer to the problem of human existence. One of these philosophies sought to improve life by inculcating inner self-sufficiency. In very much the same manner as we sometimes do today, these teachers advised people to live by reason and not allow their emotions to run away with them. If misfortune is yours, they said, do not weep; on the other hand, if fortune is yours, do not exult. Just remain calm, serene, and sufficient within, being governed only by reason. In this manner the good life is assured. For you will be living in accordance with the universe, since the universe is itself governed by Reason. Among the life improvement movements which appealed most to the masses were the mystery religions. The ceremonies of these cults were characterized by drama and pageantry. The novitiate was conducted through an apprenticeship and certain preliminary rites of purification. At last he was initiated and given a secret ritual which was supposed not only to guarantee a blessed existence in the life to come but to provide for better living in this world. Most advanced among the religions of the day was the religion of Judaism. This was a region of law and sacrifice. The Jewish scribes advised people who would improve their lives to adhere rigidly to the Law and the tradition of the elders. If you would improve your life, they said, obey the Law and sacrifice in the Temple.

"At length Jesus came and, as it were, startled the world with a new pronouncement. Instead of merely suggesting ways to improve life, Jesus pointed continuously to the end of this life and the birth of the new. While other religious and philosophical teachers sought to show the way to better living, Jesus went about heralding the coming of the New Age and advising people to prepare for it, not by a mere improvement of their lives, but by a complete right about face. The theme of his message was 'Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' To Jesus it was not merely a matter of eradicating the impulses or subordinating them to reason; even the reason needed to be redeemed. It was not merely a matter of inner self-sufficiency; the self could never be sufficient. It was not merely a matter of ceremonial purification and the practice of ritual; it was a matter of a new heart. It was not merely a matter of obedience to the Law; the Law must be fulfilled."* The fellowship which centered its life in Jesus was not fundamentally a life improvement association; it was a new life movement. This is a fact which the churches have tragically forgotten. This is the point of the great deviation and cultural accommodation.

The message of the new life is indeed the fundamental message of the New Testament. The New Testament as a whole looks forward to a great cleft in life. The New Testament does not tell us how to improve our democracy; it tells us that our democracy must come to an end, for the very principles upon which democracy is founded are impure. The New Testament does not tell us how to win the four freedoms; it tells us that our ideal of freedom must be destroyed, for it is a mixed ideal. Herein lies the genius of Christianity. Christianity knows that in this life the good is bound up with evil. So that even when man enunciates and projects his ideals, he places himself at the center of those ideals. The cultural good is never an unmixed good. Is there any nation in the world today that is seeking real peace? No. It was quite obvious to all of us that the Germans sought peace according to Germany. But it ought to be just as clear that England now seeks peace according to England, that Russia seeks peace according to Russia, and that America seeks peace according to America. When the heavenly choir sang of peace, they always joined it with good will. But the nations today seek a peace which will allow them to preserve their old attitudes, patterns, and relationships. Instead of peace and good will they

* George D. Kelsey, "The Nature of the Christian Ethic," The Journal of Religious Thought, II (Autumn-Winter, 1945), 7-8.

DR. GEORGE KELSEY

Dr. Kelsey, who heads the Department of Religion in Morehouse College, Atlanta, was the preacher on Interracial Sunday at First Christian Church in that city. We are pleased to publish the sermon in full.

Foundation's Activities Show Growth

"Religion and Labor are becoming natural and necessary allies in the common fight for social justice and economic freedom," said Executive Secretary Willard Uphaus in introducing a report for 1946 to a meeting of the General Executive Board, in New York, January 21. "That the Religion and Labor Foundation has become an effective channel through which the ideals of progressive churchmen and labor representatives find expression in fulfillment of their mutual ideals is evident from progress made."

Dr. Uphaus made his report under the following heads:

Religion and Labor Fellowship and Action in Cities. Churchmen and labor organizers, representing the major faiths and the various branches of labor, are forming local organizations that meet regularly or when community situations demand. This movement is now continental in scope. Among the cities in which real R-L achievements are on record are: Atlanta, Cincinnati, Calgary, Chicago, Columbus, Dayton, Detroit, Indianapolis, Jackson, Michigan, Louisville, Knoxville, Los Angeles, Memphis, Montreal, Minneapolis, Nashville, New Haven, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rochester, Rock Island, Seattle, Syracuse, Toronto and Vancouver. Secretary Willard Uphaus and John Ramsay, General Executive Board member and CIO Community Relations Representative, have met with groups in numerous cities not mentioned, including important points in the South. The New Haven and Toronto organizations now employ executive secretaries. Local activities include: radio, conferences, public forums and hearings, news releases, telegrams and letters, assistance in strike situations and organizing campaigns, exchange of speakers, picketing and litera-

ture distribution, work on social and labor legislation.

Seminary Students in Action. The Foundation has vital contact with forty seminaries, and its materials reach many more. Active chapters in fifteen schools get students into labor meetings, bring labor speakers to the campus, raise funds for relief, picket and distribute literature. The annual meeting in 1946 was held in November in Atlantic City. Students who realize that the church and synagogue must relate themselves to the present scene and help build a new economic order, are taking courses to obtain perspective and action technics A spiritual contribution can best be made through open identification with workers.

The Fourteenth Anniversary Dinner in New York. The Fourteenth Anniversary Dinner was held in honor of our Honorary President, Bishop Francis J. McConnell. The Honorable Nathan Strauss presided. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Van A. Bittner and Kermit Eby were the speakers. AFL Representative Thomas A. Murray of New York, who was unable to attend, sent a greeting. The Foundation was honored by the presence of representatives from 42 religious and labor bodis. **A distinguishing feature was that rank and file union speakers rose at their tables to make pleas for their respective causes.**

Action in the South. A special subvention made is possible to set up programs in some of the southern states and prepare for our first Southern Religion and Labor Conference in Atlanta, February 4-5, this year. Two hundred delegates gathered for two days —men and women, Negro and White, clergymen, organizers, young people—with the common aspiration to spell out brotherhood in a region filled with hates, fears and injustices Representatives of the major faiths and branches of labor were present. Six work shops outlined programs of action to be reported to our membership in pamphlet form.

Headquarters Activity. 1. Telegrams, resolutions, letters; 2. Conferences with students; 3. Help with students' papers and research; 4. Supplying materials to city and seminary branches; 5. Hundreds of personal letters; 6. Maintaining relationships with cooperating agencies; 7. Providing speakers; 8. Special cultivation of social action departments of denominations, and city and state councils of churches.

Economic Justice has become an 8-page bulletin published ten times a year. The Foundation issued its first basic pamphlet, "Walking Together—Religion and Labor," with a statement of aims and program. Thirty-five thousand copies were printed.

The Detroit Conference. The Foundation joined with seventeen other national religion and labor bodies in a National Religion and Labor Conference in Detroit, February 25-26 with the theme: **Religion and Labor—Allies for Freedom.** It was a great demonstration of cooperation between unofficial social action bodies of various faiths and organized labor. Two hundred twenty-four registrants belonging to 21 different religious fellowships and 21 local, city and International unions, came from fifteen states, the District of Columbia and Canada. Twenty-five experts served as consultants for five workshops on: Interfaith Action, Racial Discrimination, Full Production and Full Employment, Freedom Through Full Access to Facts, and Freedom Through World-Wide Democracy.

The National Prize Winning Essay Contest. for senior high school students, on two subjects, "The Danger of Racial and Religious Prejudice in a Democracy," and "The Contribution of Trade Unions in a Democracy."

seek peace and prejudice, peace and suspicion, peace and power, in the final analysis, peace and war. The tendency of man to project his own interests and priorities into the center of his ideals is also seen in the world search for freedom. There are two outstanding versions of freedom on the field today—the Soviet version and the Anglo-American version. The Soviets are seeking to establish a freedom which will allow them to maintain dictatorship, communist imperialism and a collectivistic economy. The Anglo-Americans are seeking a freedom which will allow for the preservation of imperialism, racialism, and monopoly.

It is right at this point that the chief obstacle to the Christian life lies. This is the crux of the problem of the Christian life. We want the new life, but we do not want it enough to give up our old loves. We are not willing to part with established interests and values. Putting the matter in the language of many would-be converts, "If I become a Christian, what will I have to give up?" We find it impossible to face the fact that the new attachment involves an old detachment. Even on the night before the crucifixion Jesus' most intimate friends, the disciples, could not grasp this central element in the gospel. On this momentous occasion they raised questions concerning who is to have precedence in the Kingdom. Institutional and social positions meant so much to them in this age that they simply could not imagine that such wonderful things were not a part of the Kingdom. In whatever manner men have conceived the new life they have always managed to make it little more than a glorification of present interests and values. When some of the tribes of the American Indians thought of heaven, they thought of it as the happy hunting ground. When the Jews of Jesus' time spoke of the age to come, they spoke of it as the new Jerusalem. I suppose that the average American, if pinned down to say exactly what he thinks heaven is, would describe it as the new New York.

In a similar manner men assume that the new life, which Jesus urged us to embrace here and now, is a mere improvement of our present lives. They assume that they can slide into the new life, as it were, carrying their priorities, present interests and values with them. But the message of Jesus is not fundamentally a message for the mere improvement of life; it is a message concerning new life. There is a radical difference between improved life and new life. The Christian life is radical and revolutionary; it is not evolutionary and transitional. It involves a complete break with all things present, including even our idea of the good. The life which Jesus calls for is not a mere sloughing off of present ills and a reinforcement of present strong points. The present life must be brought to an end as a whole in order that the new may be born. Jesus makes it perfectly clear that the new life involves a break even with the old idea of the good in those statements well known as the "But I say unto you" passages. Here he sets the new demand against the background of the Law: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill. . . . But I say unto you whosoever is angry with his brother . . . will be sentenced by God . . . whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire." Whosoever shall say, "Thou Nigger," shall be in danger of hell-fire. Whosoever shall say, "Thou Red neck," shall be in danger of hell-fire. Whosoever shall say, "Thou Dago," shall be in danger of hell-fire. "Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths, But I say unto you, Swear not at all."

If the Christian life is fundamentally new life, involving a break with present values and ideals as well as present evils, one may well inquire if the Christian life is achievable. The answer is unsatisfactory. The Christian life is a process; it is not an achievement. No one completely achieves the Christian life. The saints are on the way; and they are always on the way, never reaching the infinite goal. One writer has pictured Christ and his church as a long parade. At the head of this parade is Christ who is also the band or music maker for the parade. The church is following Christ but is a great distance behind him, so far that the music can only be heard dimly in the distance. This is a description of every Christian in his relation to Christ. When we use the terms "good" and "bad," we are using terms which have meaning in human comparisons. But when we turn our gaze upon Christ we are at once aware of the fact that all of us are sinners, standing in need of redemption.

(Turn to page 6, col. 2)

Russia and America: A Synthesis

JEROME DAVIS

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Mankind, ascending from the caves and jungles of his prehistoric past, has followed a long and tortuous pathway. Throughout the centuries, by dint of costly experience certain fundamental principles have been discovered. Among these are justice for all, individual freedom, government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and racial equality. No human society now existent has achieved the application of these fundamental principles to the social order.

In the United States we have a long tradition of individual freedom. The individual is protected by law. We are so jealous of the right of the individual that we often give him freedom to gain monopoly control of certain basic resources and in effect tax all of us for his benefit. This individual freedom permits billionaire corporations to control the employment of millions. At intervals America is rocked with cataclysmic convulsions throwing millions out of work and causing economic stagnation. In the last depression we reduced economic expenditure for education by over $2,000,000 per day. Millions of children were deprived of school.

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM DENIED TO MILLIONS

Even today individual freedom which we so highly cherish is denied to millions of Negroes in the South. In Norfolk, Virginia, "for instance" if a Negro sits down in a street car beside a white person, the Negro is fined $50 or put in jail. Thousands of southern Negro girls have scant protection against rape or assault on the part of whites. Occasionally, as happened recently, two Negro women may be taken from an automobile and shot to death at the hands of a white mob, solely because they were present when that same mob shot their husbands. In a southern police station a Negro has been shot to death by an officer in cold blood and no one is imprisoned for the offense.

The United States has a tradition of democratic government. Our ideal is government of the people, by the people and for the people. To a considerable extent, we have genuine democracy. Unfortunately, in many of our southern states Negroes are denied effective political opportunities. In some of our western states financial interests exert the dominating influence on our governmental mechanism. It is said that in the state of Oregon, the railroads have tremendous power. Few laws opposed by the railroads and the dominating banks can be enacted. In spite of these abuses, the United States has come a long way in providing freedom for her citizens and genuine democratic government.

It must be remembered that the United States had her revolution as far back as 1776. Our forefathers were fortunate in having a virgin continent. Only a few Indians could dispute the control of that vast territory. Naturally, our Constitution stressed individual freedom, individual responsibilty and freedom of enterprise. As a result we built up the greatest production mechanism in all human history. Some 150 years later the Russian people had their revolution. Their objectives were the same as our forefathers'; the happiness and welfare of the people. But they did not have a virgin territory; instead they had a Tsar's tyranny. From 70 to 90 per cent of the people were illiterate. Seven per cent of the Tsar's privileged few controlled nearly all the basic resources. Ninety-three per cent of the people were poverty-stricken, diseased-ridden and ignorant. Under these circumstances, the Russian revolutionists swept away the whole rotten structure of the Tsar's tyranny and established the Soviet Union.

Since they did not have a virgin land, they nationalized the basic means of production and distribution. They tried to place the welfare of all the people first. The individual and his needs were subservient to those of the group. They thus established as a basic concept economic justice rather than individual freedom. They enacted social insurance laws. They abolished unemployment. They made all medicine free. They gave everyone vaca-

Where Two Streams Meet

Some notes on a trip taken by John Ramsay and the Editor in Georgia

By WILLARD UPHAUS

The R-L flame burns in many hearts. I know Religion and Labor are natural and necessary allies. This was true long before the RLF came into being, but the evidence accumulates in the South. John Ramsay and I, who have been visiting Columbus and Macon, Georgia, have found this to be so.

A colored Baptist pastor summed it up at a Columbus meeting when seconding a motion that his Association urge upon the entire Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance full support of the Foundation and the organizing campaign of labor. "The union is the thing, and with Jesus we can't fail." The simple declaration sprang from the deep religious intuition of the Negro race, and it did my heart more good than a long dissertation on church-labor cooperation. Scenes like this make you understand why the scribes and Pharisees, the doctors about religion, turned Jesus cold, and why his soul went out to the common people.

During the discussion on the motion a big colored worker and organizer rose to his feet: "Brethren, I want to tell you I am in a state of unreadiness." Is he going to fight the motion, I asked myself? He had been through hard Birmingham campaigns. "You know, you got to push your feet around a lot and you got to get the folks together . . . . to understand. Not time, yet, to blow the trumpet in Columbus. You know they marched around Jericho seven times and the seventh time they blowed a long blast and the walls come tumblin' down." I don't know what the professors would do with the Birmingham brother's exigesis, but what a wonderful way to prove that just a motion would not win a victory!

There was another reason why new hope inspired those Negro pastors that morning. At a recent meeting of the white Ministers Association, a courageous preacher by the name of John Winkler, had made a motion that at least quarterly colored and white pastors meet together. Another, Frank Robertson, seconded the motion. The vote was unanimous and a small interracial committee is now arranging a program for the first joint meeting.

The meeting was an outstanding climax to a night and a day in Columbus. John and I had come expecting that a get-together of leaders had been arranged, but found that a number of pastors were busy with the sad funerals of the victims of the terrible Atlanta hotel fire. So we looked them up one by one. The first was George Johnston, young CIO organizer whom we took to supper with us. George is a graduate of Alleghany College and has had a year and a half in the Harvard School of Administration. He is one more disillusioned young man who has little confidence in the church because he has found it indifferent to the needs of the people. After supper, we three went to our hotel room where we talked for hours. "My faith in God is gone," George insisted, as he, at the same time radiated the idealism that drove him to organize under-paid mill hands. At times George is shadowed by a big bully whom someone is employing to scare him. A few nights before we arrived, someone had given him a terrible blow on the back of the head which flattened him out on the sidewalk. He came to his senses just in time to see his assailant disappear into the

dark. He had not met one friendly pastor and was sure not one could be found in Columbus. George likes to sing. He has been getting a real kick out of singing in the choir of the First Baptist Church, one of "the" churches in Columbus. "What will happen when they find out I am a CIO organizer?" he queried, with a burst of laughter. As we said goodnight, we asked, "Will you go with us in the morning to meet some preachers?" "You bet," was his quick reply.

Well, much happened. The following morning Reverend Winkler, who had made the motion calling for Interracial meetings, came to the hotel at nine o'clock. George was prompt. The four of us had a full hour together. There, again, two streams flowed together—Religion and Labor—preacher and organizer. Winkler, a strong-muscled young man, completely embodied your ideal of a working-man's spiritual leader. He talked about his miner relatives in West Virginia. I studied his face and hands. George leaned forward and poured his soul into a plea for unionization. "I understand. My people are working people, but I must minister to all. The union must be guided by Christian principles."

"We agree," we assured Winkler. I went on to argue that a good union, like any other useful form of group discipline, means greater personal liberty. "The workers must win freedom from want and fear so that their salvation will be complete," I added.

"I will help lead a local Fellowship," Winkler promised with determination, as he departed.

George said to John and me, "Why, I know by the way he buttons his coat he is okay." That was a new one on me.

At ten o'clock, Frank Robertson came in—youngish, smiling, stepping with an air of confidence. He is a Methodist who took his Yale B.D. in '42. He remembered me and the RLF Local there. Frank occupies a relatively free pulpit in Columbus. "Why, I preached a sermon right down here on race that I worked up for Professor Luccock and they thought up there it was plenty strong for the North." Frank and George found a lot in common. It was real fun to sit back and watch the interplay. At the close of our conference, Frank said: "Sorry we couldn't have a meeting this time. If you will come back January 7, I will set one up." George and he will work together.

At eleven o'clock, George went with us to the colored pastors' meeting, mentioned at the beginning. John was asked to speak and introduce George and myself. I simply bore witness to the fact that Jesus came to bring the abundant life and told how, from the beginning, Phil Randolph, organizer of the Pullman Car Porters, had been one of the founders of our Brotherhood which is fighting for justice and fair play, through organized labor, for all men regardless of race, color or creed. George made a fine talk, stressing the CIO'S freedom from discrimination. He pled for their help. "As a Christian, I feel—." I have now forgotten just what George "felt", but he was the same man who had, the night before, said he had lost faith in God. As we finally parted at noon, George could not forget Winkler. I feel certain an R-L Fellowship is going to emerge and that it will bring moral support to a young organizer who is being shadowed by the agents of powerful and, no doubt, respectable enemies of labor who want to terrify him into leaving town.

Columbus is the home of the infamous Parson Jack Johnson, racketeer publisher of "The Trumpet", one of the dirtiest, rabble-rousing sheets in the South. He is a wolf in sheep's clothing.

tions with pay. All industrial workers received old age pensions. In spite of the dire predictions on the part of the western democracies, the Soviet Union grew from nothing to gigantic stature. Today it is openly feared by Great Britain and the United States because of its great strength. Russia has become a symbol of an attempt on the part of the common people to establish justice for the masses of peasants and workers.

Russia also pioneered in racial democracy. In contrast to the imperialism of Great Britain and the racial inequality in our own southern states, she gave absolute equality to all races and people. To practice anti-Semitism was a penitentiary offense in the Soviet Union. If anyone shows discrimination against a Negro, he is imprisoned, or if a foreigner, deported.

Russia does not have individual freedom as we find it in the west. It is easier for the individual to be imprisoned unjustly if he is suspected of opposing the principles and practices of the dominant group. The monopoly of the Communist Party prevents the free play of opposition parties. It is easy to see that both Russia and the United States have not achieved the practical application of all the great basic principles which mankind has found to be necessary in its slow evolutionary growth. Neither of these two great countries has achieved practical application of certain great normal principles which the human race needs. Russia has pioneered in trying to bring more justice for all the people. It has abolished unemployment, making impossible the cataclysmic convulsions of prosperity and depression. The United States has pioneered in individual freedom, giving rights to the individual white citizen which few societies in all human history have attained. The Soviet Union more nearly exemplifies the principle of racial equality. It has neither the imperialism of Great Britain in India or South Africa nor the malpractise of the United States in its treatment of the Negro, America and the west have more nearly achieved the goal of political party only.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union are defective in being too militaristic. Both place too much reliance on war. Of the two, the Soviet Union has the better record. After her revolution she offered to disarm completely if the rest of the world would do likewise. At the present time the Soviet is again challenging the world with a proposal for disarmament, and it remains to be seen if the United States and Great Britain will genuinely accept the offer. The United States has a greater navy than all the rest of the world combined. She has the greatest air force in history. She is still manufacturing atomic bombs, although she has a stock pile which could blow up all the major capitals of the world.

ARE WE WILLING TO DISARM?

Time is running short for homo sapiens. Either we will do away with the feverish race for militaristic power, or we shall be destroyed. An important question is whether the United States and Great Britain will be willing to destroy their navies. On the surface it looks as though the Soviet Union would be genuinely willing to disarm if Great Britain and the United States will do so. But this would mean the reduction of our navy to a small task force. If the world is to make further progress we must learn how to prevent war. This involves taking risks through disarmament and a willingness to work with rivals and contradictory economic systems.

Both Russia and the United States are defective in not having as high moral and religious values as the human race now knows. The United States is one of the greatest materialistic societies the world has ever seen. The standard of success is largely determined by financial ability. Financial corporations dominate the economic order. Graft and corruption are rampant. Gambling, immorality and unfair practice are widely prevalent. One has only to turn to the hearings of the United States Trade Commission to see what some of our best firms have done.

For example. the Eversharp Company, late in 1946, was ordered to stop its deceptive advertising regarding the gold content of its fountain pens.

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Pittsburgh Conference

(Continued from page 1)

impression that unions rush into strikes without careful deliberation, and without taking full account of the effects on management, on the public and on the long-time interests of labor. There have been cases of foolhardiness, but they are the exception. Unfortunately, the press and the public show little interest in the long periods that unions at times must wait before management will even agree to sit at the table or in the intransigent resistance to labor's proposals once the negotiating begins. The Smith-Connolley law has proved that cooling-off legislation does not solve the problem of strikes. Such attempts to settle conflict simply raise the temperature of everyone.

Protest against S. 55 (Taft-Ball-Smith)

4. **The Wagner Act is one-sided, labor's opponents say.** Here is another attempt to raise a false issue. Of course when Congress passed the Act in 1935, it knew it had to be one-sided. Before the enactment of the law the great corporations formed a united front against labor, and the worker was helpless. The purpose of the Wagner Act was to correct, in part, a situation which was completely out of balance. Incidentally, the Act has been tender with the employer. No criminal penalties are attached to violations, and police wagons never back up to the employer's door.

We do not hold that labor legislation cannot be improved. The Murray Joint Resolution (S.J. Res. 22) calling for a Temporary Labor Relations Commission to make "a thorough study and investigation into the underlying causes of disputes between labor and management, including union and employer policies and practices, economic and other factors, etc." deserves careful consideration. This would provide for joint participaton on the part of government, management, labor and the public to make a sane appraisal of present legislative needs. Organized religion might have a powerful, although unofficial, influence. It is painfully obvious that the present foes of labor in their hysteria will have none of it. They are bent instead on stifling the unions and thereby encouraging the forces that lead to depression.

W. U.

Southern Conference Specific on Legislation

Report of Sixth Workshop, omitted from February issue of Economic Justice, in contrast to the disheartening retreat in the state capitals and Washington, affirms faith in the people and democracy. The report was prepared by Miss Margaret Fisher, Executive Secretary, Committee of Georgia, Dr. George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council, Prof. C. O. Bacote, Atlanta University, Myles Horton, Highland Folk School, Rev. W. P. Spofford, Jr., Church League for Industrial Democracy, and Austin T. Walden, Atlanta attorney.

Believing that principles are only made operative through specific programs of action, the Southern Regional Religion and Labor conference adopts the following legislative platform for its work during the coming year:

We heartily endorse legislation on the Federal and State level which seeks to guarantee every man's God-given **right to work** for we believe that every man has a basic right to a job. However, since labor relations are human relations, no adequate solution of labor-management problems is possible through restrictive legislation, specifically through anti-closed shop bills.

The right to work is not an absolute right but one governed by the rights of fellow workers. The right to organize and bargain collectively implies the right to use the required means for these purposes. But in our Southern states where a great number of employers consistently oppose unions or, at best, tolerate them, union security in the form of the Union Shop is a required means to attain a legitimate aim of organized labor, namely, security. Therefore, if we admit the natural right of workers to organize, we must not deny them a required means to exercise that right effectively.

The Union Shop, that is one in which the majority of the workers require all the workers to be members of a union, is a democratic institution. Majority rule is a fundamental principle in our democracy. To prevent the Union Shop on the pretense that it is unfair to the non-union minority is, in fact, an

The Nature of the Christian Life

(Continued from page 2)

Jesus himself indicated that the Christian life is a process rather than an achievement. Here the point may be illustrated by comparing Jesus and John the Baptist. When the soldiers inquired of John the Baptist what must be done to inherit eternal life, John the Baptist declared that they should bring forth fruit worthy of repentance. But, in another connection, Jesus said in effect that this cannot be done. Jesus said, when you have kept all the commandments, consider yourselves unprofitable servants. Christian duty in the full sense is never done. One level of moral achievement always calls for the next higher level.

What then does it mean to be Christian in the specific life situations in which we find ourselves? How can an individual be Christian under the harsh limitations and restrictions which nature and history impose upon him? Christian morality imposes upon us the necessity of acting on principles which the exigencies of the situation neither disclose nor dictate. While a Christian cannot act without reference to a situation, his action must never be determined wholly by factors in the situation. Being Christian, his action must always be determined primarily by a higher principle which is brought to bear upon the situation. For the Christian, the guiding and motivating principle of all action is the Law of Love. This principle must be applied even in situations and relations that are utterly foreign to the principle.

Christians are bidden to love their enemies. Practically, this means positive adventure toward breaking the barriers of hostility between oneself and another. It means going after an enemy to be reconciled with him. Being Christian toward an enemy involves forgiveness, not seven times, but seven times seventy. When Jesus said seven times seventy he was not enunciating a new legalism. This was a very effective way of saying, forgive indefinitely. A Christian will never allow the mind of the enemy to get over into himself. Rather, he will insist on dealing with his enemy on a higher plane than that on which his enemy deals with him. The Christian will not treat his enemy in this manner in order to bring his enemy around to loving him. This aim is but selfishness in disguise. The Christian loves his enemy because his enemy is the object of God's love. This was the sole reason which Jesus gave for loving one's enemies—"that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

How does one meet the requirements of the Christian life in the area of race relations. To be Christian in race relations involves the confrontation of members of other races as children of God and not as instances of types. Human relations are Christian when they are personal, when two souls —an I and a Thou—confront each other. When human relations are determined by race they are sub-Christian. For, to deal with a person as a member of a race is to deal with him as an **It**, as an object to be analyzed, categorized, manipulated, used, and even hated. He is not a person with whom one has fellowship, whose aspirations and sorrows one shares, whom one understands and loves. Fellowship and love can only arise when two souls enter into each other, when they become I and Thou. It is

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my duty then to confront a white man as a child of God. If I am a Christian he remains a child of God to me even if he insists on being determined by race from his side. The determinant of attitude and action for the Christian is the love of God which operates in his heart.

The revolutionary character of Christian morality is no less evident when we observe it in the area of personal life. If a man's besetting sin is drunkenness, he does not meet Christian requirements by merely moderating his drinking. The Christian demand is that he drink not at all. If a man's besetting sin is lying, he does not meet Christian requirements by merely shading his lies down to little ones. The Christian demand is that he lie not at all.

The Christian life is a radical and revolutionary life. It is not evolutionary and transitional. It is not a mere reinforcement of present strong points. It is not a glorification of present customs, standards and ideals. The Christian life is discontinuous with all things present. It is a life characterized by an outreach beyond all things immediate. It is a life of dependence upon and abandonment of the self to God. It is the life of God on the human scene. Jesus summarily described it in the words, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

BOARD MEMBERS

(Continued from page 1)

munity Church of New York; Rev. Leon Rosser Land, minister, Congregational-Unitarian Center, Flint, Michigan; Dean Walter G. Muelder, Boston University School of Theology; Frank W. McCulloch, director of Labor Education Division, Roosevelt College, Chicago; Miss Eleanor Neff, associate secretary, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, New York; Ben Segal, educational staff, CIO Textile Workers Union, New York; Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer emeritus, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York; and Rev. Charles C. Webber, president, Virginia CIO. Dean Faulkner, Dean Muelder, Mr. McCulloch, Miss Neff and Mr. Segal are new members of the Board.

The Board authorized the preparation of a 1947 basic pamphlet which will set forth the aims and program of the Foundation and help coordinate the activities of city branches and theological chapters in the United Statees and Canada. The chairman was asked to appoint an advisory committee representing the various faiths and branches of the labor movement that will meet and discuss the nature and content of the pamphlet.

injustice to the majority in the shop. The union members probably risked their jobs and certainly made sacrifices to get their union recognized, to obtain good wages and working conditions, and to maintain job security. For non-union workers to profiteer on these sacrifices by accepting the fruits and refusing to contribute, morally and financially is clearly unjust. And yet, the state is being asked to legalize this injustice.

As a further guarantee of the right to work, we recommend that Southern employers and Southern unions must re-examine and revise employment practices resulting in discrimination and should take steps toward the inclusion in their collective bargaining contracts the principles of "equal pay for equal work" and "equal opportunity to work."

We support legislation for full production and full and fair employment in industry and in agriculture. Full production is necessary for domestic well being and to feed and clothe a hungry and impoverished world. Your committee recommends: (a) endorsement and support of measures to raise the minimum wage standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act to an immediate 65c. and eventual 75c. an hour, and to liberalize the coverage to include all classes of wage earners engaged in occupations which affect commerce between the states.

b) The expansion and improvement of Social Security and the inclusion thereunder of farm workers, domestic workers and the self-employed.

c) Standards of child labor legislation on the state level at least equal to the federal provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

d) That payments under Unemployment Compensation and Workman's Compensation be increased.

e) That legislation for state wage and hour laws be introduced in the several states.

f) That a state Labor Relations Act providing guarantees for the exercise of concerted organization rights and collective bargaining for workers in intra-state industry be introduced in the several states.

g) We are deeply concerned by the already visible displacement of southern farmers and farm workers by mechanized farming. This movement is gathering momentum and in the foreseeable future millions of Southerners will be without means of livelihood.

Therefore, we request that State and Federal governments proceed at once to make plans and provisions for having these displaced persons in productive work, supplying land and tools for farming, jobs on reclamation projects and other needed funds to carry these hapless through the transition period.

Recognizing the likeness of God in every man of whatever race or color, upon which fact rests man's natural rights, and in consonance with the fundamental principles of our democracy, we proclaim our belief in the enjoyment of equal rights for all citizens under the laws of the land.

In keeping with said belief we hereby declare that there should not be any denial of the fundamental rights of citizenship to any segment of our people based upon race or color. Accordingly therefore, we condemn such unfair and unjustifiable devices as the white primary and the poll tax. While being unalterably opposed to the poll tax, we call upon the Church and labor leaders to cooperate in campaigns to persuade all church and labor members to pay their poll taxes, to register and to vote.

We call upon the Congress to enact anti-lynching legislation and to abolish the undemocratic filibuster.

THE DEMANDS OF RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

Under the religious and democratic understanding of man, the full life for all men depends upon an environment which guarantees good and adequate housing, education, health facilities, social security and fair taxation based upon the individual's capacity to pay. We believe that it is the responsibility of democratically-elected governments on the local, state and federal levels to provide such a social environment for all persons by maintaining, strengthening and expanding present programs and by

a) providing good and adequate housing for all persons.

b) providing equal education opportunities for all persons in schools of the highest educational standards,

c) expanding social security programs so that all citizens are adequately

(Continued on page 8, col. 3)

RUSSIA AND AMERICA: A SYNTHESIS

(Continued from page 4)

The American Tobacco Company was brought to bar on charges of misrepresentation in regard to its Lucky Strike cigarettes. Proctor and Gamble of Cincinnati was brought to a hearing because of misrepresentation of a liquid dentifrice. Practically every big advertising concern in America has been caught at one time or another. Recently, one of our largest chain stores, The Atlantic and Pacific, was convicted. The evidence covered 30,000 pages. The decision of the Federal Court was recorded in 117 pages. It found that the Atlantic Commission Company, a subsidiary, "exploited" its position. The government offered evidence to show that at least $2,000,000 was taken out of the pockets of A and P purchasers between 1935 and 1941 by such dishonest procedures as adding extra items on the bill when the customer came to pay or of charging more than the regular price. The A and P even paid for "wine, women and song" for lobbyists whom they brought to testify in Washington.

The Soviet Union is also free from graft and corruption. Factory managers occasionally manipulate so as to gain selfish advantages. Managers of collective farms sometimes steal from the group. But on the whole, it is probably true that there is much less corruption in the Soviet Union than there is in the United States and punishment is more drastic.

Both countries need more efficiency. The Soviet Union does not always achieve as great industrial efficiency as does the west, but it does not have the curse of periodic depressions.

From the facts already cited, it is apparent that both the United States and the Soviet Union have values which the world needs. Neither country has evolved a perfect society. Both countries can learn from the other. What is needed is a recognition on the part of the people of the United States and the peoples of the Soviet Union that they need to gain the positive benefits of the other and eliminate their own weakness. The world needs both the economic justice and the racial democracy towards which Russia has pioneered, and the individual freedom and government of, by and for the people which the United States is working to attain. If our radio and press would understand the proven fact that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union can afford to point the finger of scorn at the other, that this is like the pot calling the kettle black, and that on the other hand both countries need to study and learn from the other, then there is hope for building a better world.

This is a far cry from the present lofty superiority complex adopted by so many of our newspapers and radio commentators. Midnight is striking for the human race. Either we shall build a social order combining justice, racial equality with individual freedom and political democracy or else cataclysmic war will teach the human race the hard way. God has placed us in a world of potential abundance where we can have food, clothing and shelter beyond our highest dreams if we will follow the basic moral principles which the world already knows but does not heed.

For the sum which the United States spent in the late war, we could build a beautiful home for every family in the world, throwing in hospitals and schools for every community. The choice confronts our generation as to whether we will aid in building this world of happiness and beauty for all or whether we will continue our selfish rivalries and pretensions to superiority which inevitably lead to disaster and annihilation. The only road to human happiness is one of cooperation, friendship and understanding. Will we recognize the value other nations have to teach us or will we follow the myth of superiority over the abyss?

Where Two Streams Meet

(Continued from page 4)

Macon is now a real place to me because of the day there. We arrived at five p. m. and checked in at the Dempsey Hotel. After a bit of rest and supper we took turns at the telephone locating leaders we knew or who had been recommended. Result—a luncheon meeting the following day with thirteen of the city's influential progressives, including Reverend Denney of the First Christian Church, a close friend of Jim Crain; Stewart Matthews, Episcopal Rector; Dr. Burke, retired missionary from China; Professor Avent, of Wesleyan College; Reverend Denham, leading Baptist; Tom Johnson, courageous lawyer, defender of the weak; Father Bryant; William (Pop) R. Smith, Editor of "The Macon News"; R. E. Starnes, CIO Sub-Regional Director who brought four staff members with him. The time was too short to locate AFL organizers but we were advised, at the meeting, that a few could be found who would be interested.

Lawyer Johnson was elected Chairman of the Committee to set up a larger meeting at a later time, when I was asked to return. Five members of the group volunteered to help. The people at this meeting were far more advanced than many we meet for the first time.

I had an hour with Johnson after lunch. He is 36, and a graduate of Mercer Law School, son of working parents. At graduation he took the long view. He made up his mind he would not sell his soul defending anti-labor corporations. There was little to eat, at first, but now he, wife and eight-year-old son are doing well. Little people who need protection find their way to his office. "When I get too discouraged I take a trip to the country, where I can be close to nature," he told me.

Elizabeth Stinson, active in the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and Director of Religious Activities, invited us to dinner. Wesleyan is the oldest woman's college chartered to grant degrees. It is beautifully situated several miles outside of town. The campus and buildings were designed as a unit. Everything looked fit, peaceful and orderly. It is a pretty sight to see four hundred Southern college girls together at dinner, especially with many in flowing evening gowns. We had the privilege of sitting at a faculty table surrounded by truly congenial spirits.

After dinner we listened to the college choir singing Christmas carols in the adjoining, perfectly appointed social hall. As they sang, "Oh Little Town of Bethlehem", "Joy to the World", and "Silent Night", my eye kept turning to the portrait of a dignified looking gentlemanon on the wall. Noticing me, a faculty member said: "I guess you wonder who he is?"

"Yes," I replied.

"Well, he is one of the richest men around. A textile operator who gave Wesleyan a lot of money. This hall is named for him." Lucy Mason had advised us that Wesleyan was much under the influence of the Textile interests. My mind was filled with conflicting pictures: Sweet girls, doubtless innocent and unaware of the fact that unorganized, underpaid, mill hands were really making their education possible, singing "Oh, Little Town of Bethlehem"; the NLRB meetings that very day in Macon when the evidence pointed to the intrigue of the Macon Textile Company and its fierce discrimination against Negroes.

Possibly you saw in TIME or some other source that a young Baptist minister at McRae, Georgia, has fired one of those shots that is heard around the world. A young Joseph Rabun was attending the Georgia Baptist Convention at Savannah. It happened that the Negro Baptists were meeting at the same time and in the same city. This convention was about to pass one of those pious resolutions on race when God inspired him to tell his brethren it was time to act. Rabun introduced a resolution calling upon the convention to meet with the Negro pastors. It passed. The meeting was held. It was short and probably perfunctory, but what a beginning for Southern Baptists! Example means more than words. The incident is the talk down here. Baptist Reverend Denham, after the Macon luncheon, told me in words weighted with meaning, "It is time we were doing something."

That afternoon, Tom Johnson introduced me to another Macon attorney, Harry Strozier, who has been a tower of strength to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Strozier showed me a three-page letter that Rabun had written "Pop" Smith, the Editor, revealing the reasoning and experience that led to this Savannah action. It is one of those documents that historians of a later date will need to tell their story.

When I returned to Atlanta I told Witherspoon Dodge, who is working in the Atlanta office with me, my story. I magnified our experience with George Johnston, who had given us vivid descriptions of mill communities and the hazards of our organizer. Witherspoon picked up the Bible on my desk and turned to Matthew 9:34-38. We read the verses together.

"And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.

"But when he saw the multitude, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd.

"Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few.

"Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth laborers into His harvest."

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE ON LEGISLATION

(Continued from page 6)

covered with benefits which will guarantee adequate support in old age and in times of unemployment,

d) adopting a program of compulsory national health insurance and

e) revising state and local tax systems on the basis of equitable distribution and ability to pay. We feel that the general sales tax violates equity.

from

National

RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

9 106 CARMEL STREET 6-1327 NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.

September 3, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1947
National Council

Dear Friend:

According to a news dispatch the civil rights of an American citizen were outraged when a mob in LaGrange assaulted Wilbur E. Gupton, a member of the CIO's Southern Organizing Committee.

Assigned to an organizing task at Hogansville, Gupton and his wife had visited LaGrange, less than twenty miles away, for dinner in a cafe and to attend a movie. At the close of the show, while unlocking his car, Gupton was struck on the head and suffered a fractured skull.

This kind of hoodlumism is surely offensive to all Christians who believe that organizers who go peacefully about their work have the legal and moral right to do so. The right of free collective bargaining has been a part of the social teachings of the church for many years. We believe this kind of disgraceful attack on Mr. Gupton does not meet with favor among thoughtful Christians, for they know organized labor is improving the standards of living of working people and therefore bringing more buying power to the local community. Unfortunately, hoodlums do not understand either Christianity or economics, and care less. Unfortunately, also, they are sometimes inspired by the secret connivance of vested interests opposed to justice and democracy.

During tense days like these violence may occur any place in the United States. Wherever it breaks out, there is always something that ministers and Christian laymen can do. They can protest to public officials, and make these matters subjects of discussion in sermons and in Bible classes. Have you written a letter of protest to Gov. M. E. Thompson?

Yours for justice and peace,

Willard Uphaus

Willard Uphaus
Executive Secretary

P.S. Kindly write the Foundation if there is additional information you believe we should have.

WU:jm

March 8, 1951

Dr. Witherspoon Dodge
Natl. Religion and Labor Foundation
~~66 Edgewood Avenue~~
New Haven 11, Connecticut

Dear Witherspoon:

I have written my Mississippi head man and asked him to consider earnestly what he and his friends can do in the Willie McGee case. It is not going to be easy to get anybody in Mississippi to act, partly because everybody in the State has been so flooded with angry messages.

But of course that doesn't relieve any of us from our duty to push hard for what is just.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

March 8, 1951

Mr. John Long
Southern Christian Institute
Edwards, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Long:

I have been pressed by friends to see whether a body of Southerners could be induced to talk with Governor Wright with a view to forestalling the execution of Willie McGee, now set (if I am correctly informed) for March 20.

I know, of course, how extremely difficult it is to get people to work on these cases in a reasonable way when so much that seems to us unreasonable has been said and done. Still, it is the case that the South's insistence on the death penalty for Negroes in cases of this kind, as against light penalty for whites, is unfair. And each such case is certainly made the most of by those who wish to demean American democratic institutions.

If in your judgment some approach to the Governor is feasible and proper, I do hope you will see what you can do.

I am certainly not interested in joining anybody else's tactics of mass pressure on the Governor. But it remains each Southern person's difficult duty to try to get even-handed justice -- pressure or no pressure.

The present claim is that there is new evidence never heretofore used in court that McGee and his alleged victim had kept up a relationship for several years before the incident.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

National

RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

66 EDGEWOOD AVENUE 6-1327 NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.

March 1, 1951

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Staff
Willard Uphaus
Witherspoon Dodge

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I presume you are thoroughly conversant with this case of Willie McGee, in Mississippi. His wife is here, and I have met with her, Willard, some local ministers and others who want to do what they can.

I told them of your work and the SRC, and volunteered to write you at once. Willie's execution is set for March 20th. Can you corral a group of Southern preachers, church men and women, or others to see the governor of Mississippi about the case?

Drop me a line and let me know what the low down is.

I am also writing Jim Dombrowski, and Rev. Charles Hamilton at Aberdeen, Miss. Willard iswriting Mrs. Tilly.

With best wishes to you and all friends,

Sincerely,

Witherspoon

Witherspoon Dodge

7

The Case of Willie McGee

A Fact Sheet Prepared by the Civil Rights Congress

UNEQUAL JUSTICE

In Virginia, where seven Negroes from Martinsville were recently executed for the alleged crime of rape, no white man has ever been sentenced to death for this crime. Since 1908, 51 Negroes have been executed for rape. Similarly, in Mississippi, Negroes are "legally" sent to their death while white men convicted of rape get off with prison sentences or less. Further, rape by a white man of a Negro woman generally goes unpunished, no matter how terrible the crime. Even if such a crime involves a young child, the death penalty is never meted out to a white attacker. Within the context of this historical background, the McGee case must be viewed as a typical example of unequal justice.

THE PRESENT ISSUE

An innocent Negro, Willie McGee, is scheduled to die in the electric chair on March 20th in the town of Laurel, Miss. In this state a portable electric chair is used in order to hold electrocutions in the town where the alleged crime was committed.

THE MAN

Willie McGee, 36, is the father of four children, the eldest 11 years old. At the time of his arrest, he was working as a truck driver.

THE ALLEGED CRIME

A white woman, Mrs. Troy Hawkins, alleges that at 4 a.m., Nov. 3, 1945, she was assaulted as she lay in bed with a sick child asleep at her side. She did not cry out, she claimed, so as not to awaken her children and husband, asleep in an adjoining room. The alleged rape took place in total darkness. Mrs. Hawkins identified her attacker only as having "kinky hair" and wearing a tee-shirt. There were no signs of a struggle.

THE ARREST

Willie McGee was seized 30 miles from the scene of the rape that same day. He was held incommunicado for 32 days, during which police elicited a "confession" which McGee later repudiated, explaining that he signed it in order to remain alive. Speechless and helpless, he was carried into court after his 32-day incommunicado period and immediately went on trial.

THE TRIALS

First: On Dec. 6, 1945, while state militia armed with machineguns surrounded the courtroom and a hostile lynch mob threatened to kidnap McGee, attorneys pleaded for a delay so that McGee could recover from shock. This plea, and another to move the trial away from its mob-violence atmosphere, was denied. An all-white jury and judge convicted McGee after exactly two minutes of deliberation. Sentence: death.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, now merged with CRC, intervened to appeal the case to the Mississippi Supreme Court. On June 10, 1946, the court unanimously threw out McGee's conviction and ordered a new trial on grounds that lynch atmosphere had unduly prejudiced the trial.

Second: On Oct. 7, 1946, as 100 militiamen tried to hold back a tense mob, the judge at McGee's second trial excused himself from the case and was replaced. So tense was the atmosphere that this second judge was forced to move the trial to Hattiesburg, Miss. McGee was spirited past a shouting mob and on Nov. 4, 1946, was found guilty by another all-white jury in Hattiesburg after a four-day trial. Sentence: death.

Again CRC stayed the execution by an appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court which, on Feb. 9, 1947, again reversed McGee's conviction and threw out the original indictment on grounds that it had been brought by a grand jury from which Negroes were excluded. But a new district attorney in Laurel had just been elected on a campaign of rushing McGee to the chair.

Third: On March 3, 1948, after being re-indicted, McGee was retried before another all-white jury. Informed that they were in danger of mob violence, McGee's attorneys applied to the judge for protection. He refused to guarantee their safety and they were forced to flee, on peril of their lives, before the trial ended. Verdict, brought by a jury after 58 minutes: guilty. Sentence: death.

Scant hours before his scheduled electrocution, the CRC again saved McGee from death with an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. When the court refused, on Oct. 10, 1949, to take the case, CRC attorneys applied for a reconsideration of the appeal. The court rejected this on May 15, 1950.

ORDER ADDITIONAL FACT SHEETS AT 3¢ EACH FROM C.R.C., 23 W. 26th St., N.Y. 10, N.Y.

(THE TRIALS continued)

Once more Willie McGee's execution date was set, this time for July 27, 1950. Following world-wide protests and a dramatic delegation to the state capitol at Jackson, Miss. (see below), Supreme Court Justice Burton issued an eleventh-hour stay of execution to permit a new appeal by CRC. This the court subsequently refused in January of this year. On Feb. 3, 1951, the Mississippi Supreme Court set McGee's execution date at March 20th.

THE REAL STORY

Hitherto-unrevealed, new evidence is being presented by CRC attorneys in the coming legal appeals. Lawyers will present data to substantiate charges that: (1) Mrs. Hawkins and McGee maintained a relationship for several years prior to the alleged rape; (2) Mrs. Hawkins refused to release McGee from the relationship and stymied his attempts to free himself by threatening to cry rape and bring down a lynch mob on McGee's head; (3) the relationship was well known in the community, thus moving white supremacists to press feverishly for McGee's death; (4) Mrs. Hawkins lied when she claimed never to have seen McGee before the alleged rape.

This evidence has not been revealed before, even to CRC, because McGee's lawyer advised him that if the truth were told, McGee would be lynched immediately. The unwritten law of the white-supremacist South is this: a Negro who has relations with a white woman must die.

THE VICTIM'S WIFE

Throughout his six-year existence between life and death, Willie McGee has had the strong support of his wife, Rosalee, who never once wavered in her determination to free him from a vicious frameup. Speaking tirelessly on CRC-sponsored tours and at meetings, issuing moving appeals for support, Mrs. McGee has also had the responsibility of keeping her family of four together.

In her efforts to keep a job she has been discriminated against and mercilessly exploited by employers who took advantage of her because she was a marked woman, the wife of a man whose frameup has stirred international protest. With the help of CRC's Prisoner's Relief Committee, which assists the families of all jimcrow and political prisoners, Mrs. McGee has been able to continue her struggle with undaunted courage and loyalty. She is now available for speaking engagements.

THE MASS CAMPAIGN

Mobilized by CRC, a tremendous wave of public protests was aroused around the Mississippi frameup. From every country of the world, from most of the U.S., from people in all walks of life, from trade unions and religious groups, workers, civic leaders and professionals came wires, letters and resolutions of strong protests.

THE JACKSON DELEGATION

Highlighting CRC's determination to save McGee's life was a dramatic delegation composed of Northern and Southern men and women from 10 states who met in Jackson, Miss. during July, 1950, to urge Gov. Fielding Wright to free Willie McGee.

Members of the delegation and newsman Stephen Fischer of the Daily Compass were attacked and beaten by mobs incited by the local newspaper. Among the determined men and women of the delegation were Aubrey Grossman, national organizational secretary of the CRC and Sidney Ordower, Progressive Party candidate for senator in Illinois, both badly beaten; Mrs. Winifred Feise, a New Orleans white woman who gave the lie to white supremacist lynchers by refusing to "let them hide their crimes behind the skirts of southern white womanhood", and Prof. Gene Weltfish, of Columbia University, internationally-known anthropologist who laid bare the social causes of the great "rape myth".

The delegation had previously obtained an appointment to see the Governor. When they arrived for it they found he had set up a public hearing in the Chambers of the State Assembly, to which were personally invited all the important people of the State, and which was covered by an array of Southern newspapermen.

Within the two and a half hours alloted to the delegation for their presentation, various delegates shattered the flimsy frameup structure which was the legal basis for the judgment of execution. Moreover the delegation explained the real reason for such frameups and death sentences. It pointed out that such frameups naturally grow out of the system of discrimination and segregation which characterizes, but is not limited to the South; that such frameups are related to the almost complete disfranchisement of the Negro people who constitute 49% of the population of Mississippi; that it was no accident that Congressman Rankin, who comes from Mississippi, is the most articulate and vicious spreader of the Big Lie that Negroes are criminals and rapists; and that the old-type lynching has merely been supplanted by the just-as-common legal lynching, of which the McGee case is a typical example.

THE LYNCH SPIRIT IN MISSISSIPPI

Twice attempts have been made illegally to lynch Willie McGee. He faces such a threat today, especially if his legal battle shows signs

(LYNCH SPIRIT continued)

of succeeding. The authorities must be forced to guarantee his personal safety.

Threats of violence also hang over the heads of any of McGee's defenders who go into Mississippi. The influential Jackson Daily News, which in July of 1950 stirred up the beatings of CRC delegates, is today calling in no uncertain terms for greater violence. One editorial states: "Any lousy, conscienceless lawyer who seeks to defeat the ends of justice in the Willie McGee case should be branded as a public enemy and treated as such." Another editorial headed "NOT SAFE FROM NOW ON" warns that the personal safety of McGee's defenders will not be guaranteed. In a vicious racist diatribe against a Negro editor in Jackson, the News threatens not to let his past work with CRC in the McGee case go "unnoticed". Such a remark, in the South, needs no further amplification to Negroes living in daily terror.

THE RESPONSIBILITY

Gov. Fielding L. Wright, of Mississippi, can be charged with an intractable determination to see Willie McGee killed. He has publicly refused to hear any protests on the frameup. More important, although he has the power to pardon McGee or free him immediately, Wright has steadfastly refused to do so. Considered the "brains" of the Dixiecrat movement, Wright ran as its vice-presidential candidate in 1948; his Jackson capitol is headquarters for the Dixiecrat newspaper. Although Wright represents an open attempt to suppress the Negro people, recent developments in the Martinsville Seven Case, where Virginia's governor and courts refused equal justice to Negroes, make it clear that Wright speaks for the entire South, not merely the Dixiecrat movement.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in thrice refusing to save McGee from death, condones Mississippi's crime of government and takes part in it. President Truman has direct authority under the Federal Civil Rights Act to order his Attorney-General to intervene on McGee's behalf. Since all legal action to save McGee will continue in federal courts, Truman can further instruct his Attorney-General to appear on McGee's behalf in these courts, as the federal government has sometimes done in the past. The federal government, which can sanction or overturn McGee's "legal lynching," has joined with Mississippi, as it did with Virginia in the Martinsville case, to perpetrate a crime against the Negro people.

THE MEANING-THE LESSONS OF MARTINSVILLE

Unlike most Northern states, the South views rape as a racial crime involving the "pollution" of the white race. Race murder based on such a theory is genocide, exactly paralleling Hitler's racist mass murder of the Jewish people. Whether committed with wholesale rapidity, as in the case of Nazi Germany, or by slow, steady degrees, genocide is clearly defined by the Allied War Criminal trials at Nuremburg and later by the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Slow race murder by legal and illegal lynching of the Negro people is, within these definitions, clearly genocide.

Illegal lynching has decreased in the face of vigorous opposition. But "legal" lynchings like those of Martinsville or the attempts on McGee, Mrs. Ingram and the Trenton Six, have supplanted mob violence as part of an official government policy of terror. Legal lynchings are perpetrated by the police arm of the government's administrative branch, upheld by the legislative branch which refuses to outlaw jim crow terror, and allowed to continue by the judicial branch which declines to intervene.

The policy of legal lynching is not peculiar to the South, as witness the Trenton Six case. It is not solely a state matter; for example, Lt. Leon Gilbert was persecuted by the federal government, whose FBI also repeatedly uses federal laws to extradite Negroes to legal lynchings in the South.

The Jackson, Miss., Daily News, spokesman for those forces who demand the death of Willie McGee as they urged the lynching of the Martinsville Seven, unwittingly reveals why we have reached that stage of jim crow terror in which seven Negroes can be summarily executed in the face of world protest. It stated: "The big business of the nation today is preparing for war." Referring to McGee's defenders, the News then asked rhetorically: why ship troops to Korea when we can do our killing right here?

The reaction of the Dixiecrat South to efforts by progressive Americans to end the centuries-long persecution of Negro Americans is extremely alarming. Threats of force and violence against those who would dare to enter Mississippi, there to question its "due process" in the case of Willie McGee, are openly made by the press.

This, of course, is understandable. Dixie lynch law has mapped out and pursued its murderous course without serious challenge for more than three-quarters of a century. But this continued violation of the Constitutional liberties, civil and human rights of Negro Americans today menaces the foundations of free government and impinges upon the very peace of the world.

That fact gives the case of Willie McGee its national and international significance.

--William L. Patterson
Executive Secretary, CRC

THE STAKE OF LABOR

Laurel, Miss. where the alleged rape occurred, is an industrial town. Situated there is one of the plants of the giant Masonite Corporation employing some three thousand workers. For many years the workers in this plant have been organized in a union presently affiliated with the International Woodworkers of America. Despite their observance of local custom by breaking up the workers into a white and a Negro local union, these white and Negro workers have, in the past, achieved a large measure of unity and cooperation. That is why three or four years ago the workers in this plant had not only a strong, solid union but also, it is said, the best wages and working conditions in the South.

Then the ownership of the Masonite Corporation began to see and use the possibilities afforded it by the lynch hysteria which was created around the Willie McGee case. Obviously, it is not possible to have anti-Negro lynch spirit in a community, resulting in two attempted lynchings, and at the same time continue the kind of cooperation in the factory between white and Negro workers that is needed to keep the union unified and strong.

So, as was to be expected, the wages and other conditions of workers in the Masonite plant did not continue to improve as they had in the past. No longer were the working conditions in Laurel better than the rest of the South. The union began to have to fight for its very existence. Just before the CRC delegation went to Jackson last year, the union ended a fruitless six-month long strike which achieved none of its objectives because the employer used community lynch spirit to try to smash the union. In January of this year the union had to go out on strike again -- this time in an effort to bridge the tremendous gap between wages paid in Laurel and in another of the company's plants in California.

The cooperation of Negro and white workers is a source of great strength to unions everywhere. Looked at conversely, the development of antagonism between workers based on their race or color weakens unions, leads to their destruction, and (as illustrated in the drive to organize the South) prevents their organization in the first place. Thus unions, in their own interest, must fight against legal lynchings in general and on behalf of Willie McGee in particular.

THE ACTION....

1. Demand of President Truman that he order his Attorney General to use the Federal Civil Rights Act to save Willie McGee's life and secure his freedom. Order him also to intervene in all court proceedings on his behalf.

2. Demand that Governor Fielding Wright, Jackson, Miss. stay the execution and issue a complete pardon to McGee.

3. Set up everywhere, in all kinds of groups, Committees to Save Willie McGee. There should be trade union committees, church committees, student committees, etc.

4. Call upon all public officials (with special attention to seeing or telephoning Congressmen and Senators) to demand that they communicate with Truman and Wright and publicize what they have done.

5. Get resolutions adopted, circulate petitions, and get tens of thousands of people to telephone, wire, or write Truman and Wright.

Civil Rights Congress,
23 W. 26th St.,
New York 10, N.Y.

I wish to join in the nation-wide fight to save the life of Willie McGee. Will you send me (please indicate quantity):

☐ leaflets ☐ petitions ☐ additional fact sheets at 3¢ per copy

☐ I wish to become a member of the Civil Rights Congress, the leading national organization fighting to save the life of Willie McGee. Enclosed please find $1.00 for my 1951 membership.

☐ I wish to support the defense of Willie McGee. Enclosed please find my contribution.

(Name) _____

(Address) _____

_____

National Religion + Labor

CYPRESS 5065

Organizing Committee

40 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

April 9, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I want to add my little bit to urging you to accept Mr. Paul Christopher's invitation to participate in the CIO Program at Highlander Folk School during the week of May 13-19, 1951.

Our new leaflet "Religion Speaks on Brotherhood" is now ready for the press. I want to express my appreciation to you for your help to Miss Mason as she was getting the material ready for the leaflet.

With best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

John G. Ramsay,
Director of Community Relations

JGR:es

Answ
GM April 10, 51

RECEIVED
APR 10
Southern Regional Council

National

RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

66 EDGEWOOD AVENUE 6-1327 NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.

August 28,1950.

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Staff

Willard Uphaus
Witherspoon Dodge

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As a member of the Executive Council of Highlander Folk School you will be interested in the Workshop on Religion and Labor that will be held there, September 25-30. We deeply appreciate the cooperative spirit of the School that welcomes this kind of project.

The attached sheet tells more about the Workshop. We believe it will help immensely to have a small group together for a week to get acquainted, exchange views, dig more deeply into the philosophy that motivates a movement like ours. It was prompted largely by the growing interest in forming local Religion and Labor Fellowships.

We wish very much that you might be with us for all, or at least a part of the time.

Sincerely yours,

Willard Uphaus

Willard Uphaus
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1950
Southern Regional Council

RELIGION AND LABOR WORKSHOP
HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL, MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE, SEPT. 25-30, 1950

PROGRAM

Breakfast - 7:30 A.M.

Discussion Period - 9:00 - 10:30 A.M.
Discussion Period - 10:30 - 12:00

Suggestted Subjects

Purpose of Religion and Labor Foundation
Organized labor in the South
What are unions up to?
What are churches up to?
What are labor leaders like?
What are religious leaders like?
How can church be of service to labor
How can labor serve the church?
How to work together, and for what ends?

Lunch - 12:30 P.M.

Group Meetings - 2:00 - 3:00 P.M.
Interest Groups -- Visual aids demonstration
How to organize local religion and labor groups
Special problems raised in the morning sessions
OR
Field Trips -- -- -- Strip mines (machines displacing miners)
Labor meetings in Chattanoogan, Nashville, Huntsville or Gadsden, Alabama
Farmers Union meeting

Recreation - 4:00 - 5:00 P.M.
Volley ball or soft ball
Singing, hikes, horseshoes, or swimming

Dinner - 6:30 P.M.
Evening Programs - 8:00 - 10:00 P.M. - Singing, games, movies, lectures

RESOURCE LEADERS - Resource leaders at the Workshop will include, John G. Ramsay, RLF Chairman and CIO Public Relations Representative in the South; Myles Horton, Director, Highlander Folk School; Dean John B. Thompson, The University of Chicago Chapel; Willard Uphaus, Religion and Labor Foundation's Executive Secretary; and Witherspoon Dodge, Religion and Labor Foundation's Field Representative. Other leaders will be announced later.

GENERAL INFORMATION - Highlander Folk School is located at Monteagle, Tennessee, which is on U.S. Highway 41 between Nashville and Chattanooga. It may be reached by auto, bus or train. Since the registration is limited to thirty the National RLF office will assist each individual in mapping the trip. The total charge for registration, room and board will be $25.00. On receipt of the registration form below detailed information will be sent about the School and what to bring.

REGISTRATION FORM

Date_____

Name_____ Address_____

Religious Affiliation_____

Union Affiliation_____

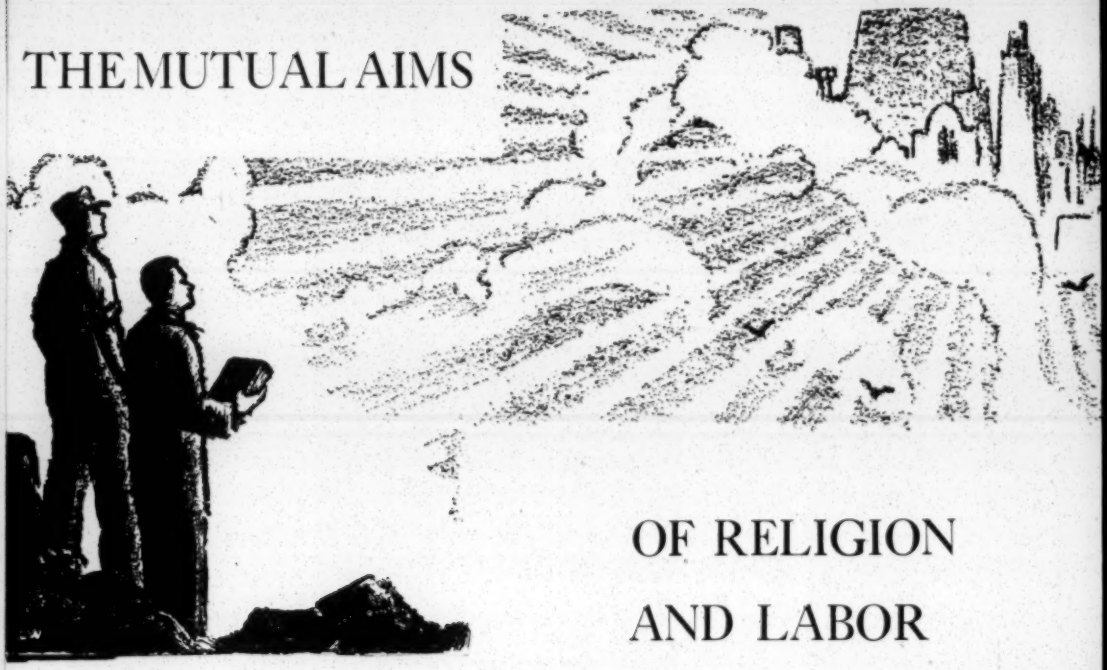
$25.00 fee enclosed_____. Will be paid on arrival at Highlander Fold School___.

Information desired:

Walking Together

RELIGION & LABOR

THE MUTUAL AIMS OF RELIGION AND LABOR



DEMOCRACY firmly rooted in the industrial structure, resting in strong and independent labor unions and infused by religion with spiritual and ethical vitality, will not only be able to withstand the attacks of those who would turn back the course of human progress, but will express itself through an increasingly enlightened structure of law in behalf of the entire nation and of the world. Once the lifting of the level of the life of humanity becomes the measure by which is judged the quality of leadership provided both by religious organizations and by organized labor, mankind may push forward toward the goal of the good life. A world order based on freedom and justice instead of on force and disorder may then emerge through all the difficult processes of social advance. Placing their faith in the people, believing that power should be shared and not monopolized and that democratic education must supplant tyrannical exploitation, labor and religion together may help lead the way.

THE OBJECTIVES
of the
National Religion and Labor Foundation

TO DISCOVER the implications of our Judeo-Christian faith and apply them to our social, economic and political life.

TO HELP the religious and labor movements in interpreting their aims and programs to one another; and to bring them into relations of mutual understanding and cooperation.

TO AID the movements of religion and labor in discovering and applying such techniques of social action as may advance the social ideals of the church and synagogue and the program of organized labor.

TO ENCOURAGE and SUPPORT the organization of the occupationally unorganized who still suffer from substandard conditions of living, and to defend the trade union movement when unjustly attacked.

TO DEFEND our traditional American civil rights and extend them to all our people without respect to color, religion, race or national origin.

TO WORK for constructive social legislation, especially as it applies to the rights and responsibilities of workers.

TO COOPERATE WITH all related democratic movements having the common purpose of defeating repressive and anti-democratic forces and of building an economy of abundance, security and peace.

TO WORK FOR such basic changes in the economic system as will both eliminate the evils of concentrated wealth and restore to the people the riches of the earth which God in His Providence created for them.

———o———

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN 1950

will be held March 20-22 at the

Hotel Gibson, Cincinnati

THE PROGRAM

TO FOSTER the growth of Metropolitan Religion and Labor Fellowships and Councils, through which the aims of the organization can be implemented in local communities; and to serve these through literature, counsel, speakers and staff visitation;

TO PROMOTE and supervise the activities of an Interseminary Division established to organize branches in theological schools;

TO SET UP local, regional, national and international conferences, through which religious and labor leaders may be brought together to evaluate and advance the policies of the organization;

TO SET UP emergency meetings at the time of strikes to give each side in the conflict an opportunity to express its case, and to take appropriate action;

TO CONDUCT traveling economic seminars for churchmen, educators, trade unionists and other social leaders who desire first-hand knowledge about conditions in industry and agriculture;

TO HAVE representation at hearings, state and national, at which legislation affecting the public welfare is being considered;

TO PUBLISH a monthly bulletin, **ECONOMIC JUSTICE,** to interpret the aims and program of the religion-labor movement, and to report upon activities among individuals and groups in the field;

TO SUPPLY individuals and groups with helpful information in the field of Religion and Labor.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

66 EDGEWOOD AVENUE NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.

Believing in the pioneering service of the Religion and Labor Foundation in bringing the religious and labor movements into cooperation for the common objectives of brotherhood, justice and peace,

I wish to become

An Annual Member ($2 to $4) ..... $.....

An Active Member ($5 to $24 annually) ..... $.....

A Cooperating Member ($25 to $99 annually) ..... $.....

A Sustaining Member ($100 or more annually) ..... $.....

I (enclose) (pledge) a special gift of ..... $.....

Name ..... Date .....

Street ..... City ..... Zone .....

Affiliation ..... State .....

NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

66 EDGEWOOD AVENUE NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT

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Staff:

WILLARD UPHAUS ..... Executive Secretary

WITHERSPOON DODGE ..... Field Representative

Testimonials

"Bread and brotherhood are twin needs of mankind. It is fitting that labor and religion should join forces in the quest for a better way of life. Without the guiding light of God's word, man labors in vain. We know too, that the word of God is likely to fall on deaf ears, when the listeners are hungry. Religion and Labor, working together, each cognizant of the dual need of men, can indeed guide the world far toward peace and unity." LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH

"A very close relationship should be established between the representatives of religion and labor. The development of our spiritual life depends very much upon the establishment of decent labor and economic standards. I express the hope that the National Foundation of Religion and Labor will meet with a full measure of success in all its work." WILLIAM GREEN

"The religious tradition of America underlies all democratic ideals and aims. When rightly construed and applied it sets up standards of living, of opportunity and of constructive effort that guarantee each person a full and abundant life. The labor movement strives for a progressive application of our religious principles to industrial society. When, therefore, religion and labor are true to their calling, they stand for the same thing. This is why they wish to work together."
DWIGHT J. BRADLEY

"The atomic era has begun. We now must either create world peace or prepare for an era of annihilation. We will build one world or die. We cannot have world peace without industrial peace and that in turn depends upon economic justice. The Religion and Labor Foundation unites the forces of religion with the forces of labor in a common struggle for righteousness." JEROME DAVIS

"Labor and religion seek through education and organization to make this world of ours a fit place for men, women and children to live in. Priests, ministers and rabbis are united in their belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Union leaders seek the creation of a world in which men live their lives according to the highest religious insights. The Church and the union both seek to implement the will of God in the lives of men."
PHILLIP MURRAY

"If we are to build a better world tomorrow, religion must become the spokesman for all classes and labor must have the breadth of view and the feeling of dedication which comes of religious conviction. Judaism has always insisted on the rights of the worker and respected the dignity of his contribution."
STEPHEN S. WISE

"We have much to gain by closer unity between organized religion and organized labor. The basis of such unity is not artificial. We find it in a common ethical goal. That goal is described as simple justice among men, and the assertion of the worth and dignity of the individual. Any religion that looks to this goal and teaches this credo is a natural friend and ally of organized labor."
A. F. WHITNEY

National
RELIGION *and* LABOR FOUNDATION
~~HEADQUARTERS, 906 EAST BROAD STREET~~ COLUMBUS 14, OHIO
3392 N. High St.
EVergreen 7533

SOUTHERN OFFICE:
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APR 27
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Southern Regional Council

April 15, 1953

Dear Friend:

We have nothing but good news this time. It comes from two fronts of conquest. First, our recent annual convention in Cincinnati. We could exhaust all the superlatives in the arena of adjectives to describe these victories and still be telling the truth - fine, splendid, excellent, encouraging, enthusiastic, inspiring, stimulating, successful, wonderful and a few more.

In attendance, it more than doubled the number of last year, and was perhaps the largest in our history of 21 years. In quality of addresses, they were so filled with the winds of the Spirit that they truly swept the audiences into the sphere of the ethereal. And in practical accomplishment, the three commissions really dug down to bedrock on the most important spiritual and social issues facing the Foundation. Dr. Leonard A. Stidley, Dean of the Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College, writes us, "Our students came back bubbling over, and said that they had had an enthusiastic religious experience."

The good news on our second front relates to our MEMBERSHIP DRIVE about which you have been reading in recent issues of ECONOMIC JUSTICE. This DRIVE, to date, has added NEW, and reactivated OLD MEMBERSHIPS to the total tune of 107, and netted $1,165.00 to the treasury.

All of this good news furnishes concrete evidence of the remarkable progress made by the Foundation since its reorganization two years ago. At that time we were financially bankrupt, with a deficit of $4,500.00, all of which has been cleared up, with current expenses met on time. We had also acquired popular suspicions which psralysed the work of the organization for several months and threatened its death. These suspicions have been completely overcome. From an organization struggling for survival, it has become a successful one treading the path of triumph.

We trust that you discern between the lines, and beneath the letter of these words, the irresistible power of faith that removes mountains of difficulties, discouragements and apathies. That original faith has been strengthened by our steady progress, and we invite your continued company in our march toward goals of greater service in the future.

Sincerely yours,
Witherspoon Dodge
Witherspoon Dodge
Executive Director

10

National Sharecroppers Fund

Incorporated

8 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LAckawanna 4-3872

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March 7th, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The State of Georgia recently has made democratic history by killing the poll tax. For the first time, the people of Georgia will have free suffrage.

This important move toward democracy at home has been made possible by the courage and initiative of Governor Ellis Arnall, a young and rising statesman of the Deep South who already has given proof of an admirable progressivism in word and act. It is our opinion that the merit of such a man should be recognized and signalled by the lovers of democracy everywhere, and his service to the cause of popular government supported, and we propose the commendatory statement which accompanies this letter to you.

We cordially invite you to join your name with ours in addressing to Governor Arnall this expression of esteem and gratitude.

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham

Jennings Perry

Jennings Perry

A TRIBUTE TO GOVERNOR ARNALL OF GEORGIA

A resounding, though unheralded, break in the solid front of the eight poll-tax states of the South has occurred. The Georgia legislature, at the forceful initiative of a young, progressive governor, has abolished the tax on voting (poll tax).

Obviously it is desirable that, wherever possible, anti-poll-tax measures be initiated and carried through by natives of the states primarily concerned: democratic reform is most admirable when it springs from the moral convictions and is achieved by the elective powers of the community in which reform is needed. The great argument of the reactionary politicians, whose careers are based on a restricted suffrage in their home states, was and is that anti-poll-tax sentiment is exclusively a "foreign" doctrine. Georgia's action effectively disproves the demagogic claim that the people of the poll--tax states themselves are, by some quaint persuasion, favorable to the device that decimates the electorate.

There is a vast stirring in the masses of the common people of the South which has expressed itself of late in the election of progressive candidates to public office. Hill of Alabama, Pepper of Florida, Fulbright of Arkansas, are cases in point. The Deep South is in process of taking its rightful place abreast of the historic epoch in which it lives. The war has accelerated this tendency by making clear the indispensibility of the common man - in the armed forces, in the factory, on the farm. It is difficult to publicly oppose enfranchisement of those who defend the country. It is almost equally difficult to stand against votes for their brothers who are producing the munitions with which they fight and the food which sustains the nation in its time of peril.

We salute Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia for his leadership in this historic upheaval. He stands directly in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, great popular leaders in their epochs. It is time that out of the South should again come a voice which speaks for the common man who by the work of his hand and brain has made America. The emergence of Governor Arnall to the front rank of progressive political leaders in this country is a warning to those regressive forces which have long monopolized political and economic power in the South. In his career, the Governor of Georgia symbolizes the arrival of the people to power and gives earnest of an unshackled and progressive South.

National Sharecroppers Fund
Incorporated
8 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

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Southern Regional Council

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Charles S. Zimmerman

March 16, 1946

Dear Friend:

I am writing to ask your assistance in a critical situation. We are facing an economic crisis in the South which threatens to deprive millions of people of their precarious basis of existence and to create greater misery than during the era of "Okies" and homeless migrants in the 1930's. According to conservative estimates a half million farm families in the cotton states will be displaced in the next two years as the result of accelerated technological developments. Cotton fields that have required the intensive, tedious and backbreaking work of millions of men, women and children will be turned into streamlined outdoor factories, traversed by mammoth cotton-picking machines and flame-throwing cotton choppers. What will this mean to the uprooted millions?

In 1939 there was a national scandal when a thousand sharecropper families were evicted in southeast Missouri and camped on the roadsides because they had no place else to go. Many times that number will be on the roads in the months to come, former sharecroppers, wage-hands and the poorest marginal farmers. They will include thousands of former service men, home from the war, to become casualties of our peacetime economy. They will be families with no reserves and no skills beyond their experience with the land, deprived of the only modicum of security they had ever known, uprooted from the soil close to which they had lived and worked.

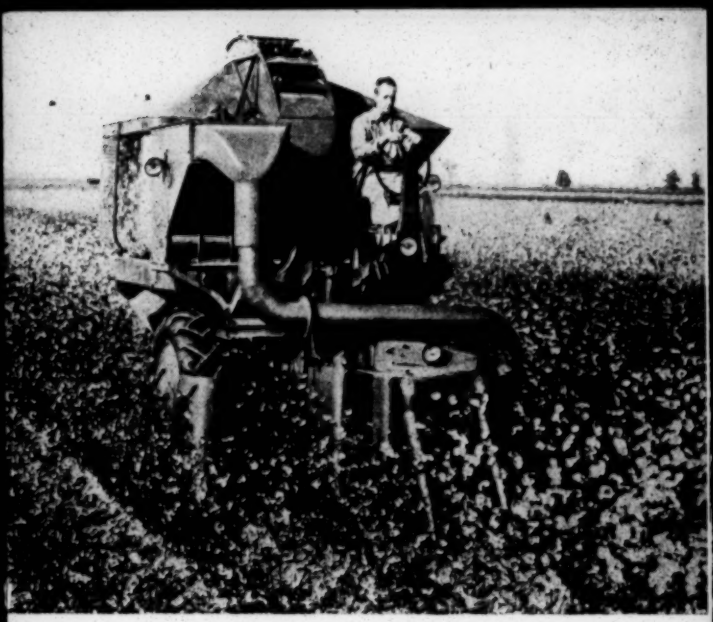
There is an answer for these outcasts other than the grudging relief rolls of the cities. There is an organization which is attempting to deal with this problem, not just in terms of sociological facts and statistical tables, but in terms of the destiny of men and women, fathers and mothers who are striving to provide a home for their children, to save them from the haunting fear of eviction and hunger.

The enclosed leaflet tells the story of the heroic 12-year struggle of the sharecroppers' union, a union which was born in the terrible depression years and which now puts forward a concrete program to avoid disaster in the postwar period. The average sharecropper member earns less than $400 in a good year. To support his organization he has to deprive his family of the necessities of life. So that we may underwrite the educational and the essential relief work of the Union, the National Sharecroppers Fund asks for $25,000 from members of the public who are aware of the gravity of this crisis. May we count on you to help? Will you send your contribution today?

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham



The New Cotton-Picker

Department of Agriculture estimates that in the Mississippi Delta eight out of ten persons now engaged in cotton cultivation will not be needed when full-scale mechanization is installed. 500,000 families will be displaced in the next two years. Will this revolution mean emancipation to the drudges of the rural South, or will it create chaos, driving millions destitute and homeless, onto the highways to seek odd jobs or relief in overcrowded cities? Shall we revert to the scenes of the 1930s?

Lead to this

←

Displaced family of nine on the highway, seeking work. 1938.

The Sharecroppers' Union Says

The only association of America's underprivileged Negro and white farm laborers maintains tha ral resources of the American South can support the farm people of the cotton belt. They have that each has a chance to earn a living for his family. They remember 1936, when $1 a day w cotton, and the average sharecropper family earned $150 cash a year. Now, facing the great p chines will replace "hands" in Southern agriculture, the National Farm Labor Union, formerl Farmers Union, has drawn up a constructive program to try to provide for those displaced and cency the standards of those retained in the area of cotton production. A part of this program is

A Program for the Agricultural Population of the South

Settlement on Family-Type Farms

Use of idle, reclaimed and marginal land (unsuitable for mechanized cultivation) for settlement of displaced farm families on family-type farms, with necessary assistance in machinery, credit and guidance to establish the new farms on an economically sound basis.

$625 a Year Minimum Wage

A guaranteed wage for all those engaged in agriculture. A minimum of $625 a year for independent farmers, tenants, sharecroppers and wage hands, insured by contract with employers and government agencies. (Average during the war years, less than $400 a year!)

Seasonal Jobs in Industry

Farm laborers to work in factories in off seasons to secure a year-round income. (Work on cotton planta- tions averages only 125 days a ye gration to industrial plants arra with trade unions. Such a project tion for several years at the canne Farms in New Jersey.

Cooperatives

Encouragement in rural commun stores where farm families can p minimum cost.

Housing

A program of rural housing con cooperative semi-subsistence pro Delmo Homes.

Racial Equality

The National Farm Lab no distinction of race o whites, Indians and N Protestants and Jews f prove the conditions of of the South. The union erished workers in Ame first to challenge the S supremacy, its members of their lives that Neg croppers meet and work

Representatives of Southern Ten meet in convention in 1945. Neg bers intermingle. Such scenes c violence when Union first started

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in 1934.*

Highlights in the History of Twelve Years of Struggle The Southern Tenant Farmers Union

1934 Twenty-seven Negro and white sharecroppers, meeting in Tyronza, Arkansas to protest the planters' cheating them of their share of federal A.A.A. payments, found the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

1934 Union meeting in church in Birdsong, Arkansas stormed by mob of planters and deputy sheriffs.

1935 Reign of terror launched in Marked Tree, Arkansas as union organization of Negroes and whites proceeds. Meetings fired on by vigilantes, churches burned, homes of leaders raided, organizers kidnapped, imprisoned, beaten.

1937 J. R. Butler, president of the Union, beaten by planters' agents in the Forrest City, Ark., Court House.

1938 20,000 Negro and white laborers in Oklahoma, Arkansas and Missouri receive pay increases of 25 to 50 cents (bringing day's wages above $1) as a result of Cotton Pickers' Strike of Union members.

1939 Seventeen hundred sharecropper families in Southeast Missouri, evicted from their homes by planters who changed over to day labor, camp on the roadsides. Union organizes protest. Government builds Delmo Farm Labor Homes to house them.

1942 Union organizes groups of farm workers to travel where needed to alleviate desperate farm labor shortage threatening food supply of country at war.

1944 Delmo families threatened with eviction. Union mobilizes protest action, ending in tenants' purchase of their homes from government with backing of National Sharecroppers Fund and setting up of genuine housing cooperative of farm workers.

1945 Convention meeting at St. Louis changes name to National Farm Labor Union, elects H. L. Mitchell president and draws up postwar reconversion program.

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

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HARRIET YOUNG, Social Worker, New York

CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Vice-President, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, New York

---

DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

I am heartily in sympathy with your objectives, and I want to share in the work of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Enclosed is my contribution of $.....

City..... Zone.....

Name.....

Address.....

(Contributions are deductible on U. S. Income Tax)

98

Homeless, an evicted sharecropper family on the road, Oklahoma, 1938.

WILL YOU HELP TO AVERT CATASTROPHE?

Chaos in the South will drag the whole country down in this precarious period of postwar readjustment. Thousands of uprooted farm people, unskilled in city ways, pouring into urban communities in search of public relief as a last resort, are a frightening and dismal prospect.

Our best hope of prevention lies in the intelligent association and action of the people themselves. We cannot do the job of organization for them, but we can back them up.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

A member of the National Farm Labor Union in the South averages earnings of less than $400 a year. He must take food from the mouths of his children to support his organization.

Therefore, the National Sharecroppers Fund has pledged to raise $25,000 to underwrite the educational and welfare work of the National Farm Labor Union for 1946.

We call on you to help these courageous people. Send your contribution to the $25,000 fund today.

Must this

SHALL THE SHARECROPPERS OF YESTERDAY BE THE DISPLACED PERSONS OF TOMORROW . . . ?

There is an economic revolution in the cotton belt. With wartime restrictions on production removed, the new cotton-picking machines are already converting the South's backward plantations into outdoor factories.

Millions of men, women and children will be freed from back-breaking toil as the lumbering cotton-pickers harvest, and up-to-the-minute flame-throwers weed, America's richest crop.

What will happen to the sharecroppers, tenant farmers and wage hands? The

July 8, 1946

To: The Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

From: Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Subject: A Proposed Project in the Field of Southern Agriculture

The Southern Regional Council is deeply interested in the problems of Southern agriculture. From time to time we have published articles on this subject, and we are tentatively considering sponsoring a special conference on the mechanization of agriculture sometime in the spring of 1947.

We would like very much to do something which is more directly related to the basic problem of sharecropping and tenancy in the South. Here are two suggested projects. We can undertake either or both of them provided we can obtain sufficient financial support to enable us to secure some special assistance for carrying them out.

(a) Preparation of a Simple "Political Primer" for Persons on the Educational Level of Croppers and Tenants. This pamphlet would cover such topics as: basic facts about Southern farming, the effects of mechanization, information on governmental and other agencies serving farmers, some political facts of life, and suggestions for social and political action. It would be written in simple language, illustrated with simple drawings, and attractively printed.

The cost of preparing the first 25,000 copies of this pamphlet would be approximately $500. With a subsidy of not less than $1,000 we could print and distribute without charge about 50,000 copies.

(b) Preparation of a Popular Pamphlet About Sharecropping and Tenancy. This publication would be aimed not at the sharecropper himself, but at the general reader. It would try to give the reader a better understanding of the problems of Southern agriculture and the things which can and should be done in order to get rid of the evils which afflict it. It would emphasize reform measures and the steps which progressive

citizens ought to take in order to put them into effect.

This pamphlet would be larger and more expensive to produce than the one proposed above. However, a subsidy of $1,000 would enable us to produce such a publication, allowing about $300 for research, writing, and illustration, and about $700 for printing.

The Southern Regional Council is anxious to promote these projects, but this is virtually impossible on our present budget. We earnestly hope, therefore, that the National Sharecroppers Fund will be willing to extend assistance which will enable us to go ahead with one, if not both, of these proposals.

Needless to say, in whatever we might undertake along this line, we shall cooperate with the Georgia Workers Education Service and other agencies whose interests overlap to some extent with ours.

GBJ:IBT

July 8, 1946

A REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

This is a brief report on the activities and plans of the Southern Regional Council. Under separate cover I am sending some publications of the Council. Some of these will be referred to in the succeeding paragraphs.

At our Charter Meeting in February, 1944, the Council absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and set out to promote a broader and more vigorous program in behalf of human progress in the South. On account of the war, suitable personnel was exceedingly hard to find. Our small staff faced numerous demands on its services and was greatly overworked throughout the year. We inherited certain activities and good will from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and we felt obliged to carry on as far as possible the worthwhile activities which we inherited. However, in spite of our various difficulties, we made considerable progress during 1944. For details of our activities during that year, let me refer you to Report of the Executive Directors 1944.

In the summer of 1945 our personnel situation began to improve considerably. A grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund enabled us to employ Dr. George S. Mitchell to direct a special project in behalf of Negro veterans. We were also able to secure a very capable public relations man, Mr. Ray Warwick, who had had considerable experience in editorial and publicity work. Furthermore, we added two research assistants, one white and one colored, two field representatives on a part-time basis, and an office manager. On January 1, 1946, Dr. H. L. Trigg, who was formerly President of Elizabeth City Teachers' College in North Carolina, joined our staff as full-time Associate Director. He succeeded Dr. Ira De A. Reid, who had given splendid service on a part-time basis since the formation of the Council.

During 1945 our activities expanded considerably in spite of the small staff which we had during the first half of the year. Briefly, the major Council projects were as follows:

(1) Revitalizing the State Interracial Groups in the South. Ten of our thirteen states have interracial councils or committees. We felt that they had a function to perform, particularly as we approached the postwar period, and we have given them as much assistance as possible in conferences, advice and literature. Most of these groups have adopted formal affiliation agreements

with SRC and some of them are in process of merging with SRC to become state divisions. This process will help tremendously in bringing our program down to state and local levels.

(2) Cooperation with Numerous Agencies Working in the South. A detailed list of these agencies would be quite extensive. It includes, in addition to state and local interracial committees, such organizations as the Women's Division of the Methodist Church, the Urban League, the YMCA, the YWCA, the Boy Scouts of America, the USO, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the American Association of University Women, etc. Let me add that when the Governor of Kentucky established a Commission for the Study of Negro Affairs, we were asked by the Chairman to advise the Commission in setting up its work. The Commission made its report several months ago, and its recommendations represent a new departure from Commissions of this sort in the South. Here let me refer you to the tear sheet from the Louisville Courier-Journal, summarizing the report of the Governor's Commission. The Chairman of the Governor's Commission is Chairman of our affiliate, the Kentucky Council on Interracial Cooperation, and he is vigorously pushing the legislative program recommended by the Governor's Commission.

(3) Conference on the South's Postwar Economy. The Council sponsored this conference in Atlanta on April 11-12, 1945. A group of experts presented various phases of the South's postwar problems and prospects. We feel that the conference helped to focus the attention of the South upon its postwar outlook. In this connection, please see our publication, The South - America's Opportunity Number One.

(4) Survey of Reconversion Problems. This brief survey was based on a sampling of families in twenty Southern communities, including large cities, small cities, and rural areas. It covered such topics as migration, employment, acquisition of new skills, changes in the family situation, and plans of the interviewees for the reconversion period. The processing of the statistical data has been slow due to inadequate funds, but the results of the study will shortly be ready for release.

(5) Survey of Segregated Transportation in Atlanta. During the summer and fall of 1945 the Council made a spot study of transportation in Atlanta under the direction of Dr. Ira De A. Reid. The study included an examination of the laws and ordinances relating to separation in transportation and thorough observations on facilities, services and practices with respect to railways, railway terminals, interurban busses, street cars, city busses, taxicabs, and the municipal airport. Some very significant material was developed. The report has recently been completed and we are now at the point of attempting to get remedial action on the basis of the findings.

(6) Promotion of the Use of Negro Police in Southern Cities. We have continued this project which was begun by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. We have had numerous occasions to advise officials and private citizens who are interested in extending

the use of Negro police. We are making special efforts to promote the idea in Atlanta. In recent months Norfolk, Tampa, Asheville, and Richmond have instituted the use of Negro police. In every instance the informational material which we had circulated was a helpful factor.

(7) Veterans Service Project. In the summer of 1945 we obtained a special grant from the Rosenwald Fund which enabled us to employ Dr. George S. Mitchell to undertake a special project in behalf of Negro veterans. The purpose of this project is to examine the operation of veterans' services in the Southern States, to point out weaknesses and discriminations with respect to the services rendered to Negro veterans, to make constructive suggestions to the various veterans' agencies and to inform Negroes concerning their rights and privileges as veterans. With the assistance of a field staff of eight to ten persons, mostly Negro veterans, this project has gone forward in a very satisfactory way. Dr. Mitchell has kept in close touch with the National Veterans Administration as well as administration at the state and local level.

(8) Informational services. Requests for information have reached such proportions that we really need a full-time person to handle them. Although the majority of the requests relate to factual information about the Negro or race relations, many of them deal with other matters. Apparently we are gradually becoming a clearing house for all sorts of informational material concerning the South.

(9) Publications. In response to popular demand, we have continued such Commission pamphlets as America's Tenth Man and Understanding Our Neighbors. We have also printed or reprinted timely articles and leaflets for taking care of the numerous requests which we get for free material, particularly on the subject of race relations. The Southern Frontier has been replaced by New South, which is being published monthly. Once each quarter New South is enlarged to give a larger coverage on some special problem. The first of these special issues was the March, 1946, issue entitled Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation, which was written by Dr. Rupert B. Vance as a condensation of his new book entitled All These People. Governor Ellis Arnall contributed a foreword. This publication has attracted wide attention. It was also syndicated through the Associated Press in the form of four special articles and these were featured by forty or more Southern newspapers. The next special issue of New South will be devoted to the problem of health. At the annual meeting of the Council in November, 1945, the Council adopted the policy of placing more emphasis upon literature suitable for mass distribution and broadening the coverage beyond the problem of race relations.

For a brief report on the actions taken at the 1945 annual meeting of SRC, please see the December, 1945, issue of The Southern Frontier. During the present year we are continuing the above activities, with the exception of (3), (4), and (5). In addition, our program includes the following projects:

(1) Survey of the Negro Community in Jacksonville, Florida. Several months ago a bi-racial committee in Jacksonville invited us to plan and supervise a survey there. During the past four months we have given considerable time to this work because we feel it has great possibilities for setting a pattern of self-examination by other communities. The Survey was completed early in May, 1946, and was published on May 30 by the Council of Social Agencies at Jacksonville under the title Jacksonville Looks at Its Negro Community. The Council of Social Agencies at Jacksonville supervised the survey and most of the work was done by local citizens, white and colored. The Community Fund appropriated $2,000 to finance the work. The Survey had the backing of prominent citizens of both races, including some of the city and county officials. The recommendations are specific and reasonable and we have every reason to believe that the city and county will make an honest effort to act on them. If this project results in progressive action, as we believe it will, we expect to be asked to assist with similar surveys in other communities. This means that we shall need more staff and more funds than we have at present.

(2) Expansion of SRC Membership. We are committed to the development of a mass membership in the Council. About six months ago we launched a promotional campaign, which has already raised the Council membership from 1,000 to 1,400 members. We hope that by the end of the year we will have at least 3,000 members. This will not only give us more effectiveness in promoting our program, but will mean that members and contributors assume an increasing share in the financial support of the Council.

(3) Establishment of State Divisions of SRC. Three state interracial councils, namely, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina, have already merged with us to become state divisions of SRC. We have cooperating or affiliated arrangements with the state interracial groups in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, and Texas, and it is probable that some of these groups will become state divisions of SRC in the near future. In Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, where there are no active state groups, we are planning to organize our members into state divisions sometime during the present year. It goes without saying that such an arrangement enables us to promote our work more effectively on the state and local levels.

(4) Police Administration. The Council is committed to the policy of trying to do something to improve the quality of police administration and police behavior in the South. Specifically, we wish (a) to make a brief survey of police systems in selected Southern cities and particular reference to the quality of police personnel and its relation to the treatment of Negroes, and (b) to prepare a police training manual for use in the South along the lines of the manual which was recently developed by the California Department of Justice, with the assistance of the American Council on Race Relations. Now that the Jacksonville Survey has been completed, we are ready to launch this police project.

(5) Work with Public Officials. This is closely related to number (4). Here, however, we had in mind the establishment of closer working contacts with the Conference of Southern Governors, the various Associations of Peace Officers, and with individual public officials such as mayors and police chiefs. The general idea is to try to bring these people to a better understanding of the causes of racial tension and to help them work out techniques for preventing tensions and for handling outbreaks in the wisest possible way.

(6) Investigation of Racial Disturbance at Columbia, Tennessee. As you know, an unfortunate incident occurred at Columbia, Tennessee, late in February, 1946. Three SRC staff members investigated this occurence. We submitted a confidential report to the U. S. Department of Justice and requested that a Federal Grand Jury be asked to investigate the violation of civil rights at Columbia. We published a report on Columbia in the May issue of New South, a copy of which is in the package which is being sent.

(7) Conference of SRC Fellows. We have 38 Honorary Fellows scattered throughout the South who give various voluntary services to the Council. They have been quite helpful in a number of ways, and we believe that they could be much more helpful if they could be brought together for a conference or clinic. Our Executive Committee instructed us to hold such a conference of Fellows this year, provided special funds could be obtained to finance it. This matter was laid before one of the foundations in May, 1946, with the result that we have received a grant which will enable us to proceed with a conference of Fellows. We plan to hold a two-day conference in November, just after the annual meeting of the Council.

We have now reached the point where we see more clearly than ever the great opportunity for the Council in education, coordination, and stimulation of progressive action in the South. We believe that we can take pride in the beginning that we have made in the past two years, but we are by no means satisfied with what we have done. We have reached the crucial point where we either stand still more or less or expand our activities in such a way as to exploit the opportunity which faces us. Our greatest need now is for additional funds which will enable us to employ the personnel which we need so badly and to go forward more rapidly with the special projects which we have under way.

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Atlanta, Georgia
July 8, 1946

July 8, 1946

To: The Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

From: Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Subject: A Proposed Project in the Field of Southern Agriculture

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GBJ:IBT

Separate Cover - #1, 2, 3, 4, leaflets, Tear sheet from Courier-Journal
South, AO#1, Dec. 1945 Frontier, May N.S.
Report of Executive Directors, 1944, Mar. N.S.

7/9/46

July 8, 1946

Miss Anna Caples, Office Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
8 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Miss Caples:

Dr. Ira De A. Reid has recently handed me a copy of your letter to him dated May 24, 1946. He suggested that I might want to send you some information on the activities and plans of the Southern Regional Council.

I am enclosing two memoranda. The first of these is a report on the work of the Southern Regional Council and the other is a request for financial assistance from the National Sharecroppers Fund for a special project. If you would like to have further information about the Council's program or the proposed project, please let me know.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT
P. S. Under separate cover we are sending a package of SRC publications.

G.B.J.

July 10, 1946

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Chairman
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ira:

Thank you for your letter of June 27 and the enclosure of a copy of Miss Caples' letter to you on May 24. It looks as if the National Sharecroppers Fund might be willing to help us out a little.

I was about to send you some dope to use in a memorandum to the National Sharecroppers Fund in behalf of the Council, when I found that you were to be away this week, so I have taken the liberty of sending the material on directly to Miss Caples. A copy is enclosed.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

June 27, 1946

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Guy:

Here is a copy of the letter that Anna Caples, the office secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund, sent me. Will you draft in behalf of the Southern Regional Council and such other agencies that you may have in mind the sort of statement that I might send Miss Caples, in an effort to secure some sort of support in our behalf from that source? I shall be very glad to forward it under my name, if you so wish.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Chairman

IDR:rha
Enclosure

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

C
O
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Y

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

Incorporated

8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

May 24, 1946

Professor Ira De A. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta,
Georgia

Dear Professor Reid:

It was extremely generous of you to reckon such a large share of your expense on the trip to New York to personal business. We appreciate your kindness deeply. Mr. Lewis is transmitting a check to you.

I believe I told you that the National Sharecroppers Fund is anxious to learn of organizations who are doing the kind of work in the South which we and you believe to be basic. This year, in addition to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (National Farm Labor Union), we are assisting the National Farmers Union in Alabama, the Delmo Homes Cooperative and are making a token contribution to the Georgia Workers Education Service particularly for rural work. During the past twelve months we have been able to increase the funds raised through our efforts and before the end of this year we shall probably be in a position to give assistance to at least one other group. There is no one who has such extensive knowledge of southern organizations working along these lines as you have. We shall appreciate any suggestions that you are able to give to the Board of organizations that need help and fit into the general pattern of our interests.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Anna Caples

ANNA CAPLES

OFFICE SECRETARY

AC:eh

August 14, 1946

Mr. Frank McCallister
353 Courtland Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Frank:

I have received a letter from Mrs. Agnes Douty concerning a project which has been proposed by the National Sharecroppers Fund. I am very much interested in the project, and I wish that I could attend the meeting which Mrs. Douty mentions in her letter, but I am leaving shortly for a vacation and will not get back until about September 1.

I suggest that Ray Warwick or George Mitchell, or both of them, be invited to take part in the discussions of the project.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 8, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Alfred Baker Lewis of the National Sharecroppers Fund has written me that the Union for Democratic Action has proposed to the Fund that it finance a project which would be a study of 1946 elections in the Southern States.

Before embarking on such a project, Mr. Lewis would like very much to get the advice of a number of Southerners as to the wisdom, usefulness, and practicability of undertaking such a study, to begin sometime in early Fall.

He has asked me to act as temporary convenor of a meeting at which such persons as yourself might get together for a consideration of the proposed project. Mr. Lewis would come to Atlanta for such a meeting.

I've talked this matter over with Mr. Frank McCallister and Kenneth Douty. We've added some names to the original list suggested by Mr. Lewis and are asking some 15 persons to advise with Mr. Lewis on the proposed project.

Would you be interested in participating in such a meeting, and if so, would you be free to do so some evening between August 11 and August 26?

Since I shall be at Chapel Hill for the next ten days, I would appreciate it if you would write or call Frank McCallister and let him know about your availability and interest.

For your information, I am indicating below the proposed scope of the study as indicated to me in Mr. Lewis' communication.

"The study would include: (1) the effect of election law changes on the primaries and the elections, in terms of Negroes, whites, veterans, the 18-21 age groups, etc.; (2) the attitudes of political parties and of the groupings within the political parties; (3) an analysis of non-party organizations, Negro, white and inter-racial, and the influence on the election."

The meeting would be held in Atlanta, probably at my home, 19 Baltimore Block.

Mr. McCallister can be reached as indicated below.

I hope you will want to advise with the rest of us on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Agnes Martocci Douty

Agnes Martocci Douty

Mr. Frank McCallister
353 Courtland Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Office Phone - Walnut 1961
Residence - Vernon 8370

N 26 - National Sharecroppers Fund

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS IN 1949

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
By Beth Biderman, Executive Secretary

FOOD AND CLOTHING

Depression of the standard of living of farm workers continues. With the growth of unemployment, cases of malnutrition and starvation are becoming more frequent (see below). The price of food and clothing in the stores where most farm laborers are compelled to make their purchases has not declined appreciably, and they can not afford even "sub-standard" subsistence.

HOUSING

The housing bill passed by Congress included a provision allocating 10 per cent of all new housing for the use of farm workers living in rural communities off the farm. This section of the act, however, has not yet been interpreted. In the meantime farm workers are compelled to live in tents or the flimsy shacks sometimes provided by the large farmers.

The sale of the government-owned migrant camps has again been postponed until June 30, 1950, but the large farm-owner groups are exerting pressure to force the government to relinquish them. The government now leases these camps to private agencies and individuals who are responsible for their care and upkeep. The result is almost complete neglect of repairs, higher rents and fewer services.

WAGES

The new farm bill passed by Congress revised the parity price index to include the costs of labor hired by employers. The inevitable result of this legislation was reported in a Department of Agriculture bulletin for January 1950, in which the statistics show a 1 per cent increase in the cost of farm products and a simultaneous decrease of 1.4 per cent in farm wages. At the same time, Congress again refused to include farm workers under the Fair Labor Standards and Social Security Acts even though such amendments were presented in committee hearings with the strong support of labor, welfare and religious groups.

An abortive attempt was made during 1949 to extend this dual policy (protection for farm owners; none for farm workers) to the interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act. Farm workers are specifically excluded from any protection under the Taft-Hartley Act, thus denying them even the limited safeguards given industrial workers in their organizing and collective bargaining efforts. Yet the DiGiorgio Corporation, one of the largest farm-owners in the world, attempted to invoke the penalties of this law against the National Farm Labor Union. DiGiorgio was upheld by Robert Denham, General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. When the NLRB reversed Denham's decision, however, it marked a significant victory for farm laborers.

EDUCATION

The national shortage of teachers and schools is multiplied and magnified in rural areas. Even where educational facilities are available, children of farm workers, especially migrants, are denied these facilities. In many cases, investigation shows, children of school age work in the fields to supplement the family income. Until wages are improved, depriving the family of the tiny sum child labor earns may mean the difference between survival and starvation.

When parents do try to send their children to school, another factor limits their attendance. The children do not have the proper clothing and are ashamed of the contrast they present to their more fortunate classmates. Children of migrants who have the tenacity to remain in rural schools frequently are the butt of their classmates' ridicule because of their appearance. And, even if all of these obstacles are overcome, a third hurdle sometimes proves greatest of all--lack of adequate transportation to rural public schools.

HEALTH

Aside from the effects of economic factors on the health of agricultural workers a great shortage of rural health facilities exists. With the cessation of government operation of migrant camps, doctors and nurses were no longer

maintained. Private welfare agencies and hospitals in rural towns are overburdened and over-crowded; many of the welfare agencies have expressed the opinion that they are no longer able to cope with this problem which has reached such vast proportions and that the government must now take action.

CALIFORNIA AND THE SOUTHWEST

Since this section of the country has many problems peculiarly its own, it seems best to deal with it separately. The Southwest now produces 50 per cent of the nation's cotton (as compared with 2.2 per cent in 1932) and an almost equal proportion of the food crops. Of the more than 3,000,000 farm workers in the nation, 500,000 live in California alone.

Cotton Pickers' Strike: More than 100,000 cotton pickers stopped work in September, protesting a cut in wages from $3 per hundred pounds to $2.50. The National Farm Labor Union, which was already established in the San Joaquin Valley, gave leadership and direction to this strike. The workers were familiar with the Union's long and courageous strike against the DiGiorgio Corporation; they were confident that the Union would not desert them. With unexpected courage, the small growers, too, stood staunchly behind the workers and were the first to announce that they would pay the $3 wage which was ultimately established throughout the Valley. This contrasts with an unorganized cotton pickers' strike in 1937, when the Associated Farmers forced the small growers to act as strike breakers even supplying them with pickaxe handles and admonitions to use them against the strikers.

Nor was this the only source of support given to the strikers. The merchants in rural towns, quick to realize the importance of this drastic wage cut imposed on their largest group of customers, immediately came to the strikers' aid. In one area, these businessmen hired an airplane which was used to distribute strike leaflets to the workers who had been shifted to isolated areas of large farms.

"Wetbacks" in Farm Labor: The situation of the "wetbacks"--illegal Mexican immigrants so-called because they get wet in wading across the shallow Rio Grande--has reached a critical level. This group is now so large that in some places it has lowered weekly wages to a shockingly low point. The two areas most affected by this illegal immigration are California's Imperial Valley and the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. Remembering the large pay checks of the war years and trying to escape starvation wages in Mexico, these illegals yearly glut the labor markets along the border. Early in 1949, thousands of Mexicans poured into Texas to work at chopping cotton, weeding and hoeing. This influx forced wages to thirty cents an hour and less. And this was only a forerunner of what was to happen when the cotton crop ripened.

In the Imperial Valley, the checkstubs of large firms serve to tell the story. A typical employee received the following payments from the Arena Imperial Co., located in Brawley, California:

For week ending January	7	$8.70
" " " "	13	5.10
" " " "	20	9.20

Yet this employee considered himself fortunate, for many of his friends and neighbors were not able to find employment which paid even this pittance.

The conditions of the "wetback" are not more comfortable than those of the worker he displaces. He lives in a crude hut or sometimes under a tree; buys his food from farm-owned commissaries at premium prices, and dares not complain for fear of deportation. His work day is 12 hours. In one section of the Imperial Valley, 461 "wetbacks" were turned over to the Immigration Service in one week for deportation and denied the wages that were due them.

Mexican Nationals: A second group of Mexicans employed in the agricultural fields of this nation is the Mexican nationals who are imported under legal contracts. In 1949, the agreement between the United States and Mexican governments was extended, and as of November 4, a total of 90,526 Mexicans had been placed on farm jobs (as compared to 30,000 during 1948). Of these, 71,067 were "wetbacks" who had been legalized rather than deported upon apprehension. Although the government agencies maintain that these Mexicans work under contract at "prevailing wage rates," investigation has shown that

the contracts consistently specify wages lower than the average wage rates listed nationally by the Department of Agriculture. And the general labor wage has never been as high as that established by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Mexican-Americans are no less bitter about this situation than the displaced Okies and Arkies, but their pleas, as those of most minority groups, have fallen on deaf ears.

The situation may be changed this year, however. In December, the Federal Advisory Council to the Bureau of Employment Security recommended, against the strong opposition of employer groups, that no foreign farm labor be recruited during the coming year.

Health: California received brief but enlightening publicity in November when it was announced that there were 11 known children's deaths due to malnutrition in one county. A more appalling fact is that there were 28 similar deaths in the same county in the month of December which were not revealed. These statistics were not deliberately suppressed, but an investigation indicates that there seemed to be a tacit agreement among Californians that repeated publicity was "not desirable." There is a distinction between malnutrition and starvation, but it is equally unpleasant and heartbreaking for parents to watch their children fall prey to the fatal diseases common to lack of adequate food as to watch them die from lack of any food.

THE MID-SOUTH

The conditions of farm workers in the mid-south have seriously deteriorated during the past year. In the Mississippi Delta, the entire 1949 cotton crop was quickly gathered by a large army of migrants supplementing the local sharecroppers and laborers. There was no usual backlog for winter food and fuel in the new year. Today there is no cotton, and almost no food and fuel. Banks, cotton gin operators, and farm owners are extending no credit or "furnish" to sharecroppers and labor. The Welfare Departments are besieged by technically ineligible families in desperate need. The school free lunch programs are inundated with increased requests. One grocery owner in Lilbourn, Mo., tells of over 25 requests for food by penniless people on one Saturday afternoon. And one county relief agency in Mississippi reported over 620 applicants for relief in the first 18 days of December 1949, nearly twice the number reported for the full month of December 1948.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR FARM WORKERS

The National Farm Labor Union has done much to awaken political awareness among farm workers during the past two years. As a result, migrant workers especially are making an effort to regain their lost citizenship by establishing residence which would qualify them as voters.

At the sixteenth annual convention of the National Farm Labor Union, a minimum program for the aid of farm workers was adopted. Among the resolutions passed were the following:

1) President Truman called upon to abrogate the agreement with Mexican government for importing agricultural labor, and the government asked to make hiring of "wetbacks" illegal.
2) Counties and cities be prohibited from passing ordinances restricting free speech and civil liberties. Passage of FEPC by Congress.
3) Establishment of public works program for periods of unemployment, based on a calendar of work periods in agriculture to be mapped out with aid of State and Federal governments.
4) Housing and educational aid for farm workers.
5) Inclusion of farm workers in social security and minimum wage legislation.

As the agricultural economy of this country moves toward greater mechanization and large-scale farms, the Union asks that these industries be recognized for what they are and that they operate under the same restrictions as other factories. It seems evident that the Union and other organizations working for the improvement of conditions for agricultural workers will succeed only when the people of this country realize the vital urgency of the situation. The task of the National Sharecroppers Fund during 1950 is to help the Union and these organizations hasten the time when our agricultural workers can live as free, healthy and economically secure citizens.

The attached stories of families in Faulkner and Desha counties tell of successful adjustments made by Negro farmers in Arkansas.

(Prepared by Ocie Lee Smith, Special Representative, under direction of Mr. J. V. Highfill, State Director, Farmers Home Administration, Little Rock, Arkansas)

June 1, 1950

ACCEPTING THE CHALLENGE

It was farm and home planning time, and Mr. Earl F. Pettyjohn, State Field Representative, District I, stopped by one Monday morning last fall to discuss with me the trends in patterns of agriculture, particularly how they would affect low-income cotton growing farm families. We concurred in one thing at the outset: "We've got to introduce and practice other agricultural enterprises, if our families are to survive".

At the close of our conference we reviewed a copy of a Farm Plan presented by Mr. Kenneth C. Bratcher, Faulkner County FHA Supervisor, for the Martin Walker family, Damascus, Arkansas. Yes, this plan spoke for itself. It revealed that the family and the supervisor were making a real effort to reorganize the Walker's farming plan. Read this story and see if you don't think they have struck upon a sound plan that should not only raise the economic status and standard of living of this family, but serve as an example for other families who see what is being done.

Mr. Elisha Wheeler and Mrs. Maude Banks, Negro Extension workers of Faulkner County who assisted Mr. Bratcher with this family, accompanied me on a visit with the Walkers last Tuesday. After seeing the small dairy unit and walking over the farm, we sat under a big oak tree in the back yard to talk about past experiences, present efforts, and future plans of the family. This is their story.

Mr. and Mrs. Walker, 50 and 48 years old respectively, have lived in Faulkner County all of their lives. They have one son, who is a student at AM&N College, Pine Bluff, learning to be a carpenter.

Mr. Walker said, "I jumped about from one farm to another, share-cropping, renting, rising and falling, barely paying out each year so I could get a "furnish" the next. My father owned the 88 acres now in my possession. He almost lost it three times before his death. The fourth mortgage he put on it was his last. Even though I had striven year after year to keep my little business going and help him to lift those mortgages, after his death I had to buy the land all over again, in a manner of speaking. But we are here and it is home. It was a scuffle to ever get this house built. My wife and I did day labor after cotton picking was over, and finally we made enough money to get it built."

Mrs. Walker said, "Wait a minute, Martin, and let me talk some". He smiled approvingly. She straightened her body and got comfortable on the old bench upon which she sat: "I hate to say this, but it's the truth. I was on the verge of running off, leaving this farm and Martin too, for I was tired of trying to make a living on cotton. Martin saw I was tired, too, so one night we got together and decided we'd go and talk with Mr. Bratcher, our supervisor, about setting up in dairy farming and almost no sooner said than done, for everybody knows we are hard workers and honest. We were just poor and getting poorer as long as we depended on cotton."

And here is the outgrowth of the Walker family's decision, effort, and cooperation, based on the fact that they had some experience with dairy cattle:

12 Jersey milk cows
1 Jersey bull
5 Poland China hogs
55 Chickens

A pasture program of:

11 Acres Bermuda
11 Acres Fescue
6 Acres Oats - Overseeded Rye Grass, Crimson & White Dutch Clover
6 Acres Sudan Grass
1 Acre Reseeding Crimson Clover
12 Acres Lespedeza
5 Acres Corn

There are two springs supplying water to the pond in the pasture.

Where 15 acres of cotton was once the chief cash crop, these rows are flattened and gladly bow to pasture grasses.

The Farmers Home Administration made the family a loan of $1900 which was used in this way:

Dairy Milk House	$500	
Equipment	$800	(Including 2 milkers, 1 hot water heater, 2 vats for sterilizing utensils, 1 cooling system)
6 Cows to supplement 6 already owned	$600	

This dairy project was begun last fall. Already the family has made an appreciable reduction of their indebtedness by making regular repayments twice a month from the sale of whole milk. They are also paying for stock in the association which markets the milk, the Midsouth Supply Association of Conway, Arkansas.

We decided to take pictures of this successful dairy enterprise and let other people see what is being done by farmers to meet the challenge in Arkansas. Some people have called me into their meetings to ask me what is meant by cotton allotments and how our farmers will make adjustments, so I wanted them to see at least one of the answers.

Present for this visit with the Walkers were: Mr. Kenneth C. Bratcher, Faulkner County FHA Supervisor; Mrs. Maude Davis, Home Demonstration Agent; Mr. Elisha Wheeler, County Agent; Rev. C. C. Walker, Pastor, Congregational Church; Mr. Lee Larkin, famous artist and painter, Charmaine Hotel, and Mr. J. L. Abernathy, Arkansas World photographer.

It was my pleasure last Wednesday to drop in on a meeting of the Faulkner County FHA Committee, composed of Mr. L. A. Jeffries, Mr. Ed Oliver, and Mr. W. H. McNair. These were the men who approved the loan for the Walker family. I expressed my gratitude in meeting a group of men with vision who have within their grasp a full knowledge of the agricultural needs and problems of the families who come to our organization for assistance and guidance. We had a lively exchange of ideas, with one of the members making this crowning statement: "It's been a pleasure to meet you and to know that our thinking is in accord. I'm the oldest member on the committee, in point of service, and our policy is that when an application comes before us, we look into it for several qualities - - need, reputation, merit, and the possibilities of repayment and lifting the economic status of the family". And as I backed out of the door I said, "Thank you, sir. I know what you mean."

As I hurried down the stairs, I kept saying over and over to myself, "No wonder something is being done about this thing in Faulkner County. There within this mesh of fine calibre of manly humanity were the pulsating efforts and guidance of both Mr. A. H. Wade, who was injured in an automobile accident shortly after the beginning of the project, and Mr. Pettyjohn, who followed through on the project, interweaving their gentlemanly qualities and skills with Mr. Bratcher, the County Committee, and the determination of the family - - the whole thing reflecting itself in an illumination and revelation of the objectives of the Farmers Home Administration".

This story tells of a large family left destitute by the ravages of the boll weevil, and how assistance is being extended by the Farmers Home Administration through the Disaster Loan Program. Story submitted by Mrs. Jennie Marbles, Home Management Supervisor, Desha County, Arkansas.

Pictures relating to this family and their activities are on the poster captioned "Meeting the Need via Disaster Loans".

A SHORT STORY OF "THE JEWEL FOSTERS"

This story in short depicts the real life of a sharecropper or renter and I hope when you have read it you can appreciate a man who wants and needs his own home.

Mr. and Mrs. Jewel Foster, ages 38 and 35, were both born on nearby farms out from McGehee, lived from childhood to manhood and womanhood on farms rented by their parents.

This couple married in 1931 and started farming for themselves as sharecroppers. Their first venture was on a farm located 3 miles west of McGehee, the Irwin farm. It was a bad crop year and the Fosters had a complete crop failure. One child was born. In the face of failure their heads were low, their hearts heavy, and their minds disturbed; but this did not discourage them from going on. They were determined to farm, and so in 1932 they moved to Drew County where they rented another farm. They planted 10 acres of cotton, and 12 acres of corn from which they made 5 bales of cotton and 150 bushels of corn. Another child was born.

Another year rolled around they decided to remain on this farm for 1934. It was a bad year and they made hardly enough to exist on -- no corn for feed stuff and only 4 bales of cotton. Rent had to be paid and children had to be fed. The family garden was only fair and a very small amount of food was canned. Another child was born.

In 1935 they moved to Chickasaw, a farm located west of McGehee, and worked as sharecroppers. They planted 8 acres of cotton and 4 acres of corn. Their crop yield was 5 bales of cotton and 4 loads of corn. You know the story of the sharecropper that year -- he only existed. Another child was born.

In 1936 they moved again, this time to Bayou Bartholomew, and experienced a failure again on 12 acres of cotton. Four bales of cotton was the yield. They had no corn and no other feed stuff -- still the life of a sharecropper. They remained on this farm two years. Two more children were born.

In 1938 and 1939, they found themselves on a farm back in Drew County, as sharecroppers again, no feed raised and only five bales of cotton produced on 17 acres of land. They had a good garden, however, and canned around 300 quarts of food. One child was born.

In 1940 the family moved to South Bayou Bartholomew, a farm known as the "L". After farming here seven years, they found themselves still sharecroppers with no money saved, no feed on hand, and no foodstuff canned. Only two children were born.

Again our family moved in 1948 to Bayou Mason as renters. They remained here two years on the farm and produced six bales of cotton on 12 acres. Their corn crop failed, but they raised and preserved some foodstuff for family use. This year was an encouragement to the family, but they moved again in 1949 to a farm west of Desha Farms. Then the boll weevil disaster hit Arkansas and other Southern States in the cotton area. The Fosters were among the victims in Desha County and they applied for and received a Disaster Loan from the Farmers Home Administration.

Now they are renting and their crops consist of soybeans, hay, truck patches, peas, peanuts, melons, chickens, as well as corn and cotton. They have two cows and a start in hogs. Their farming has changed for the better; but their home surroundings are poor. This family needs more help. We can help them, can't we?

This story, submitted by Mr. Richard Holderby, Desha County FHA Supervisor, points up the results obtained through farm reorganization.

THE MCDANIEL FAMILY

Route 1, Tillar, Desha County, Arkansas

The family consists of the father, the mother, one daughter aged 21, and four boys aged 17, 15, 13, and 10. The McDaniels have been farmers all their lives. The husband and wife were born in Conway County and farmed there until 1933, when they moved to Ashley County. In Ashley County they sharecropped and share rented cotton crops. In 1939 they moved to Desha Farms Project and operated a small unit under a Lease and Purchase Contract until 1944. In 1944, they purchased a 75-acre tract of land three miles east of McGehee.

This family had always depended on cotton for their income, and although they were good cotton farmers their income was never enough to meet the needs of the family and each year they found it necessary to borrow money for farm and home operations. The McDaniels realized they would never get very far up the economic ladder with cotton alone as their source of income. They were both interested in livestock and had accumulated eight or ten head of cattle, most of which were very inferior in quality. They were trying to sell milk and cream, but were discouraged because of the lack of profit.

In the summer of 1949, John McDaniel discussed his farm problem with the Desha County FHA Supervisor, Mr. Richard H. Holderby, and asked for his advice. The supervisor went over the farm with him and recommended a complete reorganization of his farming business. The family indicated their willingness to cooperate in carrying out the plan. As a result the farm was platted and each field was given a number. After a thorough study of the farm and the various possible enterprises, McDaniel and the supervisor worked out a Farm Plan and a Long-Time Farm Plan which would put to the best use the land and family resources. A chart was then worked out to show the rotation of crops and the use of the soil building crops.

With the plans completed it was found that the family would need additional funds to carry out the plan. In view of this need, the Farmers Home Administration advanced a loan for:

Seed	$150
Fertilizer	150
Milk Cows	600
Fencing	150
Milk Cooler	100
Milk barn	350
	$1,500

In studying the reorganization plans, the family realized they had twelve important jobs to do and kept them in mind. The jobs were as follows:

1. Dispose of undesirable cows and replace with high producing milk cows.

2. Build milk barn which would meet requirements of State Health Department for the sale of Grade A milk.

3. Improve pasture by overseeding Bermuda grass with suitable grasses and clovers.

4. Increase production of feed by increased acreage and better production methods.

5. Breed cows to purebred sires.

6. Dispose of scrub sows and replace with purebred. Breed sows to purebred boar.

7. Provide separate pasture for hogs.

8. Provide supplemental summer pastures for cows and hogs.

9. Give better care to livestock in order to have healthy animals.

10. Improve laying flock by culling and replacing.

11. Improve drainage by farm ditches and in cooperation with neighbors construct a drainage ditch in the near future.

12. Understand and carry out the Farm and Home Plans.

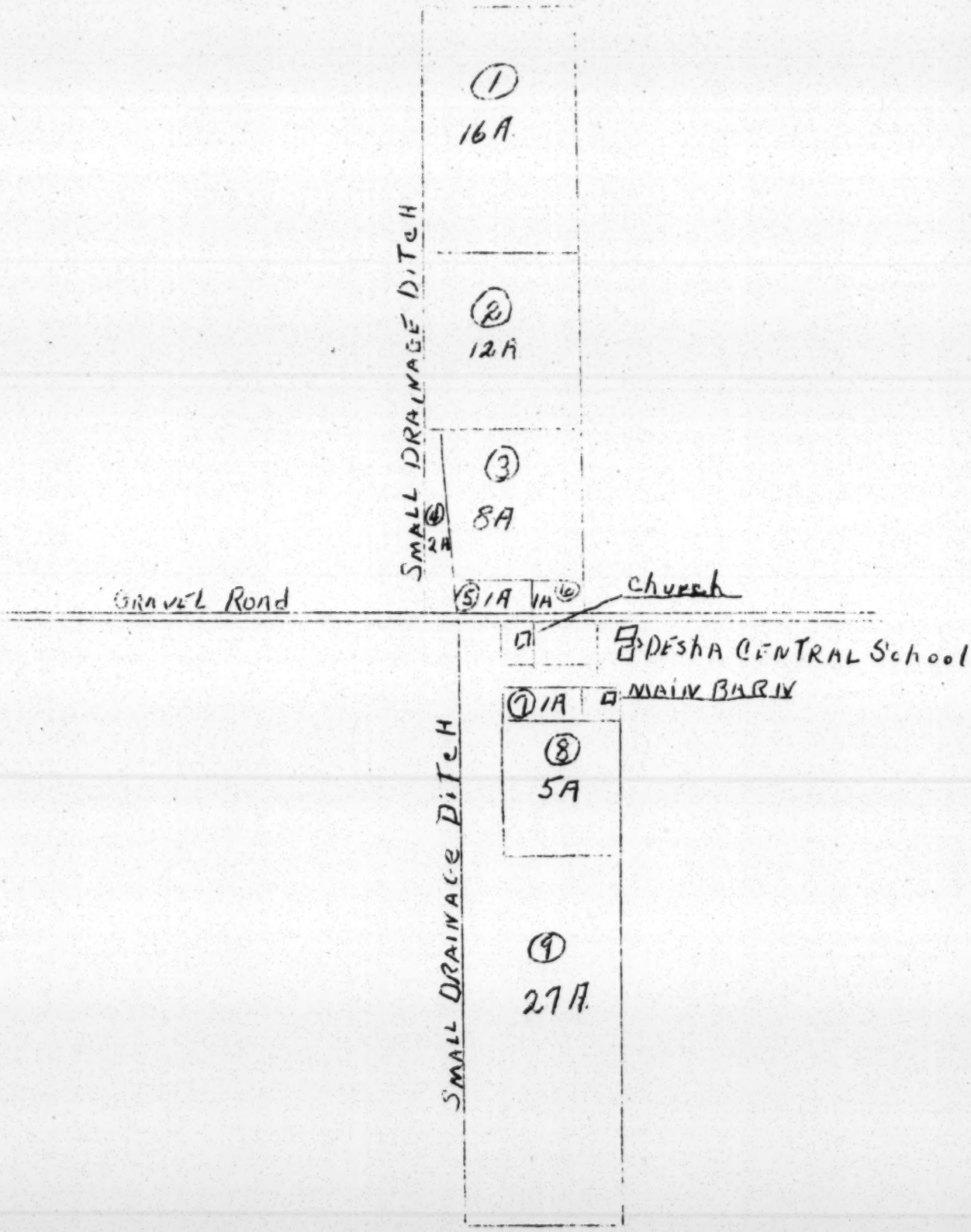
With a full knowledge and understanding of the reorganization plan, the entire family entered into the program of work with enthusiasm and determination. The results of their efforts are now beginning to show. They are selling Grade A milk to the local dairy. They have 12 good Jersey milk cows, a greatly improved pasture, a good herd of hogs, and a good flock of purebred laying hens. Never again will the McDaniels depend solely on cotton. Their reorganization plan is paying off and they are now on a firm road to that goal of true Farm Ownership.

- - -

LONG-TIME FARM AND HOME PLAN
(Years Covered 1950-1953)

John McDaniel - 75 Acres
Desha County, Arkansas

PROPOSED MAP OF FARM AFTER PLAN IS IN EFFECT



2 - LONG-TIME FARM AND HOME PLAN

John McDaniel - 75 Acres
Desha County, Arkansas

MAJOR CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS TO BE PUT INTO EFFECT:

Overseed 27 Acre pasture with White Dutch and Hop Clover and Dallas Grass, 1950.

Clip pasture to control weeds and keep plants growing and tender.

Spray cattle to control flies. Use Health Department recommendations.

Interplant 15 Acres of corn with soybeans. Hog down part.

Work out rotation for crops, working in lespedeza meadow. Rotate cotton and corn each year, lespedeza meadow every two years.

Plant twelve acres vetch following cotton each year.

Construct net wire fence around outside of farm, 1950.

Purchase portable fence (electric) to use in rotational grazing in fall of 1949 and 1950.

Plant and work into rotation 6 acres summer supplemental pasture, using either lespedeza or sweet Sudan Grass.

Use complete fertilizer under cotton and corn. Sidedress corn with nitrate of soda at rate of 100# per acre. Top dress oats with at least 100 pounds per acre of nitrate of soda.

Remove brush from 7 acres of pasture, 1950.

LIVESTOCK:

Increase dairy herd to 10 cows, 1950, 15 cows by 1952.
Sell beef animals and stay with dairying, fall 1949.
Breed cows to registered sire.
Keep two of best heifer calves for replacement each year.
Keep laying flock of 50 hens, using pullets each year.
Keep two broodsows and raise feed to be hogged off.
Breed sows as to farrow two litters per year, one in spring and one in fall.
Sell hogs as finished animals.

FAMILY LIVING:

Produce all food we can on our farm.
Produce enough eggs, meat, and milk for home use.
Attend church and Sunday School.
Keep children in school all year.
Take part in all community activities.
Plant and work garden according to recommended practices for planting, seeding, fertilization, cultivation, and insect control.
Have house sprayed with DDT, to control flies and mosquitoes.
Can surplus vegetables, fruits and meats for home use.
Can enough to meet needed food requirements according to canning chart.

CROP ROTATION PLAN
John McDaniel

Field No.	1	2	3	8	4 & 7	9	5 & 6
1950	Corn and Soybeans	Cotton followed by Vetch	Oats followed by Lespedeza	Vetch followed by Sweet Sudan	3 A perm. hog pasture	Perm. Pasture	Truck & Orchard
1951	Cotton 12A Vetch 12A Lesp. 4A	12 Acres Corn & Soybeans	Corn & Soy B. 4A Lesp. 4A	Oats & Lespedeza	" "	" "	" "
1952	Corn & 8A Soybeans Oats & 8A Lespedeza	Cotton 4A & Vetch Corn & Soybean8A	Cotton & Vetch 8A	Lesp. & Sweet Sudan	" "	" "	" "
1953	Cotton 12A Vetch 12A Oats & Lesp. 4A	Oats & Lesp. 4A Corn & Soybean8A	Corn & Soy B. 8A	Oats & Lespedeza	" "	" "	" "

August 25, 1950

Mr. Rowland Watts
National Secretary
Workers Defense League
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Watts:

I am greatly heartened by your letter of August 21. A most kind and thoughtful act.

Here is what I have written in to the Fund. I send you separately copies of the supporting materials, though I omit the audit, copies of which are scarce.

We are not yet quite desperate, though I must say it is hard to see where the rest of this year's money and more than a part of next year's will come from. A goodly sum from The National Sharecropper Fund would do a lot toward relieving our worries and letting us do our job instead of beg dimes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

August 25, 1950

The National Sharecropper Fund
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Sirs:

Could our Council get some help from The National Sharecropper Fund?

I could detail at great length what the Council is and what it does. As a short cut, if you will let us, I send these two good stories from recent issues of the New York Herald Tribune, plus other published materials and a copy of our last annual audit -- that for 1949.

One of the basic things we work at is the improvement of the condition of that major part of the Southern people who still get their living by agriculture, and of the major part of those who are made poor and dependent by bad conditions of tenure or ownership of farms too small for reasonable support.

I am myself to some degree familiar with agricultural conditions, and many who have worked closely with the Council share a special interest in bettering the condition of the farming people of the South. I call particular attention to Arthur Raper's pamphlet, Machines in the Cotton Fields, the section on rural housing in our pamphlet on Housing in the South, the article on land tenure in an issue of New South a couple of years back, and a recent fly-sheet on small-town slum clearance. This last was of particular interest to the National Farm Labor Union.

The Council's need arises from the disbandment of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, which put in, in earlier years, about half of what kept the Council going.

We have tried our best, last year and this, to replace that sum with individual contributions almost entirely from people scat-

tered over the South. We have brought the amount of those individual contributions, over and above dues, received in 1950 already to approximately $10,000. That is a pretty good sum to come in in fives and tens from people with no great means and with many appeals to their interests. Still, we are $12,000 or $15,000 short of enough to meet the budget even for minimum operation.

We will be hopeful that you can include us in your next appeal,* and I will dare to hope in addition that you can find some amount unallocated this year, which would ease our most pressing needs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

*In an appeal, we will expect you to give us a chance to review in advance, copy relating to the Southern Regional Council -- we have our strategies to safeguard.

GSM:er

Non-Partisan Defense Agency of the Labor Movement

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3 • ALGONQUIN 4-4953

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Assistant National Secretary

FRANK McCALLISTER
Southern Chairman

August 21, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga..

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Rumor has come to me that there is a possibility of the Southern Regional Council disolving because of lack of funds. I certainly hope that this is not true and that you will be able to continue your very valuable work.

In any event I am sure that the Council can use funds of whatever size and the purpose of this letter is to urge you to send immediately a request for a grant to The National Sharecropper Fund, 40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N.Y. As a member of its Board I will do what I can to see that it gets favorable consideration. Send a copy of this request and accompanying material to me at the WDL.

As you probably know, the NSF does not have very much money but it is planning a fall appeal based on an over-all survey of present conditions in the South and I am sure that if it has material available about your work it will be willing to include your organization as one of the organizations that would receive the proceeds of the appeal. With very best wishes,

Fraternally yours,

Rowland Watts

Rowland Watts
National Secretary

RW/d
oeiu-153

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* Indicates member of National Action Committee, which, with Board members, directs WDL affairs between quarterly Board meetings.

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Nat. Share Fund project

November 20, 1950

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The National Sharecroppers Fund has promised the Council $1500.00 to finance a project for getting out a pamphlet on Southern State laws on farm land tenure.

My idea was to give a quick summary of these laws, then of the nature of the laws, then to show the ways in which they fall short of reasonable protection of people and of land, and then to give a model statute. We thought perhaps to model statute would have in it the idea of an enacted lease which would be deemed to be the terms on which farm land was rented, in the absence of a written lease in other terms.

Charles Mangum at Chapel Hill has a book which the University of North Carolina Press has agreed to print. It mostly reviews the court cases on farm land tenure. Then there is the southwestern book by Hofsommer. Can you tell me where your work on it stands?

What we would want to print would be a 25¢ pamphlet. The man who runs the University of North Carolina Press quieted my fears that such a pamphlet would stand in the light of Mangum's forthcoming book by saying that no 25¢ pamphlet will compete with a $7.50 book. So maybe the Council and your own work could find some accommodation on that principle.

In any case, please let me know what you think it would be useful for us to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

December 13, 1950

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Farm Bureau Mutual Automobile Insurance Company
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

Some corner or other of that justifiably great Farm Bureau outfit puts on a program of local meetings of farmers discussing current topics. I have for years heard their programs praised. We have got in the cook a pamphlet on reform of State legislation about farm land tenure. I have some notion of so casting it as to make it useful for farmers' discussion meetings.

Can you reach to the guy who knows the tricks of how such casting is done and a[illegible]n to send me a couple of good samples, and if the good man [illegible]me, a letter of advice?

The pamphlet [illegible] about 32 pages. It will discuss the way Southern State[illegible]ure laws got on to the books, what they do and what they d[illegible] will provide a model statute (probably carrying the ide[illegible] statutory lease which would be deemed to be the terms upon [illegible]n farm land was rented, in the absence of a written lease to the contrary).

I have found some good people who are working on it, and the National Sharecroppers Fund has promised us money that will probably be enough to get it out.

We heave and struggle, and yet live. The latest event is that Roy Harris's paper has called us "Communist-front." We have called him "ignorant" and have demanded a retraction from the paper. I had just about got my hide hardened to being called a gradualist, when suddenly we become communists.

We miss you and Liz.

Ohio State University years ago did a noble job of educating (by

dint of a most complicated network of partial scholarships) a boy and a girl from among the Indianoid people at Pembroke, North Carolina. The staff people who would remember all that are probably dead or moved along, but I recall that a very large University bent attention to the particular needs of two people and met those needs mighty well.

Hook on to the people who operate the Friends of the Land. The head office is there in Columbus. Russell Lord would pay you tiny sums for stuff written for The Land. It would get you known to a whole new circle of useful people.

And forget not, as you circulate among the well-to-do, the opportunities you may have for convincing the Gotrocks about the needs of honorable the SRC.

I am still sure that your pamphlet for us was the best single piece of work the show has done in thirty years.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

December 13, 1950

Mr. Albert Cotton
900 West Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Cotton:

That was kind of you to give me such a good full answer.

Here are some answers:

The Sharecroppers Fund people have not yet come through with the money (which they are still raising), but I expect it soon. We might set April 1 as a deadline for copy.

I should think the pamphlet ought to contain about 32 pages.

Style would certainly have to be for general interest. Perhaps it would be well to cast it so as to make it particularly useful to discussion groups of farmers. I am writing to some experts on how to do that.

I agree with you that reform of tenancy laws won't do the job. But it is an important and neglected part of a general betterment of farming security in the country, and particularly in the South. Off the bat, I would plunk for putting the effort still into getting State legislation. But the legal and policy point about Federal legislation ought to be clearly set forth.

I get to Richmond every now and then, though I haven't any immediate plan for being there. Still, I would suppose that before January is over I will be for this reason or that in Richmond. I will of course come to see you. But meanwhile, I hope you can go ahead with an outline.

The longer I live, the more instances I find of Farm Security people doing good jobs in the old spirit. Did you know about Pete

Hudgens' little Farm Security in Venezuela? It now spreads to Brazil and Ecuador and so on. And I dropped in at ECA the other day and found a familiar face in every other office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1950

900 W. Franklin St.
Richmond, Va.
December 3, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I am very much interested in your project for a phamphlet on Southern Farm Tenancy law, andwould be delighted to co-operate in writing it. I have been doing some work along this line in connection with my S.J.D. thesis for the Yale Law School, andit would not be too difficult to get some of the Southern material into shape, together with background comparative material.

In view of some other things I am committed to do, I would like to have some idea of when you would like to have the phamphlet ready for publication, and about what you would consider an appropriate length. Also, there is the matter of style--I assume that it should be written to be a general interest, rather than as a technical legal publication.

I suppose that the best procedure would be for me to send you a rather sketchy rough draft of what I think that we should have, in places indicating just what information I think we should have that I do not have in detail, and proceed from that to work out the finished product.

In general, it is my view that while Southern tenancy laws, are, in many of their details outrageous, and that American tenancy law isn't particularly suited to the needs of agriculture, that just tinkering with tenancy law alone won't meet the problem. I'm inclined to think that bad credit arangements, both for operation and purchase, have as much to do with producing the present situation as the tenancy laws--though they tie up together through the landlord's lien. The solution I would advocate is pretty much the old Farm Security program with a real opportunity for all successful tenant's to purchase farms, and more experiments with co-ops where there are economic advantages to be gained by preserving large operations.

I have no doubt, of course, of the constitutionality of state reform measures such as those proposed by the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy. (I discussed that problem at some length in the Farm Tenancy symposium published by Law and Contemporary Problems in 1937, with which you are undoubtedly familiar. It is just that I don't think that this approach is presently politically feasible, or that it will do the whole job. The fact that I don't believe that reform in tenancy law will be a complete solution, however, does not indicate that I feel that a phamplet on tenancy law isnot well worth doing. In fact, I have felt for some time that

a technical legal study of just how we got in the situation that we are in would be a great value in clarifying the situation. I've always been particularly fascinated by the point that most of the legal precedents upon which the sharecropper system was built come from early New England cases, yet New England, of course never developed anything remotely like the Southern tenancy system.

Another point that I think should be made now is that all of the early work in the field assumed that legislative reform would necessarily have to be through state action. In 1937 we were afraid, both with regard to tenancy legislation and soil conservation legislation, the the Supreme Court might throw out state legislation, and it was unanimously agreed that the subject was one reserved to the states. Today, I think it is pretty clear that federal farm tenancy legislation or soil conservation legislation, would be upheld--particularly if it were directed to minimum standards or tied in with federal programs, which is the only sort that Congress would be even remotely likely to pass anyway. In view of the fact that all the early writing in the field assumes that it is a state matter, I think it would be well worth while to point out that this is not necessarily true, even though it may be years before anything comes of the suggestion.

I would like very much to have an opportunity to talk with you about this project, if you areever in Richmond. I have no plans to be in Atlanta before September of next year, but I do have to go to Chicago immediately after Christmas, and if I have time, I would like to go to North Carolina before I return here. If I do it that way, I might arrange to come through Atlanta and stop for a day or half a day.

Your letter indicated that you didn't remember me at all personally, which is natural, since we barely met. However, I was in the Farm Security Division of the Solicitor's office in Washington from 1938 until the spring of 1942, and again after I returned from the army in the fall of 1945 until 1948. I was in the Land Policy Division there from 1934 to 1938. This may account for my feeling that credit reform is as necessary as legal reforms, if anything is actually to be accomplished.

Sincerely,

Albert H. Cotton

Albert H. Cotton

November 27, 1950

Mr. Charles Mangum
510 East Franklin Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Mangum:

I am still awaiting word from the National Sharecroppers Fund that they have raised their budget for this coming year and will duly make their promised payment to us. You will remember that we hope to do a pamphlet on Southern State legislation on farm tenure with the proceeds.

My general idea is to review the history of Southern State legislation to bring out the point that the laws were passed in the late 'sixties when the desperate need was to put a stricken country back to work and then the work people on the land could not have read written leases if they had had them. (I daresay many landlords couldn't, either!) I would not be concerned to take up the history of the laws State by State, but rather to present a general picture with notation of the way in which this or that State varied significantly from the pattern.

Then there should be a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the system we have. Of course, it is flexible, but certainly it takes a sad toll of humanity and soil fertility. It may be that at this point some of your case law would come in particularly handy. Somewhere there should be mention of European experience and solutions. I suppose the idea would be to show that modest recommendations for change here are modest; that change elsewhere has been far more drastic than what we propose. Then there could be a model statute. And that would be about all.

Somewhere there ought to be discussion of the difficulties in the way of a mere tenant making the shift nowadays from cotton to cows. If it takes five years to build good pasture and many thousands of dollars to buy a good herd, how can a man on an oral lease or on an annual written lease take a chance? Of course he can't. So the

answer must be that it is only owners who can take advantage of modern farming. Thus is the law fulfilled that "from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

I am told that Charles Johnson at Fisk has done some unpublished work along this line, and also that a man named Albert Cotten, now teaching law at Richmond College, knows a good deal about it. I have written to Charles Johnson for his advice, and I am writing to Cotten for advice. I would like to confirm our conversation of six weeks or so ago and ask you to do for a fee some part of a manuscript toward the pamphlet. I can't make a binding undertaking until the Council receives a grant from the National Sharecroppers Fund, but I can ask you to begin to work it up in your mind, and I am satisfied that I can send you a couple of hundred dollars for your part of the manuscript. One of the things I should like you to put your mind on is a model statute. I believe we talked about having it provide a statutory lease which should be deemed to be the terms upon which farm land is rented unless a document to the contrary is shown.

I don't want to fall into the trap of advocating every benefit to the tenant. The landlord has his grievances and proper claims, too. I know it would be hard in practice to get for the landlord compensation for damages done by the tenant, but I should think the law ought to provide for that. That matter could, of course, be fixed by elaborate provisions for posting bond, but I suppose that is silly.

I would want to be free to use a pretty heavy editorial hand in putting together the final manuscript, but you would be fully consulted on whatever changes we might propose.

It is good of you to be willing to put your thinking on to this proposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

CC: Mr. Lambert Davis

November 27, 1950

Mr. Albert Cotten
University of Richmond School of Law
Grace and Lombardy Streets
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Cotten:

I started tracking you down through Jim Maddox, who gave me some leads. I then wrote to Shelby Robert, who told me to write you here. I hope it finds you.

Jim says you have done a lot of work on the law of farm land tenure in the Southern States.

Our Council has been proposing for some years to get out a pamphlet on that subject. We have never had the money to do it. A few months ago, along came the National Sharecroppers Fund, which has promised us a small sum toward doing a pamphlet of that kind. They have yet to raise the money, but I think they will raise it and pay it.

What I had in mind is a pamphlet that would review the history of the Southern State legislation on farm land tenure and bring out the usual point that the laws were passed in the late 'sixties to put a stricken country to work, and at a time when the work people on the land were illiterate and could not read written leases. Then it seems to me there should be some tale of the human and agricultural disabilities imposed by these laws. We are all familiar with the toll of family and community life taken by shifting tenancy, but we are less familiar with the ravages of the land produced by uncertain tenure and the practice of no compensation for improvement (and no damages for destruction). There should be a brief discussion of experience abroad, and then perhaps a model statute should be set out. It may be needful to talk some about case law under existing statutes.

I am a book farmer only, but it seems to me that the present land

tenure laws in the South make it practically impossible for a tenant to shift over to a cow economy. The agriculturalists talk about five years to build pastures. How can a tenant on an annual oral lease undertake to build five-year pastures and then invest in cows when he may get thrown off any year? Thus, the chance to change over goes to the fortunate ones who own land, and we repeat the old story, "from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

There is, of course, a side interest in all this in the big Northern cities which get an influx of people whose insecurity at home is partly tied up with these laws. But I am not one that would wish to nail down on to the land people who are redundant to its good cultivation.

I can't write the pamphlet, though I suppose I may fairly use a certain editorial judgment about it. Jim Maddox tells me you could do the whole thing or, at any rate, a lot of it. There is also Charles Mangum at Chapel Hill, who has a book almost into the press on the case law. I understand, too, that at Fisk Dr. Charles Johnson has done a good deal of unpublished work in this field. And Jim Maddox told me that the BAE nearly cooked a study on it but didn't finish.

Assuming that the Council gets the money promised it toward the project, I could pay a hundred or two dollars for some of the writing.

Will you at any rate take the trouble to advise me as to whether this is a good thing to go forward with and in what way, and whether you would be willing to put your knowledge and thought into it?

For identifying me, you can start with the fact that I was born in the house where you teach law. You can take it from there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

3380 North Dickerson Street
Arlington, Virginia
November 22, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

From the best information available, Albert Cotten is now teaching at the University of Richmond Law School in Richmond. I could not find a definite address for him, but I believe the above would reach him.

Sincerely yours,

Shelby

S. A. Robert, Jr.

Fund project

November 20, 1950

Mr. Shelby A. Robert, Jr.
3380 North Dickerson Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Shelby:

Can you out of your own head or out of Marshall Harris's head tell me ho to get hold of Albert Cotton? I have a promise of $1500.00 to do a pamphlet on State land tenure laws.

Sorry to miss you, but I will go see Miriam and S and M. Tell Miriam I will occupy the Cosmos Club, though I am grateful for her willingness to take me in.

You know I made a commencement speech at Tuskegee last May. White people were scarce on the grounds. A month ago I saw a Tuskegee graduate (our friend Harry Wright) in New York. He had had a visit from somebody who had been at the commencement. "Man oh man, they had some Georgia Cracker up there was giving 'em fits!"

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Nov. 20, 1950

People to work on the Sharecropper pamphlet.

Jim Maddox told me in mid-November that the best guy is Albert Cotton.

He is a lawyer, sometime partner of Monroe Oppenheimer. His father was a professor at Duke. Albert Cotton taught at LSU last year, 1949-1950. He knows this subject. Is doing a thesis now at Yale on laws on farm tenancy. Perhaps a bit peculiar, but brilliant. Sometime newspaper writer. Contributed to the issue of Law and Contemporary Problems (Duke University) which addressed itself to farm land tenure. He teams up with Marshall Harris at USDABAE.

Cotton helped write the Arkansas statute and the short-lived Iowa Law. This had in it a compensation provision but the legislature killed it after two years. BAE once had a project on land tenure.

Sharecropper Pamphlet

December 18, 1950

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dept. of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

Many thanks for your dope about Charles Mangum. I can quite understand his position and think it on the whole a generous arrangement.

I have written him as enclosed.

I find that a young law professor named Albert Cotton, now teaching in Richmond, used to work in the Department of Agriculture and has done a lot in this field. He and I have been corresponding, and he is supposed now to be writing a draft of a pamphlet.

I hear also from Charles Johnson that he and others at Fisk have done a good deal in this field. I have propositioned him for permission to bleed his work, but have not yet had CSJ's reply.

I have written to the Ohio Farm Bureau people about how best to cast such a pamphlet into a form that will make it useful for farmers' discussion groups.

So all in all, I think things might well come to hand.

The Executive Committee meets tomorrow and we are a-flutter with reports and sandwiches.

Best to you and Guion.

Sincerely,

GSM:er
Dictated 12/15/50

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

December 18, 1950

Mr. Charles Mangum
510 East Franklin Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Mangum:

Guy wrote me about the thinking you have done on the letter I sent.

I think the offer you make is a generous one, and we certainly take you up on it. I have not yet received the money that the National Sharecroppers Fund has promised to pay, but I have sufficient faith in them to make you now a promise to pay you a hundred dollars for permission to us to read your manuscript (corrected or uncorrected is immaterial to us). We would suppose under this arrangement that we could use in the final pamphlet ideas from your manuscript, and conceivably brief verbatim quotes. But we would not use your material in direct or indirect form without advance written permission from you.

I have been working with Albert Cotton, who is now teaching law at Richmond, and he is doing an outline toward a pamphlet.

I hear also that Charles Johnson has done a good deal of work in this field, and I have asked permission to draw on his work.

I put in an extra copy of this in case you want to send it on to Lambert Davis.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

GSM:er

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

December 14, 1950

DEC 15 1950
Regional Counc

Dear George:

Just a quick note with regard to your negotiations with Charles Mangum. He came to see me day before yesterday, bringing your letter along. We had a good talk, and I promised to write you his sentiments as follows:

1. He is so "fed up" with the work on his book on the laws of farm tenancy that he cannot bring himself to consent to undertake your proposition. He is tired, is still not very well, and he wants to take a vacation from research for a while.

2. The more he thinks about the model lease law, the more he doesn't want to attempt it.

3. He is interested in the SRC idea and he hopes the staff will go ahead with it. He could make available shortly a corrected copy of the manuscript, or later (in the spring) a set of galley proofs, for someone to work from. Lambert Davis approves of this, Mangum says. Mangum would naturally expect an honorarium for use of the material, and he suggests a hundred dollars.

Well, there you are. I tried to convince him that he ought to go ahead and do the write-up for you, but no go.

If I can help any further on this, let me know. There are some other matters I should write about, but I will wait until I am out from under the quarterly grade reports and Christmas shopping.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson

Dr. George S. Mitchell
SRC 63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

December 28, 1950

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have some idea of how busy you are, but do put somebody at work toward making a decision about the land tenure reforms I wrote you about November 20.

I can see coming up an opportunity to shape a pamphlet that will be particularly useful to the program of the Committee on Land Tenure of the Home Missions Section of the National Council of Churches.

They are preparing to hold in a good many cities, if they can work it out, one-day interdenominational institutes among the rural churches on land tenure.

I have found a young law teacher named Albert Cotton, now in Richmond, who is preparing a manuscript for us. And Charles Mangum at Chapel Hill has promised to let us read his manuscript.

The National Sharecroppers Fund has made a partial payment of their grant to us, so we begin to suppose that the pamphlet can be put together soon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

January 16, 1951

Mr. Preston Valien
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Valien:

I do greatly thank you for your long and careful letter about the work done already at Fisk on land tenure laws.

I hope to have an outline of our pamphlet completed within a few weeks. At that time I would like to propose that I or someone else from the Council be permitted to bring our outline up to Fisk and stack it up against your work and, with your permission, avail ourselves of your already completed research in order that we would not go over again ground as to which you have already collected the facts. Presumably our final manuscript would carry notation that we had been kindly given access to the Fisk material, as well as the work of Charles Mangum at Chapel Hill and Albert Cotton in Richmond. I realize the delicacy of proposing to tap your work when it is near publication. Mangum is in the same boat, but he and the University of North Carolina Press have taken the position that a twenty-five cent pamphlet would not stand in the light of a six-dollar book. I myself think that the pamphlet would increase the sale of a full-length book.

I do wish you would discuss this whole matter with any others concerned with your manuscript and be prepared to tell me later on what degree of help from your materials would be considered proper.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

January 11, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Dr. Johnson has asked me to write you regarding the work which he and I have prepared on landlord-tenant relations in the Southern States.

The manuscript which Dr. Johnson and I have done deals with the following ten states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. It begins with a brief discussion of the land tenure laws of three states which represent one extreme and two states which represent the other extreme with respect to attempts to protect the interests of tenants.

Following this there is a discussion of some of the principal features which are usually included in landlord-tenant laws: the contract, responsibility for repairs, removal of emblements, fixtures and improvements, deterioration, destruction and waste, freedom of cropping and disposal of produce, and rent adjustment. Later discussions treat the legal status of sharecroppers and share-tenants, the landlord's lien, and distress and disturbance. The manuscript also includes a chart listing some major aspects of landlord-tenant laws of each of the ten states.

There is a chapter making comparisons with England and Wales and one which deals with proposals for improving landlord and tenant relationships.

There is also an appendix which contains (1) a digest of landlord-tenant laws and major court decisions of each of the ten states, and (2) a definition of legal words and phrases relating to landlord and tenant relations.

While the manuscript deals primarily with the legal aspects, there is an integration of some social data as well as some social interpretation of the laws.

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JAN 12 1951
Southern Regional Council

The manuscript needs some revision and additional work. The digest of laws needs to be checked to determine whether or not there have been changes since it was originally compiled, and the section on proposals for improvements needs to be revised. Consideration might be given also to including Florida, Virginia and Kentucky with the other ten states. Some other minor editorial changes are also necessary. We have all the original material here, and these revisions and additions would not be too difficult for us.

I hope that this will give you some idea as to the nature of our work. Please let us know how you think we might be helpful to you on this valuable project.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Preston Valien

Preston Valien
Chairman

PV:mdp

RECEIVED
APR 13 1951
Southern Regional Council

900 W. Franklin St.
Richmond, Va.
April 12, 1951

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Here is the rough draft, and it is a very rough one, that I promised to send you before I left for my trip. It will, however, give you an idea of what I have in mind.

I think it needs, at least, some concrete illustration of what I am talking about. Perhaps we should have in reserve some scholarly documention, since some of my broad statements are subject to exception, but what I am primarily thinking of is some concrete illustration that will make the story more interesting. However, when we decide what we want to use, it will not be too much trouble to get those.

I have in mind three more sections, which I didn't have time to do even in this very rough draft form; These are:

1. A discussion of the Report of the Presidents Committee on Farm Tenancy, with some discussion of what the Farm Security Administration actually did, and an analysis of some to the reasons why the recommendations for state action never did catch on.
2. A survey of just what the condition of the southern farm tenant is now. This is the part that I need help on--I know very little about what the war and post-war periods have actually produced.
3. An outline of a program for the future--another matter that I don't regret having not written yet, since I think that that also should be discussed more.

I will arrive in Atlanta on Sunday evening, at about 7:10 p.m., and I will call you at your home from the station. I shall also be delighted to accept the invitation to stay at your house.

I will certainly enjoy seeing you again, and I'm delighted at the opportunity to discuss this phamplet with you in detail. I trust that we can make an outline of what else needs to be done, and have the completed job ready very soon.

Sincerely,

Albert H. Cotton

Albert H. Cotton

P.S. I don't like the title I have here - I'm sure we can think of something better

TheSharecropper and the Law

Legally, as well as economically, the troubles of the Southern farm tenant and sharecropper go back to the period immediately after the Civil War. Prior to the war, the South had developed a system of agriculture that worked. The most productive land was in the hands of large planters, who worked their land with slaves. The system had its injustices, even its brutalities, but from the standpoint of farm management, it worked.

Even in those days, there was a serious soil conservation problem--but it was not the result of legal insecurity on the land. It was the result of the temptation of cheap new land to the west--part of the prodigal wasteof natural resources, which was typical of the new country.

The Civil War swept this established system away. Indeed, the Emancipation Proclamation was a war measure, designed to weaken the south, and issued without thought of what would become of the newly freed slaves. Not until after the war did anyone consider the problem of the economic reconstruction of Southern agriculture.

Only one idea of any consequence came out of the North. This found expresssion in the slogan, "Forty Acres and a Mule," and was a proposal to do just that--confiscate the property of the Southern landowners, and give each of the newly freed Negroes forty acres of land and a mule. Thus, he could set up as an independent farmers, on the model of the poineers who were then taking up the lands of the Mid-West. Expressed in crude terms, and its advocates never got further, the idea was obviously impractical. Tbx become a sucessful

farm operator, the newly freed Negroes needed much more than the minimum acreage of land and equipment as a gift. Perhaps the idea would have worked, if it had been thought through, and accompanied by a program of credit, education and supervision. But in those days there was no Department of Agriculture. The ideax of agricultural extension work was in the future. In any event, nothing practical was proposed, and nothing at all was done.

Fromthe end of the war until 1876, the sole endeavor of the North, acting through the Republican Party, was to exploit the Negro and to permanently attach him to the Republican party. "Reconstruction" to the conqueror, was an era of destruction, with no contribution to the rebuilding of the Southern economy.

The South was thus left to work out the problem of rebuilding its agriculture on a new basis, without help, without intelligent suggestion, and without any models of sucessful experience in rebuilding under similar circumstances.

The Abolitionists, in so far as the had thought about the problem at all, had happilly assumed that the slaves once freed, would go to work for wages, just as Northern workers did. In their moral fervor, the practical problems of transition had not ocurred to them.

Perhaps, if emancipation had come legally, without a war, the transition to free wage labor could have been made. Wages, undoubtedly, would have been shockingly low, but they could have been paid. The war made this impossible. Literally, all that the landowners had was land. Their money was not

worthless Confederate money. Their investments had largely been in slaves, now freed. Investments in Southern industry, not of great importance at best, were largely swept away. All they had was land, and some farm equipment.

The ex-slaves were even worse off. All they owned was the clothes on their backs. They did not even have money to buy food--indeed, in all their lives they had never had any money, and if they had had, it would have been worthless too.

It was out of the necessities of this situtation that the sharecropping system, which still plagues the south today arose. The landlord could, at exhorbitant rates, get enough credit to feed the ex-slaves until a crop could be made and sold. He did have land, which could be worked. The ex-slave had nothing.

There is no contemporary evidence that anybody thought much about the legal aspects of the arrangement at the beginning. Actually, the plan might well have been devised by a lawyer. Contracts, similar to the sharecropping contract, were known to the law. They had been interpreted and enforced, in both English and American decisions, before the Civil War, and, curiously enough, especially in the New England states. Nowhere, however, had any agricultural economy, at least in the Anglo-American tradition, been built on the almost universal use of such contracts. They had remained, exceptional, though legally possible, arrangements.

The essential feature of the sharecropping contract is that a landowner hires a laborer, for a year or crop season, under a promise to pay his wages at one time, at the end of

the year, in a share of the crop, rather than in cash. Usually, the right to occupy a shack is included in the contract. It is strictly an employment contract, and it is assumed that the laborer will work under the direction of the landlord, and that the crop will belong to the landlord.

The South added another feature to the contract--the landlords agreement to furnish food to the sharecropper, the cost of which would be deducted from his share of the crop when it was sold. This too, was a modification of a familiar idea. From colonial days, Southern agriculture had lived too largely on credit for its own good. Prior to the war, many landlords had habitually borrowed money to make their crops and feed their slaves, and the furnish system was merely an extension of this system to the laborer.

At this time, the country had had no experience with widespread farm tenancy. The American tradition had been that of the independent farmer, operating his own family farm. This had been the ideal preached by Thomas Jefferson. It had been the dream behind the migration to America to begin with, and the further migration to the west. In New York, there had been large estates, operated by tenants, as a heritage from the days of the Dutch, but the people rebelled against the system, and attempted to break it up in the new state constitution adopted in 1848. Inthe light of later developments in agriculture, it is interesting to note that the device chosen was the prohibition of the long term lease.

It is unfair, then, to believe that anyone anticipated the impoverishment of the region that the sharecropping system would bring in its wake. Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that the landlords would have preferred the conventional type of tenancy--where the landlord rents his land, preferably for cash in advance, turns everything over to the tenant, and retires from the picture. But this was obviously an impractical arrangement. One of the major difficulties to be met was that the ex-slave had no cash. Another was that he had no experience in management.

Tenancies of this type were known throughout the country, and, indeed, had been recognized by the common law for centuries. In fact, many of the plantation operators were tenants as to all or part of their lands. There were tenants among the smaller operators in the South, and, through the country, usually for short periods, it was customary to rent lands where the owner did not wish to operate them.

In agriculture, a modification of this system was popular. Instead ofpaying cash rent, either in advance or after harvest, the crop was divided between the landlord and tenant at the end of the year. Thus the landlord and tenant shared the risks of fluctuating prices, weather, and crop yields. This arrangement was popular because it resulted in a sharing of risks, and was felt to be inherently fair. Indeed, in recent years, business enterprises have adopted in from agriculture, in the widely-popular "percentage lease," where the rent for a store is paid in a percentage of the sales, rather than in a fixed sum.

There is a vast difference, both legally andpractically between "farming on shares" and "sharecropping." In the share-tenancy, the tenant receives possession of the land. It is his crop, and he is the manager. He owes the landlord a share of the crop as rent. The contract presupposes that he has farming equipment, and either cash or credit with which to make the crop.

Theoretically, the sharecropping contract is one which no laborer would make if he could work on any other terms. He is forced to share the risks of his employer--he gets no pay if the crop fails or the market drops. He works all year, only to find himself in debtfor the food which he has eaten, and he didn't get much food at that. Even in the worst depression conditions, it has never been suggested in this country that such contracts be forced on industrail labor. In the South, however, the ex-slaves had no choice. There was no other employment available except in farming. They were not qualified to do other kinds of work, even if it had been available. And none of their prospective employers had any cash--the sharecropping contract was the only kind that they could make.

In the south, the theoretically desiable share-tenancy degenerate to an arrangement that was practically indistinguishable from sharecropping. This was brought about because the southern tenants did not possess either the capital or credit which the arrangement presupposes. Even though, technically, he owes the landlord his share for rent, ifthe tenant has had to borrow from the landlord during the year the total

value of the remainder of the crop, his actualy position is no better than that of the sharecropper. He ends the year in debt, with nothing to show for his work. The ownership of some simple equipment was not decisive, since it is just as possible to rent land and equipment, as to rent land alone.

In practice, consequently, the two legally opppsite arrangements became totally confused. The tenants were, at the beginning, illiterate. The oral lease or employment contract, or whatever it was,was the only possible arrangement. Only when a dispute arose, which for some reason got into the hands of lawyers, was any attempt ever made to figure out just what kind of a contract had been entered into technically.

The Southern Legislation

When the Southern whites regained control of their state legislatures, a serious effort was made to begin rebuilding the South. In general, however, the problem was regarded as a racial one, rather than an agricultural one. It wasthe xxxx era of the black codes, which, in so far as they had an openly racial basis, were outlawed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and of statutes which were to run afoul of the federal peonage laws.

In so far as agriculture was concerned, there were three important type of legislation, which in general remain on the staute books of the Southern states to this day, and, indeed, have been copied in some Northern states.

First, there was the extension of the landlord's lien. At common law, the remedy of the landlord for non-payment of rent was distress--that is, he had the right to go on the property

and seize any property that he found there. It was immaterial whether the property was that of the tenant, or of someone else, so long as it was on the property leased. Originally, the landlord's right was of seizure only--to hold the property until the rent was paid. It did not include a right of sale. Later, the right of sale was added. There was, however, no right to follow property, including crops, that had been on the leased premises, and had been removed, before the rent was due or before the landlord exercised his right of distress.

The landlords' lien, operated on a different theory. Under it, the landlord was given a right, universally against the crop, and, in some states against the tenant's personal property also. Under this lien right, if the rent was not paid, the landlord could not only seize the property if he found it still on the leased land, but could also seize it in the hands of purchasers from the tenant, or, if he could not find the property, he could sue the purchaser for its value.

It was the lien theory that the southern legislatures unanimously adopted. The landlord was given a lien for rent which was given priority over all other liens. No one could safely purchase a crop, without assurance from the landlord that the rent had been paid. Thus the landlord, in practice, controlled the market of the crops, even when a technical tenancy had been created and title to the crop was admittedly in the tenant. In case of doubt as to whether a man was a tenant or owner, the purchaser bought at his peril, since leases were neither written nor recorded, and the landlords

lien was ~~mmmxth~~ also not written or recorded, since it was given by statute.

At common law, the landlord had no priority for money that he had advanced to his tenant to make the crop or for living expences. Indeed, the common law had not anticipated the furnish system at all. The legislatures, however, extended the lien to furnish money, so that the landlord had a priority over the whole crop. In practice, this meant that no one could safely extend credit to a tenant, even though he held a recorded chattel mortgage, except by agreement of the landlord. There was always the grave risk that the tenant would secure supplies for the landlord also, and, in case the crop did not bring enough to pay everybody, the landlord got paid, and the other creditor was left out.

The landlord's lien actually operated, therefor, to make the landlord the business manager of the farm, no matter what sort of tenancy was created technically. Buyers of crops could safely deal only with him. Merchants and banks had to deal with the landlord, if they were to be assurred of collection. In practice, the landlord borrowed the necessary money, and either re-lent it to his tenants or sharecroppers, or, more often, furnished them in kind, with, of course, a considerable mark-up in the time price, because of the risk of non-payment.

Most southern tenanacy legislation is written on the assumption that the tenant will be a Negro, and pretty incapable of managing business affairs. The legislation is, however, in general terms---there are about as many white sharecropper and tenants in the south as Negro. But the result is the same.

In the case of both groups, and regardless of actualy managerial ability, under the lien statutes, the business man, to protect himself, must deal with the landlord.

The second trend was to bring landlord tenant relationships under the criminal laws. Most important, it was made a criminal offence to sell a crop which was subject to a landlord's lien without paying the rent. Other creditors were protected by making it a criminal offense to sell property subject to a chattel mortgagex, without payment of the mortgage. Further, it was, in many states, made a crime to sell certain crops at night, under any circumstances. Probably these laws were necessary, but despite the formal adherence to common law precedent, it is obvious that a new type of tenancy system was being created if it was felt necessary to enforce to through the threat of criminal punishment.

The notion that it is a crime to dispose of mortgaged property, in fraud on the landlord or other creditor, is today so well accepted in the South, that it xixi comesas a suprise to most Southernersy to learn that a state like Pennsylvania, for example, it had never been felt necessary to enforce either the landlord's right of distress, or chattel mortgages on crops by such criminal statutes. Paradoxically, however, if a Pennsyvanian borrows from a federal relief agency, and gives a chattel mortgages, and thereafter he xxx sells the crop without paying the mortgage, he is guilty of a federal crime. The federal government, even in a relief program, to protect its own loans, follows the Southern precedent.

Another group of statutes is designed to tie the sharecropper or tenant to the land, and is modelled after the medieval stautes of laborers and statutes against enticement of laborers. The most drastic of these, which made it a criminal offense to leave a farm or plantation while indebted to the landlord, are, of course unconstitutional under the Thirteenth Amendment prohibiting involuntary servitute, and in conflict with the Federal peonage laws. The have so been declared by the United States Supreme Court, and are no longer a problem.

Two other types of law survived. It is constitutional to provide, as most southern states do, that if a tenant or sharecropper abandons his crop, he forfeits his interest in the crop to the landlord. Outside the south, the prevailing rule is that in case of abandonment, the landlord has the right to complete making the crop, and can charge the cost to the tenant, but must account to him for any surplus when the crop is sold. The other type of statute prohibits the enticement of laborers or tenants away from their landlords, and is enforced by criminal penalties against either other landlords or labor agents who offer employment to farm laborers already under contract.

Finally, there was an effort at clarification, because of the conflicting results which may result if a tenant is classified as such, or if he is classified as a sharecropper, who is to be regarded as a laborer. Despite the legal anomaly of giving a man a lien against his own property, and the crop is the property of the landlord under a sharecropping contract, the landlords liens were generally extended to cover both types of contract. Practically, it was a good idea, since it kept

technicalites out, in case the landlord had to go to court to enforce his right. In Alabama, at a later period, a statute was adopted providing that all farming contract should be regarded as tenancies, and that all sharecroppers should be treated as tenants. This statute, however, was not a reform statute, but an attempt to clarify the situtation, and eliminate technical distictions based upon conflicting interpretations of vague oral contracts.

Similarly, the remedies of the landlord for the evition of tenants and sharecroppers at the end of their term were simplified, and made to apply equally to both classes. The whole aid of these statutes was to make it possible for the landlord to get a man that he no longer wanted off his place, with the mininum of time and expense.

In the legislation, however, there were two types of statutes for the protection of tenants and sharecroppers which were generally adopted. The first, and most effective, was the adoption of a laborers' lien statute. Under this statute, the sharecropper was given a lien corresponding to the landlord's lien, on his share of the crop, and was thus protected against the landlord's general creditors, in case there was any balance due him. A common law substituted for the laborers lien, which was adopted by some of the courts, and made the statute unnecessary, was the theory that in farming on share, either in a sharecrop or a tenancy, that the crop, instead of being owned by one party or the other in its entirety, and rent or wages being owned at the time of division, was in legal theory owned in common by both parties at all times.

If this theory was adopted by the courts, of course, the landlord's lien was also unnecessary, in so far as share rent was concerned. It remained necessary, however, if any of the rent was to be paid in cash, or if a lien for furnish was desired. Consequently, while the states all adopted landlord's lien laws, not all adopted laborer's lien laws, though some which did not achieved the same result by court decision.

Another feature of the legislation in the south, which was favorable to the tenant, was that the landlord's lien laws were directed primarily to the crop. Generally, if the tenant was fortunate enough to have any farming equipment, and did not pay the rent, he did not lose his equipment to the landlord, but only the grop. This was not true of the lien laws in many of the Northern states. However, the omission may be explained, not as favoritism to the tenant, but on the grounds that tenants generally did not have equipment, and did not pay cash rent, so that the landlord was really only interested in a lien against the crop, and that was the only lien which would do him any real good.

Finally, at a later period, there arose legislation in some states deliberately designed to protect the tenant's interests. Notable examples of this type of legislation are the Texas attempts to limit rent to the customary shares, which was held unconstitutional in its original forms, but remains on the books in a modified form, whereby the landlord is deprived of his lien if he charges more than the customary shares of a third and fourth in a tenancy. In North Carolina, in some instances, the advance in price than the landlord can charge

when he sells to his tenants and sharecroppers as a time price is limited by statute, and, in other states, some protection had been afforded to tenants, in theory at least, through court decisions holding that the general usury laws are applicable to credit transactions between landlords and tenants. Finally, in Arkansas, as a result of the holding of the court that the sharecropper was legally a laborer, the services of State Department of Labor were made available to sharecroppers who did not received proper payment from their landlords, in the same way that the services of the department were available to city employees who were not paid by their employers. The results, however, were limited, by the fact that few sharecroppers were able to keep the records necessary to prove their cases.

What Kind of a Tenancy System Resulted?

The short answer is that it was the worst the world had ever seen--except in countries where the deliberate exploitation of human being was actually intended.

The main difficulty arose fromthe fact that both the tenancy and the sharecropping agreement were one year affairs. American law have never been intended to provide any system for the widespread operation of tenant farms. As had been pointed out the American tradition was owner operation--true, in the south it was owner operation with slaves, but still continuous owner operation. Tenancies, while legal, were rare, and a short transitional stage to another owner operation.

Actually, the American system of fee simple title in the owner affords the ideal system for operating a farm. The farmer is secure in his possession of the land until his death or

retirement. He is encouraged, by his own self interest, to build up the property, and to conserve the soil, since he will remain to reap the benefits of his improvements, or if he chooses to sell, he should get the benefit in an increased price. He can pass on these improvements to his children. The theory of American law is to rely upon this self-interest to automatically protect the public interest in soil conservation, and the public interest in agriculture generally. In general, the system works. There are exceptions, where the farmer through ignorace does not follow his own self interest; where depressions force farmers to exploit the soil to secure cash income; where mortgage debt deprives the owner of the freedom of action which is theoretically his.

The system adopted by the South, however, abandoned this automatic check on the destruction of the soil resources, and destroyed the hope of the people who actually worked on the land. The did not hold their land for life, or until they retired and soldout. They would not receive any benefits of any improvements that they made. They would be fools to attempt to improve the soil or improve the property for the benefit of their landlord or some future tenant.

Universally, and automatically, the leases were made for one year. True, many tenants and sharecroppers, remained for years or for life on one plantation, but each year they acted as if it was their last, which, indeed, it might turn out to be. The result was that all attention was concentrated on the cash crop. Nobody had much interest even in a garden, until the depression and the New Deal crop limitation produced

idle land that might just as well be used for that purpose.

Planting of such things as orchards was practically unknown. Why plant fruit trees, when the tenant never knew if he would be there to harvest the fruit. Years later, after he had actually stayed, he might regret not having done so, but he had no incentive to do so at the beginning. Why try to keep up the house, or improve it, why you might be moving out? Why do any extra work for soil conservation, when somebody else might plant the crop on the field next year?

There was no legal reason why this should be so. Long-term leases, subject to the limitation that the must be in writing, were just as legal as short term leases. Indeed, the common law favored the year to year lease, under which the notice to terminate must be given six months in advance, and it is presumed that it will be continued. Generally, however, what was actually used was the worst possible lease for agriculture, a series of definite one year leases. Even with the year to year lease, the legislatures generally cut down the necessary period of notice.

It was perhaps in the destruction of the soil, that the public suffered most from the agricultural system. Although the neglect of soil conservation practices was a national problem, the most dramatic pictures of gullies came from Georgia, and the problem was generally worst in the southern states.

The southern tenancy system began in a poverty caused by war, and it became a self-perpetuating poverty, because it encouraged the destruction of natural resources, and

left it human victims without hope for the future. True, there were other factors. The one-crop economy was bad. Cotton prices were too low. Agriculture in general was subject to national economic discriminations. But the tenancy system was also basically at fault. It could not have produced real prosperity under any economic conditions.

The system of liens, coupled with high interest charges, perpetuated a disasterous credit system. Generally the southern tenants and sharecroppers lived perpetually in debt. The liens did protect the holder of the first lien, the landlord, to the extent that he got all the crop, but that did not mean, especially in bad years, that he got all of his bill. Inefficiency, low prices, high interest, and bad years built up accounts against many tenants that they never hoped to pay, and that their landlords never actually hoped to collect.

The rest of the country was going the same way. When the census first began to collect statistics on farm tenancy, the problem was confined to the south. Not enough people were affected by tenancy in the north for it to be a social problem. By 1935, however, the evil had been spread by depression and foreclosure, and states such as Iowa had percentages of tenancy which were as high as those of the southern states. Even there, however, the tenants were in general not dependent on their landlords for both credit and land, but they were alarmed that they might be sinking into the economic and social level of the southern sharecroppers.

The British Experience

About all that America actually borrowed from the British

were some common law legal theories, and those borrowing were made at a time when the British themselves were abandoning them for agriculture. As we have seen, America first abandoned them completely, certainly at the time of the Revolution, with the policy determination that farms, in general, should be operated by their owners, and not by tenants at all. The British never took that step, and predominately, farms in England today and always, have been tenant operated. Beginning at least three-quarters of a century ago, the British have been developing a system of tenancy which contemplates a permanent tenant class, operating farms, but which will not bring the agricultural disaster that tenancy has brough to America, especially in the South.

The three basic principles of the British System are Compensation of Improvements, Compensation of Deterioration, and Compensation for Disturbance.

Under Compensation for Improvements, the tenant largely determines what improvements are needed in the farm, makes them with his own funds, and is paid their value in case he leaves the farm. Improvements are divided into three classes, those which the tenant may make without consulting the landlord, those which he may make without the landlord's consent, but of which he must notify the landlord, and finally, major improvements for which he will be compensated only if he secures the landlord's consent. The legislation has been amended many times, most recently in 1948, always to increase the number and kind of improvements which the tenant may make in his own discretion.

Compensation for Deterioration is the landlord's counterO balance for compensation for improvements. Under it, he may recover for deterioriation in the farm caused by the tenant's mismanagement. The landlord's claims under deterioration are set off against the tenant's claims for compensation for improvements, and it may well happen, when all are added up, that a tenant who has not managed the farm properly will owe the landlord. The actual amount of compensation due is determined through arbitration, under the statute.

Compensation for Disturbance recognizes the right of the tenant to permanent occupancy of the farm as long as he desires to remain. Under it, the landlord must pay the tenant damages if he requires him to move without good cause. Damages usually amount to one years rent. Thus all agricultural tenancies are in fact for an indefinite duration, and the tenant isprotected in going ahead with an improvement and conservation program, just as an owner would be, since he will get back what he has put into it, and the expenses of moving, just as an owner would who sold his farm. That, of course, is the purpose of the British program--to place the tenant, for the standpoint of farm operation, is a good a position to operate the farm properly, as an owner would be.

The contrast with the position of the American tenant is rather startling. With regard to improvements--the American tenant is foolish to make them, unless they are physically removable, and then he may be tricked by the law of fixtures and find that they are not legally removable. Besides, they may not be in fact useful on his new place.

The result is that American farms get improved only if the landlord wants to improve them, has the capital to do it, and, can by a cash payment, an extension of the lease, or a threat not to extend, get some coöperation from the tenant. Generally, they just don't get improved.

Conversely, the landlord is pretty helpless where a shiftless tenant lets the place run down. In extreme instances he might have a common law action for waste, which was the the basis for the present English compensation for deterioration. Actually, it doesn't amount to anything, unless the tenant does something cramatically improper, such as cutting all the timber on the place, and selling it.

Compensation of Disturbance is without any American counterpart, except in the case where the landlord cancels a lease without cause in the middle of the term--which is not a frequent occurrence. One feature of the English compensation for disturbance is the arbitration of rentals, which is a kind of rent control. In America, we have gone the other way--while almost all urban property has been under rent control during the war, there has been no suggestion of rural rent control. The only limitation on the landlord's power to increase rents is the force of custom, and perhaps a shortage of good tenants in times of prosperity.

Since the war, the English system has in its essentials been adopted by France, and other European countries have adopted some features of it. Indeed, only in America, does a common law system of tenancy survive in agriculture.

May 9, 1952

Mr. Albert H. Cotton
900 W. Franklin St.
Richmond, Va.

Dear Albert:

Though the Sharecropper Fund has never completed or paid any more on its "grant" to us, we have sufficient funds to finish our obligation to you, from general sources. So here is a check, for $180.00, which completes the agreed sum of $350.00 for your MS.

I am to be Northbound May 18 and 19, and Southbound May 22 and 23. Expect to be in Richmond either on the up or the down trip (New York objective). What would be my chances of getting hold of you, and where and what time of day, on the up and on the down?

I am reviewing Mangum's book, now in print. Tough. Full of your terms, like "attornment" and "privity." Never heard of such things!

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

June 9, 1952

Miss Fay Benett — Nat'l. Sharecroppers Fund
40 E. 49th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Benett:

You may recall our brief conversation at your office a couple of weeks ago, when you suggested that I send on to you the basic manuscript of a pamphlet in course of porparation by the Southern Regional Council on reform of farm land tenure in the South.

Back in September, 1950, we asked the National Sharecroppers Fund to give us a grant toward production of such a pamphlet. The proposal was pretty fully described in my letter to the Fund dated September 6, 1950. On October 10, 1950, Miss Biderman notified us that the Fund had approved a grant to us for this purpose of $1,500, and in December of that year we received the Fund's check for $400, with a letter saying that for the time being the balance was not in hand, but that the Fund would hope to complete payment of the grant at some date.

We went ahead, found the most recommended man to do the basic writing, and got a manuscript in hand. Author, Albert Cotton, now teaching at the law school at the University of Richmond, and for a number of years employed in the office of the Solicitor of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. He had contributed to the issue of the Duke Law Review on farm land tenure in the South, and had helped in the preparation of the Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy (1935). The manuscript is as yet only a foundation document, and we would shorten it greatly, alter it for use by farm discussion groups, and, I hope, add some stronger recommendations for legislative action. We paid Cotton $350 for the writing, plus minor expenses of travel by him. Our Council has put about $170 of general SRC funds into this project, over and above the $400 received thus far from the National Sharecroppers Fund.

The subject is topical, anyway, in the South, but particularly just now, because of the publication May 25 of the considerable book by Charles Mangum, University of North Carolina Press, called The Legal Status of the Tenant Farmer in the Southeast. We paid Mangum a hundred dollars, incidentally, for advance consultation of his work. The Mangum book should

bring the whole subject into discussion, and a pamphlet such as we propose could capitalize on and extend that interest.

What we hope is that the National Sharecroppers Fund will now complete the 1950 grant. If you can't find quite the remaining $1,100, I think we could complete editorial work and print an initial ten thousand copies of the pamphlet for $700.

I would be grateful for your kindness in bringing the matter to the attention of the Fund, and urging a decision. The pamphlet would be widely helpful, and should be put out. Our own members and subscribers in the South supply a circulation of over 4,000 people, many of them in small places and in the open country. And we have sufficient connections with church, civic, and governmental agencies to get such a publication vigorously into the stream of Southern controversy.

What do they say?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

July 14, 1952

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
40 E. 49th St.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Miss Bennett:

Many thanks for your kind letter of July 2. It had most cheering news, and I am grateful for it.

Post send the manuscript back to us, and we will get to work on putting it into shape. Here is a check to cover the postage.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

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July 2, 1952

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JUL 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter with the accompanying manuscript arrived today. It was unfortunate that it had been sent to me addressed in care of New Republic from which it was returned.

Our Board meeting was held on June 18th, and I reported your request to it from the notes I made on your brief visit to our office. Rowland Watts of our Board was the person who had worked with you on your original request to the Fund, and your project was again spoken for by him. Action taken by the Board was to view your request favorably but to defer action until the fall meeting at which time it would be granted priority. Reason for this is that we normally have only enough money during the summer months to carry the office, and must wait until the fall appeal goes out to make grants. I feel sure that if our fall appeal goes well, favorable action should be taken on your request.

Meanwhile, do you want me to keep your manuscript until the fall or should I return it to you? The Board seemed to feel that they knew enough about the projected pamphlet and favored it without needing to actually see it.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

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490

November 3, 1952

Mr. Eliot Pratt
177 E. 71st St.
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Pratt:

At the request of Miss Fay Bennett, executive secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., I send you the manuscript prepared by Mr. Albert Cotton toward a pamphlet on reform of farm land tenure in the South.

It will be recalled that the National Sharecroppers Fund originally voted a grant to the Southern Regional Council of $1,500, to enable the preparation and printing of a pamphlet on this subject. Only $400 of the grant has thus far been paid. The greater part of that went to Mr. Cotton for his work on this manuscript. We are in hopes that the balance of the grant can be sent us at an early date, in order that the publication should see light.

I emphasize that the draft, as presented, is only a draft, and will need a lot of thinning and popularizing. Considerable sections of it we would rewrite entirely. But it is careful work, respectful of the legal history involved.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Albert Cotton was employed for years in the solicitor's office of the Department of Agriculture and is presently a law professor at the University of Richmond.

PP. S. The copy as sent you is the only collated one, and it is important, therefore, to keep record of its journey to other Board members and back to this office.

GSM:ec
Encl.

November 3, 1952

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
40 E. 49th St.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Miss Bennett:

Thank you for your letter of October 29.

I duly sent the manuscript on to Mr. Pratt.

I will rely on you to get the matter actively to the attention of the Board at the meeting late this month.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ex
Encl.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

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RECEIVED OCT 30 1952 Southern Regional Council

October 29, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Board of Directors of National Sharecroppers Fund will meet during the last week in November, and at that time, we will take up the request for printing and promoting your pamphlet on farm tenancy laws in the south.

Would you be good enough to mail a copy of the manuscript to Mr. Eliot Pratt, 177 East 71st Street, New York 21, New York. He will look over it and then we will circulate it among a few other board members so that we may be ready to act on it at the board meeting. I do hope that funds will be available to get this job finished.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

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NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION

AFFILIATED AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

825 Victor Building 724 9th Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Phone: REpublic 6613

H. L. MITCHELL, President

November 4, 1952

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Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I have just returned from my trip to Louisiana and expect to see John Connors soon. Glad to know the AFL organizing school went so well. I note you plan to be in Washington for the local Southern Regional Council meeting November 14th. Will you try to arrange some time while your are here to go over a most pressing matter with me.

John Rust the inventor of the cotton picking machine, has set up a foundation for giving away some of the money his machine is now bringing in. He has agreed to underwrite the costs of an agricultural apprenticeship training program to teach workers how to operate the mechanized farm equipment, in use on farms today, including of course his and other cotton pickers. There is a real need for such mechanics and farm machine operators. This appears to be one way that the Union may use in getting agriculture organized. We can place good farm equipment operators whenever we can find them even with some of the most anti-union farm enterprisers.

I have also spoken to Rust about the work of the Southern Regional Council and I am quite sure some of the money he has or will have can be secured for projects you wish to undertake. There are a number of angles on this matter where I think we can work together for the advancement of our programs in the South. Lets talk about it as soon as possible. I doubt if I can get down to Atlanta anytime soon, so let me know when you are to be in the East.

Sincerely yours,

Mitch

H. L. Mitchell
President

HLM/cm

November 24, 1952

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
40 E. 49th St.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Miss Bennett:

I have been traveling too fast to do an answer to your letter of November 12.

We would send the pamphlet to land grant college people, to some county agents, and generally, I think, to Negro county agents. I willget it also into the hands of people in the Farmers Home Administration. I would want to make a good supply available to H. L. Mitchell to get out to his locals and to his surviving individual members. It would be sent also to Southern law journals for their notice and to the Southern agricultural monthly magazines.

The National Council of Churches of Christ supports a movement favoring the family farm, and we are in touch with them and could get them to use the pamphlet a good deal. They would get it into the hands of rural church people.

I assume the Council would send it out also to our own 4,500 subscribers over the South.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are entirely tax-exempt, as established by the treasurer's letter, copy enclosed.

I talked lately in Washington with H. L. Mitchell about the John Rust Foundation. That would be an excellent source of the money if the National Sharecroppers ~~Foundation~~ cannot find the missing $1,100. I hope, indeed, that the John Rust Foundation might step up its total contribution to, say, $2,500.

I still think the pamphlet is a good idea and want to get it out. It will raise discussion of a subject terribly neglected in the South. It would also come out at an appropriate time, because the great, if heavy, volume from Charles Mangum at the University of North Carolina (THE LEGAL

STATUS OF THE TENANT FARMER IN THE SOUTHEAST) has been cut only a few months. That's a background for this, which would be an easier discussion of the same topic.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.
— for the advancement of agricultural labor —
40 EAST 49th STREET • PLaza 9-1600 • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

November 12, 1952

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending the manuscript on farm land tenure reform to Mr. Pratt. It is going the rounds of our board members who wanted to see it. So far I have had a couple of requests for information on how the pamphlet will be promoted--what groups it will go to. Will you please answer this question for us?

If your organization tax exempt; that is, are contributions to your organization deductible for tax purposes?

Someone has suggested that if our Fund doesn't have enough money for the pamphlet, that perhaps the John Rust Foundation would be interested in contributing toward it. What do you think of that? Some of our board members have close connections with Mr. Rust.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

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December 16, 1952

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
40 E. 49th St.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Miss Bennett:

Many thanks for your letter of December 10.

We will still hope that the Sharecroppers Fund itself can do something more. Meanwhile, John Rust did come by the office the other day, and I want to have a chance to talk with him further in Pine Bluff. He's got problems right now about his tax exemption, but we feel hopeful that when his tax exemption is established, he will want to help the Council.

Anyhow, see what you can do when you meet in January.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

40 EAST 49th STREET • PLaza 9-1600 • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Dec. 10, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of November 24th. Our Board Meeting was not held as scheduled on December 3rd because I was snowed in at my home near Pleasantville that day! Now we are planning the meeting for early January.

However, you should know that the Funds of NSF are quite low right now. Although we are solicited for grants from various organizations whose work lies within our interest, and although we should very much like to make grants to a varied group of organizations, the truth is that in the past few years we have not been able to fully meet our commitment to the Agricultural Workers Union. We need to expand our list of contributors, and make other efforts to bring in more money, and it was to this problem that I hoped to direct the attention of our Board when it met. Now it will have to wait until after the holidays. Even so, it will take time to carry out any plans that might be made.

Although this letter is not written to officially say yea or nay, I want to tell you what our situation is. I would think that an appeal by Eduard Lindeman or Eliot Pratt to the John Rust Fund would be a good thing. We don't get money directly from that Fund because we are not now tax exempt, but since the Southern Regional Council is, that should be in your favor.

Perhaps you would like to think over how the appeal to the John Rust Foundation should be made. If you want it to be a direct appeal from the Council, perhaps you would work out an expanded budget covering not only publication of the pamphlet but promotion of it, etc.

As soon as our Board meets in January, I will let you know what action is taken.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

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— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

40 EAST 49th STREET • PLaza 9-1600 • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

M.S. arrived. Reposing in safe — E.C.

March 13, 1953

RECEIVED
MAR 16
Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At last our Board of Directors has met and taken up the subject of the Cotton manuscript on Southern Land Tenure. Several of the Board members read the manuscript carefully and gave a unanimous verdict that it was poorly written and too long for a popular pamphlet. One of the Board members, himself a lawyer, undertook to write a fairly full statement giving suggestions and criticisms of the manuscript, and this statement is copied and enclosed verbatim to give you and Mr. Cotton a detailed account of the criticism instead of generalities.

The Board was definitely interested in the topic of the pamphlet but felt it could make no commitments for the pamphlet in its present form, and agreed that a rewritten, shorter, popular pamphlet should come before it for approval.

Is it possible for Mr. Cotton or someone else to prepare such a revised pamphlet? I know this has been hanging in the air for a long time, and am sorry it must be rejected in its present form. If an effective, popular pamphlet could be prepared, it would get the immediate attention of our Board.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

Enc.

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Copy of criticism of Cotton manuscript on Southern Land Tenure

"I have read this manuscript with some care. I will merely mention the incredibly poor literary style which would make extensive editing necessary if it were to be used.

"It seems to me that the section entitled, "How to Write a Good Lease" has no place in this study. If, as the author says, present legislation permits the making of practically any kind of arrangement desired, then there is no need for the preceding elaborate study of the present legislation, as an introduction to the section on writing a good lease. Actually, this section could be of considerable value to tenants if published as a short pamphlet in check-list form. This would give them at quick reading, a listing of the points to which they should give attention. The preparation and distribution of such a pamphlet, it seems to me, might be of considerable value. Of course, the author is talking irrationally when he suggests securing a lawyer to draft the lease after all the points involved have been agreed upon. If the parties have overlooked some of the points on the check-list, and the lawyer reminds them of this, then there will be another round of negotiations and discussion. Actually, it would make more sense to have a lawyer in at the negotiations at the outset, if there is to be the use of a lawyer at all. However, my main criticism is that this section, which is probably the more practically valuable section of the manuscript, does not belong with the other sections.

"With reference to the remainder of the manuscript, I confess I am somewhat at a loss to indicate how it should be used. In the light of the relatively simple recommendations for new legislation at the end, buttressed as they are by the author's statement that present legislation permits almost any kind of desired arrangement, there seems to be little use for the preceding elaborate study of existing law. In other words, it seems that the author did not have to go through all the preceding lengthy analyses in order to arrive at his recommendations. I suppose it would be all right to keep both parts of the study, but, in that event, I would suggest that the analysis of existing law should be materially shortened and condensed.

"I don't know of what value the manuscript would be then, even in the suggested form, except as an article for an economics or sociology periodical. Certainly it would not furnish a basis for any popular material, except with respect to the recommendations.

"Finally, I question the value of appendix of the various State laws, as now constituted. As it now reads, it merely lists a few of the special features in each State without giving any general picture of the legal pattern of that State. It may be that this has some value, but I think it would be of much greater value to digest the laws of the various States in the form of a tabular comparison which would break down the legal patterns in each State from the view of perhaps eight or ten major topics relating to agricultural tenancies. In that way, the reader would get a picture at once of the general pattern and of the comparisons between the various States.

"I am sorry to be so critical of a manuscript which is apparently based upon a great deal of study, but I cannot see it as of any great value in its present form."

January 27, 1956

Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 E. 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay Bennett:

We have just received a copy of "Down On The Farm--The Plight of Agricultural Labor" with which we are much impressed. We would like to order a copy for each of our state offices (see enclosed list). Please bill us here at the Central Office for these twelve copies.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

Enc.

From Mark Lawrence

February 9, 1956

Fay Bennett, Exec. Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 E. 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay Bennett:

We are sorry we forgot to include the address of The Tennessee Council on Human Relations. It is: Room 420, Jackson Building, Cherry and Seventh Streets, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Also enclosed you will find our check for $3.00 in payment for the pamphlets which you so kindly sent to our state people. Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

May 22, 1956

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East Nineteenth Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay:

We have had a couple of discussions about your letter of April 16th on the matter of appeals to fetch in money.

We all agree that we ought to work at it by individual solicitation by mail. We will make up a plan and proceed with it.

I do, from time to time, see Aubrey Williams' mailings. They lost their tax-exemption (I think on quite insufficient grounds) and so they are confined to fetching in money by such appeals. We barely make the grade each year using our tax-exemption to the fullest, and we will need the other resources.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: HCF

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

April 25, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF HCF

RE: Letter from Fay Bennett

I think we ought to do something by way of direct mail appeals. That means getting up a mailing piece and laying hold of appropriate mailing lists of persons likely to be friendly to us. Father Shean, who knows something about this, is supposed to advise with us on it when he is in Atlanta early in May.

After you have written Miss Bennett, I would like to get this material back for more careful scrutiny.

RECEIVED APR 18 1956

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

112 EAST 19th STREET • ALgonquin 4-4955 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

April 16, 1956

74 of
address
file

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Within the last month I have received two appeals from the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which leads me to believe that this outfit is putting on a strong campaign to enlist support from liberals around the country. What they are doing is exchanging lists with other organizations or periodicals and my name happened to be on two of the lists.

Just in case you do not see their material, I am enclosing a copy of one of these mailings. I am concerned about this drive of the Southern Conference because I am afraid they will get support from a great many well-meaning people around the country who are not familiar with its background and who will probably look upon it as the only voice rising out of the South which talks about justice for the Negro.

Because I know about your widespread program in every Southern state in which you have set up councils of human relations by which Negro and white leaders may work together to solve the race problems in the South, I think it would be an important part of your work to occasionally send out a bulletin to people all over the country telling of your work and also asking for their support. Of course it may be that you do not want any financial support from the north but the Southern Regional Council will certainly need a great deal of help in the way of contributions from Americans of good will from all over the country to sustain its program. I would suggest that now is the time to start ~~looking~~ building up your contributors' list for this purpose and also to counteract the efforts being made by the Southern Conference Educational Fund to try to sell people the idea that they are the lone voice of sanity in the South.

Mrs. Lyells of Miss. Council was most helpful to Al Kramer who recently went to Miss. on behalf of N.S.F. & N.C.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:JA

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Write Mrs. Mitchell

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

PUBLISHERS OF The Southern PATRIOT

822 PERDIDO STREET, NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA • CANAL 7326

March , 1956

Dear Friend:

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is administered by Southerners who have faith in democracy. When the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision outlawing segregation in the public schools, the SCEF board of directors applauded the decree because it "reunited" legality and morality in the South.

On February 15th, United States District Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered an end to segregation in the New Orleans schools. He declared that "we are, all of us, freeborn Americans, with a right to make our way, unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God." He voiced the creed that inspires all activities of the SCEF.

For ten years the Fund has sponsored an educational program designed to prepare the region for these historical decisions. It has sought to change outworn racial attitudes and to promote new understanding.

This work has now entered a period of crisis. The recent acts of repression and violence in the South indicate the strength of the opposition to it. Yet this work must succeed if America is to remain true to its ideals of liberty and brotherhood.

We are asking your help. All of the money for the Fund comes from contributions by individuals who recognize the importance of having a forthright spokesman for democracy in the South. We hope the enclosed summary of the SCEF's past projects will lead you to give generous support.

Sincerely,

Aubrey Williams

Aubrey Williams
President

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The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 14. No. 1 Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. January, 1956

From "Children in America", photographic exhibit by Marion Palfi.

The SCEF: 1946-56 -A Brief History, A Proud Record

"The past is prologue," according to a half-million after-dinner speakers, at least. And there is truth in the old Shakespearean saw. But there is also a quality to the past that makes it not only a guide to future action but a drama, complete, stirring and valuable of itself.

In essaying a summary of SCEF projects over the past ten years no chronicle of less than volume size could come close to capturing the spirit, the heroism, the self-sacrifice of the individuals who participated. We hope that those who read and remember the parts they played will know that they have not been forgotten. We hope that those to whom this record is new will recall the regional situation in the years in which the events occurred.

1946

The SCEF underwrote a test case challenging the constitutionality of the Georgia county-unit voting system. Two pamphlets — "Would You Smile?" and "Look Him in the Eye"—presented statistical studies of Negro living conditions. Each booklet had a distribution of 50,000 copies.

A fight between a Negro and a white man in Columbia, Tenn., led to the terrorization of the Negro community first by an armed mob and then by state troopers. A hundred Negroes were arrested, many were beaten by police, and two were killed in jail. The SCEF printed and circulated 100,000 copies of a pamphlet giving the facts and protesting against the atrocity.

TEN YEARS OF BATTLE FOR A SIMPLE TRUTH

This month marks the tenth anniversary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. To look back is to feel venerable, so great have been the changes in the region since January 26, 1946. Yet again, so rich in promise has been the past decade, that to look forward is to enjoy in anticipation the years to come. And the SCEF has always looked forward.

If one is to appraise the history of the SCEF to date for some capsule meaning, perhaps one could say that the organization in its life span has demonstrated the virtues and the handicaps of being simple-minded.

Yes, *simple-minded*—in the sense that the SCEF, its officials, and its supporters believed the simple truth that racial segregation was morally wrong and should be abolished.

They held segregation to be evil because its fruits were fear and hate, rather than respect and love.

They were Southerners but they couldn't see how that exempted them from being Americans. And they didn't believe that laws creating second-class citizenship could be squared with American ideals of democracy and brotherhood.

This simple idea forms the core that has held the SCEF together these past years. It has been the basic message of every gathering, every piece of literature, every petition, every project of any sort the organization has sponsored. And even though—until the Supreme Court met the segregation issue squarely in 1954—the SCEF's program was "against the law" in the South, the simple truth found it many allies and friends.

Because of this support, and because the simplicity of the SCEF's attitude showed that it meant what it said, the Fund has received the full impact of professional bigots' wrath. But the SCEF has survived, survived without taking a backward step.

Looking back at the record, it is amusing—and perhaps instructive—to note that the *Southern Patriot* of January, 1946, carries a letter to SCEF Director, Dr. James A. Dombrowski, which states:

Dear Dombrowski:

I have just received through a friend of mine in Jackson, Mississippi, two sheets that your un-American, negro social equality, communistic, mongrel outfit is sending out throughout the country in your mad desire to build up a factual case against the right and prerogative of a United States Senator or Senators to filibuster any objectionable legislation that is proposed in this great body. . . .

The letter was signed: Theodore G. Bilbo, United States Senate.

And so one sees that with the white supremacists, nothing has changed. Yesterday Bilbo, today Eastland—but the prime target remains the SCEF.

Former heavyweight champion Gene Tunney was once asked what was the key to success in boxing. He replied: "Always fight another round." This, the SCEF has done for a decade; this, the SCEF pledges to do in the future—simply and directly, in the cause of plain truth and common decency.

POLL OF SOUTHERN EDUCATORS FORECASTED EASE OF COLLEGE INTEGRATION

1947

A "Declaration of Universal Franchise" was signed by more than a hundred educators, union leaders, ministers and journalists. The document, widely distributed, challenged the schemes of various legislatures in the effort to circumvent Supreme Court decisions re: "white primaries." Later the federal rulings upheld the views expressed in the declaration.

On March 22, 350 Floridians attended a statewide conference at Winter Park to protest the Matthews "white primary" bill. Rev. D. C. Whitsett was chairman; Harry T. Moore, was a speaker; the SCEF Executive Director served as coordinator.

In October, the SCEF distributed 125,000 copies of "Separate and Unequal," a study with graphs and pictures of the effect of segregation in education. Said one passage: "A community that gives lip service to the ideals of equality, freedom and universal brotherhood, yet condones a set of human relationships that daily deny these ideals cannot possibly enjoy a healthy and stable mental life. A community, like an individual, cannot live with a big lie without serious psychological results and inevitable spiritual decay." Seven years later this concept, too, became part of the law of the land.

1948

"The Color Line in Health," gave a full documentation of how segregation literally cost lives by limiting access to medical care and creating unsanitary community conditions.

Three defendants, including the director of the SCEF, won acquittal on charges of violating the segregation ordinance in Birmingham, Ala. The case arose out of a meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Congress where Senator Glen Taylor was scheduled to speak. Birmingham police chief "Bull" Conner had harassed the program from the outset; the Dixiecrat revolt was brewing and five Negroes had been killed by city police within a month. Taylor, too, was arrested and received a going-over from police. The acquittals came because the city judge feared that the defendants were ready to make a federal test case of the matter. Ironically, Taylor was convicted and was unable to win a reversal upon appeal.

At a time when the Southern Governors Conference was promoting the idea of regional graduate schools as a means of staving off the demand of Negroes for entry into state professional and graduate institutions, the SCEF took a series of polls of Southern faculties on the matter.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune at the SCEF reception in their honor.

A poll of the state university faculties in eleven Southern states revealed that in seven of them a majority supported graduate school integration; the University of Alabama yielded a tie vote; Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina voted for the regional plan.

On Nov. 20, a group of 50 Southerners met in conference at the University of Virginia. In a pilgrimage to Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, they formaly adopted a "Declaration of Civil Rights" that had previously been endorsed by 200 outstanding persons in the region. The declaration said, in part, "We still believe that all men are created equal and are endowed as men with certain rights . . . We take these rights to include equality before the law, and freedom from any discrimination bolstered by law; a right to vote; freedom of expression; an unrestricted access to all institutions supported by taxes for the public welfare, schools and hospitals not excluded; equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity to receive training and to gain employment; and the right to unsegregated transportation, housing and assembly."

1949

A poll of 15,000 teachers in 155 Southern colleges and universities in which 3,422 replied revealed that seven out of ten favored integration in graduate and professional schools.

The SCEF served as coordinator for an *amicus curiae* brief in the Sweatt case, which resulted in the ending of segregation in the law school of the University of Texas. It was signed by 18 lawyers from 13 Southern States. One of the salient points argued was:

"The lawyer who has been educated in a segregated law school must inevitably find the attitudes ingrained in him by the segregation carried over into his practice, with consequent embarrassment, failure to adequately represent the interests of his client, tension between lawyer and client and other more subtle pitfalls. Only attendance at an unsegregated law school can give a white law student in the South the background of dealing on a man-to-man basis with Negro clients and Negro lawyers in his practice."

1950

Meeting at Atlanta University on April 8 some 250 professors and students attended the SCEF-coordinated Conference on Discrimination in Higher Education. They called for an end to segregation statutes, but also expressed the hope that "the educational institutions themselves, many of which were founded upon religious faith and high moral principles, will take the lead in bringing

MEDICAL SURVEY REVEALED HOW SEGREGATION COST LIVES

about fair play and a truly democratic culture."

Albert Einstein sent a message to the gathering which stated:

"If an individual commits an injustice he is harassed by his conscience. But nobody is apt to feel responsible for misdeeds of a community, in particular, if they are supported by old traditions. Such is the case with discrimination. Every right-minded person will be grateful to you for having united to fight this evil that so greviously injures the dignity and repute of our country. Only by spreading education among all of our people can we approach the ideals of democracy.

"Your fight is not easy, but in the end, you will succeed."

In December, the SCEF addressed an appeal to Governor John S. Battle of Virginia, asking clemency for the "Martinsville Seven," the seven Negro youths who were subsequently executed for raping a white woman. It was pointed out that in 13 Southern states during the period 1938-48, sixty-eight per cent of those executed for murder were Negro; 92 per cent of those executed for rape were Negro. Yet, according to 1940 census figures, Negroes made up only 23.8 per cent of the population in those states. On that basis it was urged that "judicial bias and undue severity toward the Negro defendant might reasonably be deduced."

Braving the coldest weather ever recorded in South Carolina, 125 Southerners made a pilgrimage to the Charleston home of federal judge J. Waties Waring. Waring's firm action had ended the white primary in South Carolina. He and his wife also spoke out against discrimination, despite tremendous pressure.

SCEF President Aubrey Williams presented the jurist with a citation which said: "It has been seen that many another, in your place, has found it possible, before obdurate prejudices and customs, to avoid the guidance of the noblest guarantees of our Constitution. Your own faithfulness in this field, despite environmental discouragement others have bowed to, has been exemplary and heartwarming."

1951

A reception by the SCEF honored Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Ambassador of India, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.

The celebrated photo study "Children in America" by Marion Palfi was booked for a year-long tour of libraries, schools and art galleries in the South.

After the brutal Christmas bombslaying of a NAACP leader Harry T. Moore in Florida, a group of fifty outstanding Floridians demanded that Governor Fuller Warren convene a conference to study and improve human relations in the State. The SCEF served as secretariat for the group.

1952

A girl student, Miss Odilla Jacques, at Our Lady of the Lake College in San Antonio won the $100 first prize offered by the SCEF for the best editorial on segregation to appear in a student newspaper.

Of 2,414 administrators polled, 711 replied. Favoring segregation of Negro patients were 479; integration was backed by 127. Seventy-six suggested the erection of separate hospitals for Negroes. The rest either did not answer the question or gave other answers.

In a poll of all the 42,500 white doctors in 17 Southern states, 5,750 replies were received. Of these, 64 per cent backed segregation of patients; 17 per cent integration; 11 per cent the erection of separate hospitals for the races. However, 71 per cent approved admission of Negroes to medical societies. Sixty-three per cent gave outright sanction to admission of Negro doctors to hospital staffs, and 14 per cent voted a qualified approval.

"The Untouchables," a 36-page multicolor pamphlet designed and illustrated by the famous American artist Ben Shahn, presented the SCEF case studies of hospital discrimination and exclusion. The booklet was written by the Southern journalist Alfred Maund and 25,000 copies were distributed. Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt devoted her column "My Day" for Oct. 17 to a discussion of the work, declaring: "It is such organizations as the SCEF that will really bring about the changes all of us hope for—not only in the South but throughout the country."

SCEF President Aubrey Willams appeared before the platform committee of the Democratic Party to urge adoption of an uncompromising civil-rights plank. The SCEF was the only Southern organization to take this stand.

President J. W. Marshall of Wayland Baptist College, Plainview, Texas, was the keynote speaker at a youth conference held during the Christmas holidays in Columbia, S. C. The event, coordinated by the SCEF and sponsored by some 400 persons throughout the South, under the chairmanship of Dr. H. D. Bollinger, of Nashville, Tennessee, drew 141 delegates from 48 colleges. The interracial assembly was housed at Allen University, in the shadow of Governor Byrnes' mansion. It received prominent and impartial press coverage. The assembly urged the governors of the Southern states to "act immediately to eliminate segregation in education." *The Nation* magazine reported the event under the heading, "The Future Comes to the South."

On Oct. 12 SCEF President Aubrey Williams and Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia debated the issue of segregation in the public schools over the DuMont Television Network. Kineoscope recordings of the program were distributed to discussion groups over the South.

A medical advisory committee of Southern physicians was formed to aid the SCEF attack on discrimination in medical and health facilities.

Said the *Southern Patriot* in January: "Never has the Child been a more appropriate symbol of the New Year. For 1954 is destined to be known as the Year of the Child . . . If the (Supreme Court) outlaws segregation in education —as we think it must—the harsh graven face of the traditional South presents to the world will twitch in dismay. But in the fulness of time today's smiling child will take up the regional standard, still smiling—smiling with love for others with the radiance an easy conscience brings."

John Bolt Culbertson, an attorney in Greenville, S. C., vice-president of the SCEF, testified in behalf of a federal FEPC act. He told a Senate Labor subcommittee in Washington:

"The Old Order buttressed itself in the South by means of all-inclusive segregation statutes. Fortunately, these statues are wilting before the scrutiny of the courts. But unfortunately, no clear assertion of public policy has replaced them, and there is some uncertainty and lack of direction. A Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment law would

The Southern PATRIOT

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SMEARS BY SENATOR EASTLAND FAIL TO SLOW DOWN SCEF

formulate explicitly the course our democracy is taking and would bolster those millions of people who want to make democracy a way of life."

On March 18-20 Senator Eastland brought a retinue of professional informers to New Orleans in the attempt to smear the SCEF as a Communist-front. SCEF officials denied Communist ties, past and present, and Eastland admitted failure to a representative of the Montgomery *Advertiser*. The clear racist intention of the investigation and the star-chamber conduct of the hearings drew protest from Negro leaders and from the regional and national press. The SCEF emerged with new support and with an enlarged board of directors.

On April 22, the school of journalism of Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo., presented the Southern Patriot one of its annual awards for "significant contributions to better human relations." The Patriot, said the judging committee, "has been a monthly fearless spokesman for the rights of minorities in a territory where such voices are comparatively silent."

Of the Supreme Court decision outlawing public-school segregation the *Patriot* said: "With the death of the 'separate but equal' dogma, ethics and legality have been reunited in the South for the first time in more than a half century. All the peoples of the South, and the nation, can now appraise themselves and their society by a single standard." But, being quick to note the significance of the "Braden Case" that was arising in Louisville, Ky. (at the time the house had not yet been bombed, nor had the whites who helped the Negro purchase it been indicted for "sedition"), the *Patriot* added: "School districts are geographical, the choice of schools is based on proximity—and Negro ghettos will produce ghetto schools, 'integrated' in name only . . . It is true that the Supreme Court has ruled that restrictive housing covenants are unenforceable. But real estate groups who profit off racial phobias are unremitting and unscrupulous in their extra-legal efforts to maintain the barriers."

1955

Although Mississippi approved a constitutional amendment empowering the legislature to abolish the public schools and replace them with state-subsidized "private" schools, a poll of white teachers in the state revealed nearly two-to-one opposition to the segregation-saving gimmick. The 2,886 ballots received represented approximately one-third of the state's teachers.

Columbia (S.C.) Youth Conference. L. to R., Bishop Frank M. Reid, Dr. James L. Hupp, George W. Haley, S. M. Williams.

Six hundred and twenty-seven also declared they would have no objection to teaching in an integrated school system.

Regional meetings on compliance with the Supreme Court decision on segregation in public schools were held in Richmond, Va., and Houston, Tex., in the months of January and May. Speakers included educators from neighboring areas where integration had been effected. The sessions were also designed to muster interest in the South-wide conference scheduled for 1956. Chairman of the group of 600 sponsors of the proposed conference is Bishop S. L. Greene, senior bishop of the AME Church of Atlanta, Ga.

On Sept. 12, a petition signed by 200 citizens of New Orleans requested the city's school board to lay immediate plans for ending segregation. The signers included persons distinguished in New Orleans and nationally for social, civic and professional achievement. They represented the largest inter-racial group yet to file such a plea in a Southern city.

Rabbi Julian B. Feibelman, who led the committee presenting the petition, said in his accompanying remarks: "We are chagrined to call attention to the fact that children applying for admission into our schools in New Orleans today must present a notarized statement that they are white. This would hardly appear, in the light of the proud history of public education . . . to be consistent with a democratic spirit or even of a humane policy."

Later, on Dec. 15, a prominent group of 100 sponsors held a forum on school integration to commemorate Human Rights Week. The Rev. Allen Hackett, pastor of the interracial Pilgrim Congregational Church in St. Louis, was the principal speaker. Because the Executive Director of the SCEF was serving as coordinator for the meeting, the Young Men's Business Club seized upon the Eastland report to attempt a "boycott" of the forum. The school board, which had granted permission to use a school auditorium, rescinded the grant, then yielded when the sponsors refused to panic and persevered. The forum marked the first sympathetic public discussion of the issue.

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana

more freedom

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

112 EAST 19th STREET • ALgonquin 4-4955 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

13 June 1956

RECEIVED JUN 15 1956

Dear Friend,

I wish you could see some of the letters coming to the office of the National Sharecroppers Fund these days. You would share the deep satisfaction of being able to help some families in the deep South against economic reprisals in these times of inter-racial tension.

We receive urgent letters asking for help because a home is to be foreclosed, a farm tractor repossessed or house furnishings seized. Their requests are not for gifts or charity but for loans to replace the local credit which is no longer available to those who speak up for their civil liberties and lawful rights.

These requests for help have been added to our regular program on behalf of migrant and other low-income farm families.

We now turn to you for help. Your gift will be multiplied in its use. It will not only help a deserving Negro family in the deep South now, but later when the loans are repaid the funds will be used again for long-range programs. Since our resources are running low we hope that you can respond at an early date.

Again, our deep appreciation for your support.

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham

P.S. Miss Fay Bennett, the Executive Secretary, is sending you a special report to the Board of Directors and a reprint from the California Eagle. Please make the check payable to the treasurer of the fund, Eliot D. Pratt.

F.P.G.

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SPECIAL REPORT ON MISSISSIPPI EMERGENCY

By Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

June, 1956

In a recent request for aid, a key Negro leader writes:

> "I am still here in Mississippi and don't plan to leave soon. But I need some operating cash to keep my farm going until the crops are in and the Citizens Council people here have seen to it that I can't get any loan. Still I am very happy as long as we have people like you folks to help keep us alive, and we shall hold the fort. We shall look forward with happiness to a brighter tomorrow."

National Sharecroppers Fund is arranging the loan he needs.

Because the increasing tensions in Mississippi have brought rapidly mounting requests for financial help to NSF, the Board of Directors sent a special investigator to talk with persons whose livelihoods are being threatened. Here is part of his report:

> "Two major problems are basic and need immediate attention of a sustained nature. These are the need to gain the vote and the need to develop a sound credit system. Voting by Negroes is practically nonexistent. This judgment is based, not on the fact that by far the majority of Negroes don't seek to exercise the vote, but on the fact that when he does seek to vote, every possible effort is made in the counties visited to prevent his use of the ballot box.
>
> "The second major need is a sound credit system with reasonable interest, free from being used as an economic weapon to curtail such basic rights as the right to earn a living, to vote, etc. A fundamental aspect of such a system would be some form of cooperative self-help endeavor. There is a real need for a program to develop land ownership among tenant and sharecropper families. Already forty land-owning Negro farmers have formed an association whereby they hope to develop cooperative plans to help make secure their own farming operations, and to aid their less fortunate landless brothers to acquire land."

Voting rights must be left to other organizations but the economic needs of the tenant farmer have always been a primary concern of National Sharecroppers Fund. We have reached in several directions to provide moral support and guidance <u>as well as sources of funds</u> to this group of forty farmers which has courageously set its sights on the future. Other long-range efforts at cooperation are being supported.

Most urgently, we have moved rapidly to give immediate aid in cases where economic need was caused by the struggle of the Negroes to achieve their rights. Cash loans have been made after a quick but thorough investigation of each case. The following are typical examples:

<u>Mr. H.</u> His $1800 farm tractor (almost wholly paid off) being repossessed. A tenant farmer, Mr. H. was ordered off the land and lost his credit standing because of his organizational associations. NFS provided a loan and saved the tractor which means his livelihood.

<u>Mr. B.</u> A tenant farmer for 20 years. Active locally in organization for the rights of Negroes. Credit cut off. No crop loan available. Lost his pick-up truck by repossession several months ago. His combine and home furnishings were about to be seized when NSF came through with a loan.

<u>Mr. T.</u> Tenant farmer. A qualified voter for some years. Last fall his ballot was snatched from him and put in an envelope beside the ballot box. When Mr. T. challenged this procedure, his credit standing suddently evaporated; he could get no crop loan; his outstanding debts on farm equipment were called. Our investigator reported: "In desperation he turned to local 'loan sharks' and after giving a second mortgage on everything from the bed he sleeps on to the tractor he farms with, he was able to get $300 each from two loan companies to carry on his farming operation. With this $600, Mr. T. had to buy food for his family of eight, buy seed, fertilizer, and gasoline for his tractor. By June, his funds were used up." His debts to the loan companies, <u>plus 33 1/3 % interest</u>, couldn't be repaid. His equipment was about to be repossessed when an NSF loan was made.

All loans made by National Sharecroppers Fund are non-interest bearing, long-term loans to help the farmer facing economic reprisal put himself and his family on their feet.

(see other side, please)

California Eagle

Battleaxe & Bread

By Lester B. Granger

Recently I got a report from the National Sharecropper's Fund, which is a too-little-known organization that seeks to keep national attention focused on the condition of the low man on the totem pole in agriculture. The report makes shocking reading, not because it presents startling new facts, but because the story that it tells follows so closely the old familiar pattern.

Granger

It is a bitter comment on the short memory of the general public that almost no one except a few people gives any sustained thought to the plight of sharecroppers—that is, except the sharecroppers themselves.

Twenty years ago, when John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath" was a best-seller and, later, a powerful film, the word "sharecropper" was synonymous with hunger, illiteracy and desperation.

Double Tragedy

Today most people think that sharecropping is a thing of the past, like peonage—and that's a double tragedy. It's a tragedy because the sharecropper is still very much with us; it's a tragedy that people should become so used to continued suffering as to be able to forget it and pretend that it doesn't exist any longer.

Fay Bennett, executive secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund, reports a typical tenant-farmer condition in Alabama, not far from Tuskegee Institute. "Rent was paid in bales of cotton. Twenty percent of the families owned no livestock, and more than half of the renters did not own a cow or a hog. Eighty-seven percent of the families owned some poultry, with an average of approximately 13 birds. Forty-five percent of the farmers owned no farm equipment. Many farmers were reluctant to disclose the unfavorable condition of their financial status. The vicious cycle of being 'furnished' through the year by the landlord, paying high interest rates on loans, and ending the season by just breaking even, or in the hole, has sapped much of the life out of many good farmers."

Rotting To Pieces

It is true that in this particular case a Farmers Club, organized several years ago, has improved the situation by pooling savings in a credit union, making cooperative purchases of seed and fertilizer, buying a tractor used cooperatively, and expanding kitchen garden and home canning activities.

It is also true, however, that there are hundreds of thousands of tenant-farmers and sharecroppers still lacking leadership of this kind. They are rotting to pieces just as steadily and surely as a valuable piece of farm machinery would rot into worthlessness if left neglected and exposed to the elements year after year.

Move Away

Tens of thousands of sharecroppers are protesting these conditions by moving off the farm. They have escaped from living conditions in which they had incomes of less than $1,000 for feeding, clothing and caring for an entire family.

They have watched the federal government move in with farm improvement programs for the South, programs which, for the most part, have benefited the farm owners – the plantation bosses – rather than the chap underneath who has needed the help most. The percentage of tenant-farmers and sharecroppers has been declining steadily during the past 20 years, but not rapidly enough. And declining in the wrong way for a family that has lived on the farm for generations and loves farm life should not have to pull up stakes and move to a city slum in order to improve itself.

Aid For Others

There should be a way for bringing technical and financial assistance to our depressed farm classes, just as we have brought this aid to peoples in other lands, in such a way as to stabilize their situation and build insecurity into security from year to year.

Isn't it queer that a country which has been able in the past ten years to work out daring and imaginative programs for aid to under-developed countries can't find a way to give substantial and lasting aid to under-developed groups within our own population?

This is the picture of conditions which too many Americans have forgotten since the ugly black days of the Great Depression. It is a picture that the National Sharecroppers Fund is trying valiantly to keep before the public and will continue to try as the problem of tenant-farming and sharecropping continues.

Those who would like to know more about the Fund itself and the cause that it serves can write to the National Sharecroppers Fund at 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Reprinted from THE CALIFORNIA EAGLE, April 26, 1956

Issued by

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

(see other side please)

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

112 EAST 19th STREET • ALgonquin 4-4955 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Dear Friend,

I think you will be interested in the enclosed annual report of the National Sharecroppers Fund on "The Condition of Farm Workers in 1957." It contains a good many facts on a very serious problem which becomes even more compelling with rising unemployment.

Several contradictions in our government's farm programs come to light in the report. One is the continued and accelerated program for importing foreign nationals to work on the large farms while American farm workers are unemployed. Another is the huge sums given to large farm operators while the small farmer gets inadequate consideration.

We hope you will find the report useful.

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham

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THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS IN 1957

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
By Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

The year 1957 ended with great suffering for thousands of migrant and sharecropper families in different parts of the United States. Crop freezes in Florida brought reports like this:

> "...Whole families are forced to live in the open...Many are making homes in cardboard and any other kind of makeshift shacks in the woods..."
> --Miami Daily News (February 22, 1958)

Floods followed by a cold wave brought this to Tennessee:

> "...Literally thousands of farm families in the 'Mississippi bottoms' area actually are hungry and facing starvation unless help comes quickly..." --Atlanta Journal-Constitution (January 12, 1958)

No weather problems but just the ordinary situation for migrants in California is told here:

> "...Longest slum in the world...village conditions in Pakistan no worse than some of the California camps...migratory families living under conditions similar to refugees in Seoul (Korea)..."
> --San Jose Mercury (January 23, 1958)

A freeze or flood serves to underscore the fact that most farm worker families are so low on the economic scale that few have reserves to meet emergencies.

THE AMERICAN FARM

The estimated farm population in April, 1957, was 20,396,000 persons, a drop of over 1 million in a year and a decrease of 4,662,000 since 1950. A clearer picture can be obtained from a division of farms according to the dollar value of their output.

Of the almost 5 million farms in the U. S. according to the 1954 census, 3% -- 134,000 -- produce 31.3% of the output and utilize 22.4% of the farm acreage. It is estimated that these 134,000 farms employ more than 20% of the approximately 2 million domestic farm workers and the great bulk of the 466,000 imported contract workers. These are the farms whose output adds up to the surpluses the federal subsidy program is supposed to curtail. The surplus is not increased significantly by the 1 million small farmers -- more than 1/3 of all commercial farms -- whose gross income is less than $2,500. Yet government programs, working against themselves, continue to favor the 134,000.

FAMILY FARMS FACE CRISIS

As thoughtful people become increasingly concerned with the equation of bigness in industrial life with the growth toward conformity, attention may well be focused upon the American family farmer who through the decades has represented freedom. Owning his own land and self-employed, the farmer has been free to speak as he believed. But, in order to make use of mechanization and improved farming methods, a successful farm must have sufficient acreage and capital. The availability of credit at reasonable interest rates and other government policies play a vital role in determining whether the family farmer will stay in business or be displaced by the giant corporation farms. Here is how the pattern of government policies emerges:

> Total federal farm expenditures for all farm programs including subsidy payments were about 5 billion dollars last year. About 2 billion dollars were spent directly for stabilizing farm prices. Over 500 million dollars went in direct cash payments under the soil bank program, paid largely to corporation farms. Over 1/4 million dollars ($278,187.38) was paid to just one farmer under the latter program.
>
> These sums contrast sharply with the $342.5 million spent by the Farmers Home Administration in its loan program for the year on behalf of small

farmers who have no other source of credit. Making loans to approximately 118,000 farmers, the average loan to each was less than $2,000.

Other government policies favoring the big farm include the farm labor import program which brings nearly 1/2 million under-paid foreign workers into the country and no minimum wage and maximum hour legislation for American farm workers. The so-called efficiency of the corporate farms would seem to stem in large part from the subsidies they receive directly in government cash payments and indirectly in the exploitation of farm labor. This program of subsidizing bigness throws more and more small farmers off their land into the city slums or into the migrant stream. Is this good for America?

THE MIGRANT WORKER

Here is a sample of his life as one of the 1/2 million to 1 million* migrant farm workers in this country:

> Men, women and children loaded onto trucks in early evening. First stop made at 11 P.M. for a meal. Told by diner's proprietor to move on. Next stop at 1 A.M. for gas. Migrants not allowed to use toilets. An hour later stop made in a woods for "bathroom" purposes. Continued riding all night. Stopped at 6 A.M. for purchase of cold cuts, bread and soda pop at country store. At noon stopped for drinking water at a spring. State troopers followed trucks rest of day and no stops permitted. At 8 P.M. stop made at a country store to purchase more cold cuts, bread and soda pop. State troopers prevented migrants from leaving truck. Stopped at 3 A.M. for 1-1/2 hours for sleep. At 11 A.M. of second day, migrants arrived at the camp where they hoped to work. (Adapted from a Florida State Board of Health report.)

What does the migrant find at "camp?" Sun-up to sun-down picking if the weather is good. Days of being cooped up in crowded shacks if rain sets in.

In most cases, housing for migrants is wretched. Even in Northern states it sometimes consists of abandoned barns, chicken coops and delapidated shacks. Men, women and children are often herded into one room. Medical attention for migrants is sporadic at best. Cases of infant diarrhea as well as disabling illness of adults have many times gone untreated. Schooling in the past usually has consisted of a few years in elementary school, and this in inferior segregated southern schools which until recently only held "short sessions" so children could work in the fields. Education now must be of prime concern if we are to seek a better life for the children than their parents have.

MIGRANT AID

On the national level the President's Committee on Migratory Labor acts for government. With the barest budget ($56,000 annually), it works with states and federal departments concerned with migrants. It has produced some good recommendations in the fields of housing and transportation and is now working on recommendations for insurance coverage and registration of crewleaders.

The Interstate Commerce Commission adopted regulations on June 17th governing the transportation of migrants for interstate travel. The regulations became effective August 1st, with the provision that the requirements as to seats and seating space in trucks would be observed on and after November 1st. During this interval, several serious accidents occurred involving migrants riding in trucks, including the overturning and burning of a flat-bed truck in North Carolina in June killing 17 men, women and children and injuring 26 more. Even now the new federal law covers only those migrants traveling more than 75 miles, and crossing state boundaries. Only a few states have laws covering migrant transportation within a state.

A non-governmental agency which performs admirable service in this field on a low budget is NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR, a clearing house with which the Fund and 35 other citizen organizations work for improve-

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*No one knows the exact number of migrant workers. The government takes census figures of migrant birds but not of migrant workers.

ments for farm workers and the small family farmer. NSF contributes to its support. Its excellent informative Bulletin is sent regularly to affiliated groups and individual subscribers.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND NATION'S FARM WORKERS

With a special grant from the Industrial Union Department of AFL-CIO, the National Agricultural Workers Union increased its efforts to organize workers on the large western farms. Under the dynamic leadership of Ernesto Galarza, it uncovered many areas where Mexican nationals were used in defiance of the law while domestic workers were unemployed. It documented repeated charges of hunger and homelessness, citing whole families sleeping on river banks and under bridges. Galarza's evidence was presented to the California governor with the result that more jobs were opened up to the local workers and the Farm Placement Service curtailed use of Mexican nationals in certain areas.

Another accomplishment of the union's persistence was opening of the records of the State Department of Employment to public inspection to determine how many foreign nationals were being employed in a given area. This is an important step in breaking down the screen of secrecy behind which the foreign labor program has operated in some states.

The National Agricultural Workers Union (formerly Southern Tenant Farmers Union) continued its work with the group of small farmers in Louisiana who had formed a cooperative association to market their strawberry and vegetable crops. With its devoted president, H. L. Mitchell (the son of an Arkansas tenant farmer) often on the local scene, nearly 1,000 new members joined the union in the state. Union contracts were negotiated with employers of 600 sugar cane workers in Louisiana providing wage increases of 12¢ to 17¢ an hour and other benefits. Union efforts are slowly improving wages and conditions which even now are barely adequate for subsistence although the large growers in Louisiana receive some of the largest subsidy benefits handed out by government.

At a luncheon honoring Dr. Frank P. Graham, held in Atlantic City during the AFL-CIO convention, many labor leaders praised Dr. Graham for his long service to the nation's underprivileged, lauded his leadership of National Sharecroppers Fund, and called for a real effort on the part of organized labor to raise the living standards of farm workers. A. Philip Randolph used the occasion to announce that AFL-CIO President George Meany had authorized a survey preliminary to the development of an organizing campaign among the nation's 2 million unorganized farm workers. Later, it was reported that this survey is to be made through the facilities of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department of which Walter P. Reuther is president. At this writing, the AFL-CIO survey has not yet been launched but NSF is hopeful that 1958 will see the opening of a full-scale farm workers organization campaign backed by the labor movement.

CONTRACT LABOR

The program for importing nationals from other countries under temporary contract to work on American farms has accelerated. The Immigration Service provides the following figures for the fiscal year ending June 30 1957:

Total imported contract laborers	466,713
Contract laborers imported from Mexico*	450,422
" " " " Canada	7,015
" " " " British West Indies	8,244
" " " " Japan	1,000
" " " " French West Indies	32

In addition to these, the Department of Labor lists 3,912 temporary farm workers coming to this country during 1957 from the Bahamas. From Puerto Rico, 13,214 seasonal farm workers came under contract and an estimated 10,000 additional Puerto Rican migrants came on their own. (Since Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, they are free to move back and forth between the islands and the mainland.)

*The Immigration Service reports an additional 44,451 Mexican workers illegally in the U.S. who were apprehended during the year.

Peak number of all Americans engaged in agriculture in 1957 were 10,077,000 according to the Department of Agriculture. About 2 million are farm laborers. Despite the fact that chronic unemployment* exists for American farm workers a good part of the year, caused by intense specialization and factory farming, 25% more than the available supply of American farm labor is imported.

MOUNTING CONCERN EXPRESSED FOR CONTRACT LABOR ABUSES

Following the publication of "Strangers in Our Fields," based on an extensive field study by Ernesto Galarza documenting the shocking disregard of the rights of the Mexican nationals, the Department of Labor issued new housing regulations. When enforcement officers attempted to put the regulations into practice, the growers fought against this attempt to enforce the law. A result of the growers' campaign has been a smaller appropriation in the coming year's federal budget for enforcing compliance of the Mexican workers' agreement.

The widespread violations of the Mexican nationals' contracts, and the exploitation of American farm workers who work without benefit of contract or protective legislation, is in strong contrast to the benefits accorded Puerto Rican and British West Indian seasonal workers in this country. To the credit of their representatives, offices are maintained in this country and careful supervision is given to the work contracts which include guaranteed hours of work, minimum or prevailing wages (whichever are higher), and group insurance providing hospitalization, surgical benefits, out-patient benefits, doctors' calls, weekly income for workers unable to work because of accident or illness, and death benefits. Decent housing, transportation, and meals are also carefully stipulated and enforced. No such contract benefits accrue to American migrants.

DEEP SOUTH DEVELOPMENTS

Sharecropping, segregation, one-party politics -- this is the triumvirate which has controlled life in the South since the Civil War, keeping it nearly static. All three are slowly but surely on the way out. Industrialization is quickening the pace of the South's revolution. It is bringing opportunity to many who are no longer needed on the land. But the uneducated Negro sharecropper or tenant farmer is not yet welcome to the developing industry of the South. Where does he go? If he has a relative in a northern city, he may go there (if he can afford the fare) and join the already over-packed city slums. Or he joins the steadily increasing migrant stream.

NSF has long maintained that civil and political rights for the southern Negro go hand in hand with his struggle for economic advancement. In the states where Negroes (and poor whites) have the least education and the lowest standards of living, there is also the lowest percentage of voters. The figures on voter-turnout in the 1956 presidential election show Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi at the very bottom of the 48 states with the following percentages of voters per 100 persons of voting age, in respective order: 30.4%, 28.5%, 24.6%, 22.1%. This compares with a median percentage for all the states of 67%.

By far the largest number of farm families with cash incomes of <u>less</u> than $1,000 are in the South. These southern states need government help most in services to farmers such as adequate credit and employment, vocational, health and educational programs. A small step in this direction is being taken by the Department of Agriculture's Rural Development Program which has now completed its second year. Working in selected pilot counties, the program attempts to enlist the aid of various government agencies as well as business men, church groups, farm people and others. Admittedly a "bootstrap" operation, the program suffers from inadequate staff and financing and does not seem to rank high in the administration's plans for concentrated effort.

Economic pressures against the independent Negro farmer, sharecropper and tenant farmer continued to come to the attention of NSF. The Fund continued its interest in finding help for some and granted several loans from its own funds. However, NSF believes that the attainment of economic, social, and political

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*5½ million unemployed in industry at present writing makes the problem of importing temporary cheap labor increasingly serious.

rights is a primary responsibility of federal and local government. NSF attempts to bring the facts and the need for responsible action before the people and government through its literature, reports, conferences, and public statements.

LEGISLATION

No new legislation affecting farm workers was passed by the U.S. Congress during the year, although hearings were held on a bill to extend coverage of the minimum wage law to additional groups of workers including some agricultural workers. NSF supported this legislation. Testifying on behalf of the Fund before the House Subcommittee on Labor Standards, Dr. Lewis W. Jones of Tuskegee Institute presented facts and figures showing graphically the extent of sub-standard wages and living conditions of farm workers in the southern states. Pointing out that these farm workers are also seasonal, Dr. Jones said, "Under-employment of hired workers makes the small wages paid them while employed more distressing." A similar bill is expected to be introduced in 1958.

NSF SPONSORS NATIONAL CONFERENCE

In order to focus nation-wide attention on these serious problems, an all-day conference was held in New York on November 13th, bringing together representatives from government, labor, farm and civic groups. Sponsored by NSF and many distinguished Americans, the conference met in three round tables, heard experts, and adopted a series of recommendations for improving conditions for migrant and other farm labor, for investigating the government program for importing foreign farm labor and for help to the low-income family farmer.

A major conference recommendation called upon Secretary of Labor Mitchell to appoint a tripartite committee, consisting of representatives of the public, employers and labor to investigate the contract labor program, its abuses, its effect upon American farm workers' opportunities and standards, and its influence upon the competitive position of family farms.

Another major conference recommendation was that organized labor take responsibility for organizing farm workers into effective unions, recognizing that the present National Agricultural Workers Union lacks adequate funds and personnel to do this job. (With farm workers themselves having incomes too low to support an organizing campaign, the Agricultural Workers Union has received some financial support from other sympathetic unions and from NSF.)

Conference recommendations also called for federal and state legislation guaranteeing for farm workers minimum wages, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, sickness and disability benefits, old age assistance, licensing and bonding of crew leaders, uniform standards for housing for migrant workers, enforcement of sanitary and health provisions for migrant camps, regulation of transportation for migrants and educational programs for their children. The conference called for a reversal of the present trend forcing thousands of farm families out of agriculture. Specific programs to help low income farmers were urged.

The conference approved a resolution urging the Board of Directors of NSF to "take the initiative in forming a nation-wide advisory board of distinguished Americans to bring the recommendations and concerns of this conference before the organized labor movement and the Congress of the United States." (Printed conference proceedings and literature list are available from NSF office.)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

In existence for 20 years, the Fund finds growing opportunities for bringing these issues before the American public whose awareness and interest must be aroused before corrective measures will come.

March 5, 1958

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

You should, by all means, be receiving our publications. We will see that you do.

I will expect to hear from you further about the projected Southern conference.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dear Miss Bennett:

You should, by all means, be receiving our publication. We will see that you do.

I will expect to hear from you further about the projected Southern conference.

Cordially,

HCF

(JC to see corresp.)

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

112 EAST 19th STREET • ALgonquin 4-4955 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

February 27, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Exec.Dir.
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Fleming:

We have brought our special file up to date and it now includes your name as executive director of the Southern Regional Council. We will send you our reports and published material regularly in the belief that they will be of interest to you. Since copies of the proceedings of our recent conference as well as our reports have already gone out addressed to your predecessor, these have no doubt come to your attention.

On our part we are interested in seeing the material put out by the Southern Regional Council. Occasionally this comes to our attention from other sources but we would appreciate it very much if you would put us on your mailing list so that we will receive your reports and releases as issued.

Some time before the next year rolls around I will be in touch with you again concerning the possibility of a Southern Regional conference on the problem of low income farm people. When I was at Tuskegee several months ago for a conference of Professional Farm Workers, Dean Potts and I had a preliminary talk about the desirability of having a wider conference in the area bringing together many groups.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:JA

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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

112 EAST 19th STREET • ALgonquin 4-4955 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

March 20, 1959

Dear Friend,

The enclosed annual report of the National Sharecroppers Fund will bring you a concise and informative review of the past year's events as they relate to American farm and migrant workers.

While the future looks brighter than it has for a long time, the situation is still very serious. Right now thousands of these families in Arizona and Nevada are existing on private and public charity. The importation of nearly one-half million contract workers continues to thwart efforts to raise the living and working standards of the domestic workers.

Signs of progress to come are Secretary of Labor Mitchell's announced position in favor of a minimum wage for farm labor, and organized labor's reported plans for a real organizing drive for these workers on the large farms.

We hope you will find this report useful.

With good wishes always,

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

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THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS IN 1958

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
by Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

The great suffering brought to farm workers by the floods and freezes which delayed and destroyed crops in the southeast and Mississippi areas was the opening story of last year's annual report. Particularly hard hit were some 10,000 stranded migrant workers in Florida. Only this fall, October 30, 1958, has Sylvia Porter's column in the New York Post told the rest:

> "On the basis of those 11 nights [of the freeze] the Florida citrus industry is riding the greatest boom year in its entire history... Today, Florida's growers are being offered $2.25 to $2.75 a box on-tree for their early and mid-season orange crops. At this time a year ago, they were being offered $1.00 a box on-tree.....
>
> "To those of us who live in cities far removed from the citrus groves, the freeze of last winter has meant two things: sharply higher prices for fresh fruits and frozen juices and lower quality of fruit."

For the growers, it has meant quadrupled profits. For the workers, it was another year of hardship and below subsistence income.

Again in early 1959 - -

Cotton crop failures and ploughed-under cotton* in Arizona had thrown people out of work, and 300 of them headed north to Nevada on the rumor of work there. They found the harvest late, and other workers ahead of them, also waiting. An Associated Press story on February 26 reported,

> "For days they had barely enough food to keep alive. They camped - men, women and children - in the open, along ditch banks, without protection from winter rains and freezing night temperatures. They took their drinking water from irrigation ditches used by cattle. Many children were sick. And they had no work.
>
> "The only thing these people have to bargain with is their hunger," said Father Crowley, a Roman Catholic priest who brought relief collected locally.

The Life of Migrants

Housing. Migrant workers themselves consider bad housing and the inability to maintain sanitary conditions their most serious health menace, according to a twenty-one state survey made by the Home Missions Division of the National Council of Churches. Bad housing, flies, mosquitos, lack of screening, dirty beds and mattresses, unsanitary toilets and a lack of hot water and bathing facilities were among the evils most often named. One report told of a camp without water or toilets.

Health. Migrants need the same health services other people need, a bulletin of the Committee on Rural Health of the American Academy of General Practice has pointed out. But few migrants are immunized against common communicable diseases. Diarrheal disease, tuberculosis, and venereal disease are among conditions commonly reported.

Migrant health and injuries problems, made more serious by the conditions under which migrants live, have further complications. The very low income of the migrants is seldom capable of meeting the charge of medical care, and local welfare facilities are often not available to them because of residence restrictions.

A start has been made, at least in the distribution of information, by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in its area guuides to Health Services in Major Migrant Work Areas.

Transportation. This is one area in which the federal government has attempted remedial action through the Interstate Commerce Commission. As with

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* Made mandatory because of a pink ball worm infestation

most matters relating to migrants, however, enforcement continues to be as great a problem as initial regulation. Again in 1958, a terrible tragedy underlined the unprotected position of migrants. Twelve Mexican Nationals died and 19 were seriously injured when fire from a spilled gasoline can blazed through the "ramshackle old flatbed truck that had been converted into a bus." The truck was enclosed by wooden sides and roofed with metal. Its only exits were two narrow openings at the rear, between rows of wooden benches, and each exit was barred by a chain fastened across it, so that the men were trapped.

An Oregon report on migratory labor was ironic about transportation of child workers. "The Interim Committee believes," it states, "that school children picking berries are entitled to the same safety protection as the berries receive when transported to market in a common carrier."

The situation is still one in which electric "blankets" protect crops while growers object to providing any blankets for men; cherries are better guarded in transit than children; and the United States takes a census of migratory birds but not of migratory workers.

The American Farm

Over-all trends in agriculture remained constant in 1958: Increase in the size of farms and decrease in the number of individual family farms continued. The number of people working on farms averaged 7,525,000 in 1958, according to the Department of Agriculture. Farm operators and unpaid members of their families comprised 5,570,000 of the monthly average -- 112,000 fewer than in 1957 and 2,027,000 fewer than in 1950. The hired working force approximated 1,955,000.

The spread of vertical integration, already affecting sugar beets, broilers, turkeys, vegetables, and some fruits, threatened to reduce still more family farmers from independent decision-makers to cogs in the wheel of big business. Vertical integration is the coordination and planning of the farmer's operation involving what, when, and how much to grow, where to get his fertilizer and feed and who shall process and purchase his finished product. A packing house or a large chain store may control the whole operation.

Mechanization continues without adequate planning for the surplus labor driven from the farms or for the estimated million people who now make their living by farming but will have to find another place in the economy within the next 15 years. Production will continue to rise, as it did this year 11 per cent above the previous record highs of 1948 and 1957.

The Budget

The President's budget, presented in January, 1959, estimated expenditures for agriculture programs in the fiscal year 1960 at six billion dollars; this is $779 million less than the estimate for the current year but $1.6 billion more than was actually spent in fiscal 1958. The main decrease results from termination of the acreage-reserve portion of the soil-bank program at the end of the 1958 crop year. Expenditures for price supports and other programs to stabilize farm prices and farm income will comprise about 75 per cent of the six billion total. For this fiscal year, it is estimated that the total cash wage of farm workers will be less than half the cost of price supports.

Contract Labor

It was assumed that, because of domestic unemployment and consequent increase in the supply of domestic workers, the importation of foreign workers would drop substantially in 1958. However, the reduction in number of foreign workers admitted, according to the Department of Labor, was only one per cent; and the figures on admission do not account for additional foreign workers admitted in previous years who are still here. The 1958 figures from the Labor Department's Bureau of Employment Security are:

Admitted from Mexico	432,857
Admitted from British West Indies	7,441
Admitted from Canada	6,900
Admitted from Japan	315
Total foreign workers admitted in 1958	447,513

Illustrations of the discrepancy between those admitted and those working include: the B.W.I. program in which importations (excluding Bahamians) were 5204 and yet the peak employment month showed 8,390; the Filipino program, which does not appear at all, but for which varying figures of 25, 27, and 33 are given for those still here; the Japanese program, in which about 1,000 previously admitted are still here. The Immigration Service lists also 95 from the French West Indies and 166 Basque sheep herders.

Puerto Rican workers, as citizens, are in a separate category. The 13,067 farm workers who came from Puerto Rico in 1958 represented a slight drop from 1957 and a 12 per cent drop from the all-time high of 14,876 in 1956. This was attributed to greater availability of domestic labor because of the recession. Despite recession conditions, a survey of prevailing wages resulted in a wage increase for Puerto Rican workers this year. Puerto Rican contract workers receive wage-and-hour guarantees, accident and illness insurance, and their housing and working conditions are subject to inspection.

Foreign Workers and Domestic Wages

Only a few examples can be given of many actual instances of the depressing effect of the use of foreign workers on American wages. Between August 1 and August 5, 1958, peach growers in Sutter County, California, had been paying 15 to 18 cents a box for picking. A labor shortage was certified and 933 Mexican Nationals were sent for; 700 arrived on August 7. On August 6, the chief of the State Farm Placement Service certified a base wage of 12 cents a box for the area. Similarly, over a ten-year period, wages of tomato pickers in the San Joaquin Valley have dropped 40 per cent at the same time that the proportion of Mexican Nationals used to pick them has risen to 90 per cent. In the Imperial Valley, hourly rates for farm labor were 70 cents in 1951 and they were still 70 cents in 1958. There is not always a wage cut; but there is usually a wage freeze.

In addition, Nationals are increasingly doing work one step removed from agriculture, sometimes replacing union labor with non-union labor, wages, and conditions. Operations are moved into the field, as in lettuce, when the union-organized packing shed was abolished and the packing is now done in the field by Nationals.

United States Nationals

The wonder is that, under these conditions, there still are domestic farm workers. But there are, and the latest figures released by the Department of Agriculture give $892.00 as the average annual income for the hired farm worker for the full year 1957. Average farm wage rates, which had increased steadily, if slowly, since 1947, were stabilized at $5.90 a day for 1956 and 1957. Fewer farm working days and fewer days of non-farm work contributed to a decrease in total income. When the 1958 totals are completed, they will show for the first time since 1950 a rise in the total number of hired farm workers and an increase in time worked, but not much variation in wage rates. A long-range trend appears to be an increasing proportion of women and youth in the total number of seasonal workers.

Child Labor and Low Wages

Part of the intensive survey of migratory labor recently made in Oregon reveals one reason for the continuance of child labor in commercial agriculture. The Bureau of Labor found these results of average median earnings for the previous (sample, not average) week:

Head of family	$32.36
Wife and children	48.00
Total	$80.36

Neither of these figures alone would have supported the family, especially since it typically finds work for less than half the year. No wonder the report further tells of an area in which everyone from age 7 up works, and that the story can be multiplied across the country.

Last year, 227,000 children between 10 and 13 were legally employed on farms as hired labor; that is, not working for their parents. Federal legislation protects children only during school hours. Twenty states set no minimum age for working children and other state laws vary; one protects children under 10, three protect children under 12, and so on.

National Agricultural Workers Union

The continued importation of foreign contract workers for farm work, lack of sufficient funds for organizing work, and continued exemption of farm workers from the legal protections given to industrial workers, have made the role of the NAWU more difficult than ever. Even the intermittent support sometimes given by a few of the more sympathetic unions was sharply curtailed. With its main support coming from its underpaid members and from its monthly grant from NSF, the farm labor union carried on what was essentially a holding operation. In California, the union's able secretary-treasurer, Ernesto Galarza, gave yeoman service to the rest of organized labor in helping to defeat the state's so-called "right to work" bill.

Perhaps the most significant and hopeful project of the union was initiated by its undaunted president, H.L.Mitchell, to supply to Pennsylvania growers a group of experienced farm-worker members of the union from Arkansas. These workers differed from the usual migrant crew in that their leader was a union representative and they had a contract with the growers providing for a minimum wage of not less than 75 cents an hour and a guarantee of regular work for 160 hours in each four-week period.*

This project proved highly satisfactory to the growers who were assured of a trained and stable work crew, while the workers were assured of a base pay and regular work. An experienced union officer, George Stith, worked along with the others in the fields and spent his off-hours travelling from farm to farm adjusting grievances of the workers.

The NAWU hopes to extend these arrangements for using union crews under contract in New York and New Jersey and eventually in other states. Such a system would go far to eliminate the worst hazards of migrant labor. It would also help to raise and stabilize the meagre incomes of the under-employed in some rural areas of the south.

As the year ended, there were strong indications that the top leadership of the AFL-CIO was prepared to give its backing to a drive to organize farm workers on the large corporate farms.

State Action

The beginning of state legislation, with Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey in the lead, should bring improvement in migrant living conditions; but it is still only a beginning. The number of state migrant committees continues to grow until it has now reached twenty. The Council of State Governments has made helpful suggestions, and a Committee of Officials on Migratory Labor of the Atlantic Seaboard States has made a whole series of recommendations for action in the fields of housing and transportation, health and welfare, licensing of crew leaders, elimination of residence requirements, barring child labor in agriculture, establishing minimum wages for farm labor, and developing gov-

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* Pennsylvania has been able to do without any imported workers this year, thanks to the resourceful leadership of the state's Secretary of Labor and Industry, William L. Batt, Jr.

ernors' committees and state bureaus of migratory labor.

By far the most encouraging action for improvement of migrant conditions has come in the Pacific Northwest where government officials in the employment service have firmly applied the Department of Labor regulations which give preference to domestic farm workers over Mexican Nationals and provide for decent wages and working conditions. At first there was protest from growers who had grown to rely on imported braceros. But refusal by the Washington State Employment Service to supply Mexican Nationals when domestic workers were available and a corollary insistence that at least $1.00 an hour be paid has resulted in a state record for 1958 of no importation of foreign nationals and a common hourly rate of $1.25 for farm labor. What is more, the grower has a stable and dependable labor supply, and the worker has steadier work and increased income. This contrasts sharply with California and Texas, where local farm workers migrate out for jobs while the employment services certify labor shortages and bring in tens of thousands of low-priced Mexican Nationals.

National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor

National Sharecroppers Fund has played its part in both the development and the organization of this rising public concern for farm labor. Out of the successful conference sponsored by NSF in the fall of 1957 on "Migratory Labor and Low-Income Farmers" has come the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. This is an independent committee of distinguished Americans with Frank P. Graham and A. Philip Randolph serving as co-chairmen. Public hearings held in Washington on February 5 and 6, 1959, by the committee, heard witnesses from all over the country on various aspects of the farm labor problem, and heard Secretary of Labor Mitchell declare himself forcefully in favor of minimum-wage legislation, unemployment insurance, further safeguards for children, and national registration of crew leaders. There is much evidence that this new committee will give strong impetus to the growing sentiment for bringing to underpaid farm families the rights and conditions enjoyed by most other Americans.

National Sharecroppers Fund

The Fund is proud to have shared in this undertaking as it has been proud of its share in sponsoring the Migrant Children's Fund and its educational pioneering, and its support for the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. NCALL is a clearing house in which nearly forty organizations cooperate in exchange of information and planning for the needs of farm workers and the small family farmer. Located in Washington, it fulfills an important role in keeping in touch with legislative and other governmental developments on behalf of its member organizations.

Legislation. NSF tries to keep abreast of all important developments in the agricultural field, including current legislation. During the past year it has testified for preserving the law to protect family-sized farms by providing that no one ownership should get more than enough water to irrigate 160 acres from any government irrigation program, and against proposals to make permanent Public Law 78 under which the importation of Mexican Nationals is authorized. The latter was enacted in war labor-shortage years, yet today four times as many contract workers are imported as in 1943. The result has been a steady deterioration of the wages and conditions of domestic farm workers. Its immediate concerns now will be the measures it expects will be introduced into Congress, minimum wage and crew leader registration.

The Future: In view of aroused public concern as evinced by the open hearings in Washington, proposals for including farm workers under social legislation which now covers industrial workers, and possibilities of a real drive to organize farm workers by the AFL-CIO, NSF looks forward to an exciting year of increasing activity and positive achievement. The work of many years past may come to fruition if extra efforts are made in the immediate future to give public support to administrative, legislative and labor action on behalf of the nation's farm workers and their families.

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS IN 1959

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
by Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

"In a bad season, there is the specter of empty stomachs for their families...'In the last two days I ain't picked more than $2 worth of tomatoes,' said Tally, head bunched between his husky shoulders. 'That don't buy us much.'...When the harvest is good, migrants pick until their knees are sore and then they work standing..." ("Maryland's Migrant Workers," from the Washington Post-Times Herald, August 16-18, 1959.)

And, bad harvest or good harvest, it's, "Nope, ain't got no home; just any place we're at, that's my home," from an 11-year old boy; or a cry from a 10-year old newcomer to school, "I can't do that...I can't read... I ain't never gone to school enough to learn how...You see, we move around a lot." (Elizabeth Sutton in Migratory Labor Notes, July-September, 1959, from The American Child.)

The Life of Migrants

The year 1959 was full of a new public interest in the condition of migrants and other farm workers, from the Public Hearings of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor held in Washington last February to the National Conference to Stabilize Migrant Labor held in Chicago in November. But the conditions deplored at the close of the year were indistinguishable from the conditions described at the beginning. Progress over the span of years can certainly be seen. Yet these are still, in Secretary Mitchell's phrase, "excluded Americans."

Hired farm workers in 1958 (latest Department of Labor figures) numbered 2,319,000 for those working more than 25 days in farm labor. Of these approximately half a million were migrants.

Housing. The Maryland study quoted above reports that a 1957 state survey of housing conditions found that 66 per cent of the camps had unapproved water systems; that privies in 72 per cent of the camps were below minimum sanitary standards. The newspaper reporter found a camp with migrants living in small shacks, 8 by 10 feet, equipped with cots, a small cook stove, and a light bulb. Swarms of mosquitoes and flies made a depressing picture which can be duplicated across the country.

Health. Both the poverty of the migrants and the temporary nature of the situations in which they live increase their health hazards. The U.S. Public Health Service found that state residence requirements for aid, provided a major obstacle. "Major differences between requirements for public health and public welfare services nullify, in some instances, the tuberculosis efforts of the health agencies," it said. There is hope in news out of Washington that proposals are being made for federal aid in "general assistance" programs and to modify or end the residence qualifications of the various states.

Accidents. Agriculture still ranks as the third most hazardous industry. In highly industrialized New Jersey, farming had more work accidents in 1958 than any other industry - more than 100 a month. The latest overall figures, compiled by the National Safety Council, are: Farm death rates per 100,000, 54.3; total farm resident fatalities 11,300; injuries 950,000. Agriculture is the only industry in which the death rate has risen over the 10 year period 1948-58, with a rise of 4%.

But no statistics can convey the horror of the death of a 12-year old girl working on an Idado farm, caught in a potato-digging machine. (The local school system was having a "harvest vacation" so that the children could work in the fields.) Nor could a system of workmen's compensation make adequate recompense. But when accidents occur, it is worth reflecting that in most states agricultural workers, despite their high

liability to accident, are not insured as are industrial workers - one more senseless "exclusion."

Transportation. New regulations tightening requirements for transportation of migrant workers brought in through international agreement with Mexico were announced by the Secretary of Labor last summer. But it took another appalling crash, in Arizona, in which fifteen Mexican farm workers were killed, to stimulate the change, and enforcement remains a major problem. As for domestic workers, it is still true that most states have not adopted legislation or policies implementing the Interstate Commerce Commission's regulations for transportation of migrant workers.

The American Farm

Output per worker in agriculture has increased 83 per cent since 1940, as compared to industry's 30 per cent. Illuminating local verification of our 1958 report of giantism in agriculture is found in a study prepared by the Houston, Texas, Chamber of Commerce Agriculture Committee, which titles its appraisal frankly, "Agribusiness." With the expansion of large farms and the decrease in the actual number of farmers in the United States, only 13 per cent of the population is now on farms, but 40 per cent of the labor force is engaged in agribusiness: that is, farm machinery and supplies, farm-product processors and wholesale (not retail) distributors. It is in the light of this that concentration of control through vertical integration should be examined. In 1940, the farmers' per capita investment amounted to $4,000; today it is $16,000. Around 1930, each farmer could provide food and fiber for himself and six other people; today the six has grown to nineteen.

Texas has followed the trend - or exemplified it. In 1930, farm workers were 40 per cent of its population; today they are 13.7 per cent. The number of farms has dropped steadily in the same period: half a million in 1930; just under 300,000 in 1959. But the average-sized 250-acre farm of 1930 has become an average 500 acres today. Average cash income has gone from $1,069 to $6,540; total farm income is up 221 per cent since 1940: from about six hundred million to almost two billion.

Net farm income keeps sagging, however. For the first three-quarters of 1959 it was estimated at 11.5 billion dollars, down 1.6 billion from the year before. Part of the reason is the marginal income of the 2.7 million farm families who produce only 10 per cent of the total farm output. Another two million families produce 90 per cent, and within this group the disparity between corporation farm and independent farm family is enormous. About 12 per cent of the farms grossed 60 per cent of all farm product sales in 1954.

Federal Aid. One of the problems is that most federal aid continues to go to the bigger farms and corporations. Senator Williams of Delaware has called attention to the 250 cotton producers who received government price-support loans of $100,000 or more on 1958 crops. The largest of these was nearly $1,500,000 (Westlake Farms, Inc., California).

Rural Development and Underemployment. The general trend in agriculture, described so briefly above, easily shows why a major problem for the country is the workers and families who have been driven out of farming, or those who have been reduced to a subsistence level. It would seem that millions would be better spent in rural re-development.

Yet the federal Rural Development Program is still only what Senator Douglas has called "a timid experiment," operating on a year-to-year, hand-to-mouth basis (though it is reported that permanent status will be asked this year). A farm publication has pointed out that the Department of Agriculture estimates RDP's annual cost (it has no budget of its own) at two million dollars, which is just about what it costs

the department to store surplus crops for 36 hours. The outstanding illustration of what can be done about low-income farming and depressed areas remains the TVA.

Food for Peace

On the credit side, President Eisenhower on his recent trip abroad apparently endorsed a Food for Peace program which had lacked his support previously. This may make possible elimination of some "overproduction" by sharing our surplus with the 60 per cent of the world's people who lack adequate diets as well as other material comforts. Also after a fifteen-year effort, Congress has now passed a food stamp act, effective January 1, 1960, which will use surplus to help the needy in this country. The act is only permissive; that is, surpluses must be requested by a state or political subdivision, but at least this is an advance.

Contract Labor

The Department of Justice, Immigration Service, "report of aliens admitted to the United States as agricultural laborers" for the year ending June 30, 1959, is as follows: Mexico (under Public Law 78) - 447,535; Canada - 6,892; British West Indies - 8,671; French West Indies 56; British Guiana - 99; Japanese - 607; Sheepherders (Basque) - 227.

As always, use of these figures is subject to caution. The total admitted was 464,087; the total that left again was 447,953, although 301,466 were re-admitted. However, there still may be carry-overs from previous years. All that can be said safely is that the figure of imported contract workers has been stabilized over a period of years at between 450,000 and 500,000 and that the figure for this year may be slightly above that for 1958.

Although recent press reports emanating from the Philippine's Labor Secretary indicated a Filipino program for sending farm workers to the United States, the Immigration Service says that no petitions for their importation have been approved since March 4, 1957. Since Department of Labor monthly reports gave a combined peak figure for Japanese and Filipinos (October 1-15, 1959) as 1,600, it would appear that a certain number of Filipinos admitted when that program originated in 1956 are still here.

Foreign Workers and Domestic Wages

The first illustration of this problem given in last year's report was of peaches in Sutter County, California; for this year the peach crop aroused national attention, with press reports of the crop rotting due to a shortage of peach pickers. Background is important. When miscalculations on the part of growers combined with weather conditions which runted the crop, peach growers felt the only place left to cut expense, to save profits, was on harvest wages. But the growers were frightened by two possibilities: 1) an organizing campaign was going on among farm workers, who wanted better instead of worse wages; 2) a scandal in the state placement service regarding its handling of the Mexican program* threatened the supply of Mexican workers used in previous years to keep wages down. Hence a dramatic publicity campaign was developed; 30 newspaper men and editors were flown into the area in chartered planes; the cry of ruin was raised. The union consistently reported domestic workers available, but the grower pressure was successful; the Mexicans arrived. The wage rate (which last year dropped from 15-18 cents a box to 12 when Mexican workers arrived) this year started at 15 (14 in Sutter County) and at times was only 12. The domestic workers never had a chance.

*Involving illegal use of Mexican labor when domestic labor was available, profiteering in feeding of workers, failure to forward premiums on workers' insurance and inadequate medical care.

Agricultural wages in the United States are in a relatively worse position than similar wages are for most other industrial nations. This is shown in a report in the International Labour Review for November, 1959, which points out that farm wages in the U.S. have gone up less in the ten-year period, 1948-1957, than in any other of the western nations.

Investigation of the Mexican Program

Partially as the result of renewed public attention to the plight of farm workers, a committee was appointed by the Secretary of Labor to study the program for imported Mexican workers, by far the largest group of foreign contract workers each year. The committee found that United States workers in some instances have been deprived of job opportunities, their working season shortened, and wages and earnings held down by employment of the foreign workers; that Mexicans are being used increasingly in year-round and skilled occupations contrary to the original intent of the legislation authorizing the program, Public Law 78; that wage rates for such Mexicans have lagged behind the wage levels for farm work generally; that employers of Mexicans tend to pay less to American farm help than those who use domestic workers only.

It recommended authorization to the Secretary of Labor to tighten such loopholes to ensure that domestic workers receive preference and suffer no adverse effects from the importation of foreign workers.

Puerto Rican Workers

Puerto Rican workers who came to the mainland for farm labor in 1959, under contracts supervised by their labor department's migration office, numbered 10,012, a 20% drop from the previous year. Two main factors contributed to the decrease: 1) mechanization; and 2) employers recruited on their own. Avoiding the placement of orders for workers with the Puerto Rican labor office, these employers got in touch directly with workers on the Island whom they had employed previously under contract. Without the contract, the workers lost the protection of specified wages, guaranteed hours of work, insurance coverage, and minimum housing standards. One tragic result of this irresponsible recruiting brought death to two Puerto Rican workers. Recruited to spray crops in Massachusetts, the men died from contact with the poisonous insecticide. There was no insurance and no compensation for their families.

Child Labor

In the 1958 fiscal year, inspectors of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division found 4,491 children, 3,194 of them under 14, illegally working in the fields.

But the far larger problem is that nearly half a million children can work legally in agriculture due to lack of protection by state or federal law. The little girl who died in Idaho was such a child. Twenty states set no minimum age whatsoever and many other state laws are deficient. It is hoped that this condition may be corrected, at least in part, by amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act which would extend its protections to children in agriculture. Hearings are now being held by the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor on this and other farm labor bills.

National Agricultural Workers Union

A most important development of the past year was the decision of the AFL-CIO to finance and support a campaign to organize agricultural workers, starting with a selected area in California. In that drive, which is continuing, the Secretary-Treasurer and other members of the National Agricultural Workers are participating.

The NAWU itself celebrated its 25th anniversary in Memphis on October 17, 1959, and is planning to publish a pictorial history of the Union. The Union has announced an organizing drive in the South. The campaign will aim to organize year-round workers on cotton plantations, seasonal farm labor employed in harvesting cotton, fruits and vegetables, and tractor drivers and other skilled farm machine operators. It hopes also to expand the program of supplying union farm workers from under-employed areas to New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania.

State Action

Legislation dealing with farm workers was introduced in 18 states and enacted in 11, an unusual amount of activity indicating some response to rising public concern. As the result of a legislative committee report, Oregon took action along many lines: crew-leader registration, transportation, labor camps, education for children. California tightened its safety regulations for transportation and introduced a fee for filing for a contractors' license. Florida, Connecticut and Maryland improved their regulations for labor camps. Ohio, New Jersey, and New York increased their aid to migrant education. California amended its workmen's compensation law to provide coverage for farm workers in the same manner as other workers, but Wyoming removed the coverage formerly required so that agricultural workers are included now only if the employer so elects. The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor has published a valuable study, "The Position of Farm Workers in Federal and State Legislation," which can be obtained by writing to the National Sharecroppers Fund. The number of states that now have committees on migratory labor has increased to twenty-five.

National Sharecroppers Fund

The Fund has continued its support for and cooperation with many organizations concerned with varying aspects of farm problems, especially the Migrant Children's Fund, the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, and the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor through which forty organizations cooperate in exchange of information and planning and receive valuable service in keeping abreast of Washington developments.

The Fund supported proposals to improve Department of Labor standards in interstate recruitment of farm workers last September, and it appeared at Senate subcommittee hearings held in New York last December.

The Fund continued its efforts to preserve the 160-acre limitation in the interest of family-sized farms, worked for legislation in various fields affecting farm-worker interests, and distributed information on other aspects of migrant life such as housing and health. Although passage has not yet been secured, nevertheless a certain measure of success is indicated by the very introduction of bills calling for crew-leader registration; extension of minimum-wage coverage to agricultural workers; inclusion of child workers in agriculture under the protections of the Fair Labor Standards Act for other children; and bills to provide credit to farmers to build approved housing for migrants. Hearings on these have been held in many parts of the country, by the newly formed Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

We are deeply encouraged by the increased interest in the problems with which we have been concerned for over 20 years. Requests for information from college students, teachers, libraries, unions, church groups and other social action and citizen organizations bring evidence of an ever-widening interest which is our greatest hope that this neglected group will not remain "excluded Americans."

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc. 112 East 19 Street, New York 3, N.Y.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Rec'd 3/14/60

March 11, 1960

Dear Friend:

The enclosed annual report on "The Condition of Farm Workers in 1959" gives encouraging evidence of increased interest and some action on behalf of farm and migrant workers. Yet in Secretary of Labor Mitchell's words, they are still "excluded Americans."

The report details the sub-standard housing, overly-high accident rate, inadequate health and welfare facilities, and wide use of child labor which are still the lot of migrant farm families. It shows how the low-wage standards were further reduced as a result of the importation of nearly one-half million contract laborers, even when domestic labor was available.

As an indication of rising public concern, the report states that in 1959 "legislation dealing with farm workers was introduced in 18 states and enacted in 11." However, it concludes that the need for additional protective legislation -- both state and federal -- is great, and the report points hopefully to present bills before Congress to cover farm workers under minimum wage and child labor laws, and to provide for federal registration of crew leaders and loans to growers for approved housing for migrants. Another source of hope is the continuing drive to organize farm labor in California under the auspices of the AFL-CIO.

We are glad to join with other organizations in enlightening the American public with regard to these developments. We believe you will find the report informative and useful.

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham

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490

Pending

September 1, 1961

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

I am sorry things did not work out with Mr. Ocie Lee Smith. I don't know of anyone else to recommend but I will let you know if anyone turns up.

I read your program statement and have no suggestions at all to offer. It is excellent and I found it instructive.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:MBB

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(9)

FRV
LD

August 17, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec.Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Herman Long's letter evaluating the capabilities of Ocie Lee Smith. It appeared to us that Mr. Smith was just the man for our position in the South and we got in touch with him immediately. We thought we had the matter clinched but have just learned that he felt it necessary to take another job.

We are sorry that we were not able to employ Mr. Smith. He seems to have the necessary background and personal qualifications which we are looking for.

Meanwhile our program is moving forward in Tennessee and we believe that Fayette County will soon have a bi-racial committee set up eligible for receiving technical assistance and federal aid under the Area Redevelopment Program. We do have Allen Yancey, Jr. working for us this summer on this program and Mr. Yancey will continue to work for us on a part-time basis when he begins his teaching post at Lane College this fall.

In the meantime our Board may continue the search for a full time person to carry forward this work. If you learn of other qualified candidates please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

P.S. Enclosed is a copy of our program relating to this work which will be of interest to you. Since we plan to publish it soon we would appreciate having any suggestions you wish to make for improving it as soon as possible.

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February 21, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

file

Dear Miss Bennett:

The only comment I can make regarding the progress report of your Tennessee program is that it offers a good example of what can be accomplished when an organization is willing to work hard against tough odds and even for piece-meal gains.

Thank you for discussing with me last week the possible South Carolina project. We will let you know how this develops.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo from **JAMES A. MOSS**

Yes —

Can we discuss in light of my memo to you on S.C and Ga Farm study?

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

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TR comment, please
JM
LD

February 6, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec.Dir.
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing a progress report on our Tennessee program. As it shows, progress has been difficult. Nonetheless, we are pleased that some progress is being made.

We believe we have gained valuable experience in how to work in Southern rural communities to bring about a greater awareness and participation in federal aid programs to those who need them and who have been by-passed for too long.

To share our experience with you and others concerned, we are planning a Southern conference in the late spring. I shall write to you again shortly about the proposed conference to get your ideas and suggestions.

Meanwhile I would appreciate your reactions to the enclosed report. Have you seen our pamphlet "Sharecroppers in the 60's" which explains our program more fully?

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

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enc.

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MICHAEL MUNK, Research Associate
ALLEN YANCEY, Jr., Tennessee Representative

PROGRESS REPORT ON NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND TENNESSEE PROGRAM

FEBRUARY 1, 1962

The eviction last winter of 700 sharecroppers in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, in reprisal for their registering to vote, focused attention on the vulnerability of low-income Southern rural families to political and economic pressure. This report summarizes the program of the National Sharecroppers Fund to help these disadvantaged farm families become aware of programs which might aid them and to help them qualify for such aid. Since June, 1961, this program has resulted in:

(1) Providing information to hundreds of low-income farmers about the various federal loan and aid programs available to them.
(2) Filing of over 100 new applications for one or more of these programs.
(3) More careful and democratic processing of these applications by the local Farmer's Home Administration offices, which brought about the approval of some loan applications previously turned down.
(4) Designation of Fayette County as a depressed area eligible for Area Redevelopment Administration aid.
(5) Organization of a representative bi-racial committee prepared to administer this ARA aid.
(6) Distribution of federal surplus food to those in need.

In the spring of 1961, the passage of the Area Redevelopment Act by Congress reflected wide public concern for people in the nation's many depressed rural and urban areas. The National Sharecroppers Fund, which has worked for over twenty years on behalf of farm workers and low-income farmers, was especially hopeful that the $100 million appropriation earmarked for depressed rural areas would be effectively used for the benefit of the millions of Americans, many of whom are tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and hired farm workers, who now live a marginal existence in areas of declining farm opportunities.

The National Sharecroppers Fund surveyed the existing federal programs, such as the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Rural Areas Development Program and Farmer's Home Administration loan programs, and found that in many areas of the South--where a high proportion of the nation's depressed rural areas are located--local administration of these programs was perhaps the greatest obstacle in the path of progress. Since many local Southern government and business leaders have a vested interest in perpetuating the status quo, with complete economic and political control of their areas, democratic and truly representative administration of these programs must be instituted if those who need economic opportunity are to benefit. Traditionally, local advisory and administrative committees, operating within the segregated USDA framework throughout the South, have been composed almost exclusively of members of the existing power structure, and have operated in the interests of the few, not of the many. In some circumstances, such as those resulting from the growing demand among Southern Negroes for their rights as citizens, these programs have even been used as weapons of economic intimidation.

The NSF Board initiated a pilot project in an effort to broaden the composition of local committees administering federal programs, and to alert sharecroppers and tenants in the areas to the existence of these programs. (Many farmers were either completely unaware of the programs or did not realize that they could qualify under their provisions.)

Fayette and Haywood Counties were selected for the pilot project because of their obvious great need for help and because this area had local Negro leadership concerned with getting this help. The population of the two counties is made up largely of low-income tenants and sharecroppers, and is three-quarters Negro. The white minority has maintained a virtual monopoly of economic and political power and has not hesitated to use it to thwart the aspirations of the majority.

The National Sharecroppers Fund was fortunate to be able to employ as its Tennessee representative Mr. Allen Yancey, Jr., holder of a Master's Degree from Tuskegee and a member of the faculty of nearby Lane College in Jackson, Tennessee. Mr. Yancey is a native of Fayette County, and has been active in public affairs there.

Mr. Yancey began his work in June, 1961, with meetings in Washington with government officials responsible for the various federal assistance programs for rural areas, and with representatives of concerned private organizations. He then began an intensive educational program in Fayette and Haywood Counties, speaking at meetings of church, civic, fraternal, and farmers' groups, and explaining the programs and how the individual sharecropper and tenant farmer could qualify for them. These meetings, which have continued throughout the year, have resulted in a sharp increase in new applications for FHA Ownership and Operating loans. In addition, Mr. Yancey assisted in the preparation of these applications and followed them up to ensure fair processing. His complaints to the federal FHA concerning selected cases resulted in an investigation of the Fayette County FHA office in the summer of 1961.

During the summer of 1961, Mr. Yancey also distributed information on federal scholarship programs to high school students in the area, and held several advisory meetings with labor, church, and civic leaders in western Tennessee.

The National Sharecroppers Fund joined in the successful demand that the federal surplus food program be extended to Fayette and Haywood Counties. Despite declarations from state and local welfare officials that this federal aid was not needed, some 4,000 persons in the area are at present receiving surplus food. Mr. Yancey provided the USDA with documented evidence of suffering among evicted farmers and others in the area, together with evidence that federal aid in the form of farm loans was being withheld from many Negroes who had registered to vote. The U.S. Department of Justice suit against white landowners, which resulted in a temporary injunction against further evictions, followed upon proof that many evictions were a direct result of the movement for voter registration.

The National Sharecroppers Fund also requested the federal government to include both counties in the Area Redevelopment program, and Fayette County was designated eligible in July, 1961. Haywood County is expected to be included in the near future.

There is other evidence of federal attention to the Fayette-Haywood situation: an FHA official visited Haywood County to accept personally loan applications from Negroes who were unable to file applications with the local officials; in one week of December, 1961, almost 90 new applications were received by the Washington representative of FHA; after a letter to Secretary Freeman describing racial discrimination in the hiring of personnel for the surplus food program in the area, several jobs were opened to Negroes.

Since the designation of Fayette County as a Rural Development area in July, the major efforts of the NSF and Mr. Yancey have been directed toward establishing a representative bi-racial committee to administer the program locally, to assure full effectiveness of the program in helping the low-income farmers who comprise the vast majority of the population. Mr. Yancey attempted first to interest white leaders in a representative committee, but received no cooperation. He then formed a 16-member committee, composed of farmers, businessmen, teachers, and ministers of both races. This committee prepared tentative proposals for economic development projects to utilize the crops grown in the area and to provide employment in their processing. Four members of this committee came to Washington on October 30, 1961, to request federal technical assistance to develop their proposals in detail, and to help them draw up an Overall Economic Development Program for Fayette County--a basic requirement for Area Redevelopment Administration aid. After meetings with officials of the Area Redevelopment Administration (under the Commerce Department) and of the Rural Areas Development Program (under the Agriculture Department), the Rural Electrification Administration was requested to provide this assistance. However, REA representatives who went to Fayette County failed to interest the local electrical cooperative in initiating an economic development project under the local committee's sponsorship. Neither has the REA yet made any progress in giving technical assistance to Mr. Yancey's committee for a specific project, as was directed by the USDA at the October 30th meeting. A major reason for these delays has been the formation of another ARA local committee under the chairmanship of I. V. Luck, local judge and businessman appointed routinely by the governor. This second committee is made up of local white business and political leaders and includes five persons under federal indictment for interfering with the civil rights of local Negroes.

NSF has recently received new assurances from REA and ARA officials in Washington that they are making every effort to overcome the problems of local resistance and to give technical and financial aid to those who need and request it.

The National Sharecroppers Fund sees the Fayette pilot project as a test case whose success or failure has important implications for the entire South. Many white leaders have indicated that they consider out-migration of Negroes as a major solution to the threat of voter registration drives. NSF believes that the establishment of a sound rural economy in low-income Southern areas provides the basic solution to the economic and social problems that all Southerners, Negro and white, must face.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 29, 1962

To: Les Dunbar From: Jim Moss

Subject:

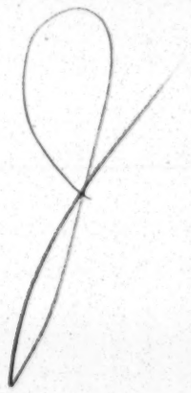
This has to do with two requests for assistance with research on the Negro farmer in the South. While I would like to deal with them individually, somehow I can't seem to get their inter-connections out of my mind.

Lunch with Bob Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League brought out the possibility of, and the need for, pulling together information on the changing status of the Negro farmer in North Georgia. As I sensed his concern, it focused on this: with the gradual expansion of metropolitan Atlanta and the adjoining counties, does the Negro farmer stand to gain or lose in the transition? Is his present economic situation such that he may be pressured to sell his farm even at some considerable loss to himself? A next question appears to be -- given the knowledge of and access to Federal aid programs in agriculture, would he be encouraged to develop his farm on a more sound economic basis and thereby be encouraged to remain where he is? A third consideration may well involve informing the Negro farmers of ways in which a transfer of their land to other uses may be effected with a reasonable profit or gain to themselves. As you can well see, this is not a problem unique to North Georgia, but a problem confronting the absorption of rural populational elements into the burgeoning requirements of growing metropolitan centers -- particularly acute now in the more rural areas of the South.

We have committed ourselves to an enlarged research program in the Deep South and, I believe, in the rural South. This then is my proposal, and as I can most briefly state it the suggestion that I made to Bob Thompson. I suggest that we consider either making a grant ourselves or seek financing

from Federal or private sources to undertake a pilot study of the social and economic posture of the Negro farmer in a selected number of counties in North Georgia. This is where the memo becomes confusing. I would like simultaneously to support the request for research assistance to undertake a study of Federal agriculture programs in South Carolina made by the South Carolina Council. It may well be that we ought to include a small study carried out along these lines in either Mississippi or Alabama, or both. I see these studies being carried out programatically within a format similar to our employment studies but much more tightly supervised and carried out with the assistance of more knowledgeable persons in the field.

If you want to go into a few more specifics I would suggest that a small grant be given to an economist or sociologist in the area to draw up a working paper on the North Georgia counties that could then be used as the basis for discussion with people who might become involved in the project in South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama. What do you think about this? Shall we proceed along these lines?



NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.
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March 29, 1962

PA

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec.Dir.
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am writing to bring you up to date on our Tennessee program, to outline our present plans for a Southern conference to aid low-income farm families, and to ask for your suggestions.

A recent development in our Fayette County program gives us cause for real optimism: the Rural Electrification Administration has recently sent technical experts to Fayette County to meet with the 16-member bi-racial development committee under Allen Yancey's leadership. Several possible industrial development projects, to provide permanent employment to the sharecroppers of the area, were discussed. Federal financial support through the Area Redevelopment Administration appears definitely possible. A concrete proposal for this aid will be submitted within several weeks.

The purpose of our planned Southern conference for low-income farmers is to spread knowledge of available federal and private programs designed to alleviate rural poverty and to develop economic and social progress. The conference is aimed at bringing together local leaders from depressed Southern rural areas, both those eligible for ARA aid and others. Staff members of concerned organizations and government personnel working in these programs will be invited to attend as participants and observers.

The theme of the conference will center around "The People and Their Problems -- How Low-Income Farm Families Can Secure a Better Life."

While we had hoped the conference would take place this spring, it now is being planned for the fall. We would like your suggestions on the best time, to avoid conflict with farming activities and to encourage participation of staff and government people. Suggested dates are:

October 26-28; November 2-4; November 9-11.

Suggested places for the conference are:

Franklinton Center, Bricks, N.C.
Gatlinburg, Tennessee
Atlanta, Georgia
Memphis, Tennessee
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Leslie: I know you are busy with your own work & I don't want to bother you with a long letter. Perhaps you can give us a short letter, or a phone call, with your suggestions. We are trying to get a Southern conference on the Rural Poverty Problem in October or November. Please let us know what you think. Thanks for your help. Sincerely, Rowland Watts

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The conference would include these topics:

1. Who are the people; Where are they; How many are there; What are their problems and needs?

2. What are the resources available to meet the needs of farm families?

   a. Private

      (1) Cooperative
      (2) Credit unions
      (3) Labor unions
      (4) Farmers' unions
      (5) Church organizations
      (6) Service groups

   b. Government

      (1) U.S. Department of Agriculture

         (a) Rural Areas Development Program
         (b) Extension Service
         (c) FHA loans
         (d) REA technical assistance
         (e) Housing loans

      (2) U.S. Department of Commerce

         (a) Area Redevelopment Administration
         (b) Technical assistance loans
         (c) Development loans
         (d) Training programs

      (3) Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare

         (a) Retraining program
         (b) Employment Service
         (c) Health programs

3. Local Experiences

   a. Fayette County, Tennessee
   b. South Carolina
   c. Others

4. Meetings of Area Delegates -- representatives of government agencies, voluntary organizations, and local farmers to discuss what can be done in their areas.

Speakers who have been suggested include:

John Baker, Director of Agricultural Credit Services and the Rural Areas Development Program, USDA;

Harry Bass, Information staff, RAD, USDA;

Area Redevelopment Administration spokesman on how special help can be obtained to assure grass-roots economic development where it is needed;

William Koch, Migrant Ministry, National Council of Churches, on developing indigenous local leadership;

A spokesman for other church organizations relating specifically to community development projects;

A representative from the co-op movement and labor to discuss their role in economic development of rural areas.

Enclosed is a list of suggested sponsors for the conference. It is proposed that the sponsors' list should be as representative as possible of individuals associated with all of the major church, labor, and social agencies and civic organizations in the South concerned with these issues.

Please send me your suggestions concerning date, place, program, and sponsors for the conference as soon as you can.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

Partial Suggested Sponsors' List

Rev. Ezekiel Bell, Huntsville, Ala.
Mr. Tartt Bell, American Friends Service Committee, High Point, N.C.
Mr. Curry Boyd, Haywood County Civic & Welfare League, Stanton, Tenn.
Rev. Will Campbell, Nashville, Tenn. (Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches)
Septima Clarke, Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Eugene Cox, Memphis, Tenn.
Rev. E. T. Currie, Brownsville, Tenn.
Mr. Walter Davis, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.
Miss Jean Fairfax, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. James Forman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Dr. L. H. Foster, President, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
Mr. Thomas Gaither, CORE, Jackson, Miss.
Mr. Steve Grattan, United Furniture Workers Union, Memphis, Tenn.
Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Chairman, Dept. of Migrant Work, Natl. Council of Churches
Miss Elizabeth Herring, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, Washington
Msgr. George G. Higgins, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP, Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Esau Jenkins, South Carolina
Miss Katharine Jones, Tennessee Council of Human Relations, Nashville, Tenn.
Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
Mr. Clarence Jordan, Koinonia Community, Americus, Ga.
Mr. Ira Kaye, Attorney, Sumter, S.C.
Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Ga.
Rev. William Judson King, Franklinton Center, Bricks, N.C.
Dr. S. A. Kirkendall, President, Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.
Rev. Eugene Leuning, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, Memphis, Tenn.
Rabbi Eugene Lipman, Temple Sinai, Washington, D.C.
Dr. Herman H. Long, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
Dr. Henry McCanna, Exec. Dir., Town & Country Division, National Council of Churches, New York, N.Y.
Mr. John McFerrin, Fayette County Welfare & Civic Association, Somerville, Tenn.
Rev. J. A. McKnight, Abbeville, La.
Dr. J. G. Maddox, Professor of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College of Agriculture, Raleigh, N.C.
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. H. L. Mitchell, Lake Charles, La.
Dr. E. W. Mueller, Secy., Rural Work, National Lutheran Council, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. William Murray, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Washington,D.C.
Mr. W. C. Patton, NAACP, Memphis, Tenn.
Dr. Willa B. Player, President, Bennett College, Greensboro, N.C.
Mr. L. A. Potts, Dean, School of Agriculture, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
Mr. C. A. Rawls, Brownsville, Tenn.
Mr. Odell Sanders, Haywood County Civic & Welfare League, Brownsville, Tenn.
Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Penn Community Services Inc., St. Helena Island, S.C.
Mr. Don Slaiman, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

Rev. Robert Smith, Jackson, Miss.
Mr. Stanton E. Smith, Coordinator, State & Local Central Bodies, AFL-CIO
Mrs. Alice M. Spearman, South Carolina Council on Human Relations, Columbia, S.C.
Miss Cassandra Stockburger, Memphis, Tenn.
Mr. Jesse Turner, Cashier, Tri-State Bank, Memphis, Tenn.
Father James Vizzard, National Catholic Rural Life Council, Washington, D.C.
Miss Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.
Mr. J. Earl Williams, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
Mr. Allen Yancey, Jr., Somerville, Tenn.

Southern representatives from Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian to be added as well as others not now included.

"POINT 4" for the RURAL SOUTH: National Sharecroppers Fund Proposal

The Background

The rural South is undergoing a revolution today which affects all Americans. This revolution of the traditional Southern agricultural economy underlies the movement for civil rights throughout the nation and the headlined effects of social conflict in industrial cities. During the last decade, it has produced the greatest Negro migration from the South in history: 1.5 million have left the rural South, and most have gone to the slums of the industrial centers. It is a strong factor in the development of high unemployment levels in the national economy since 1958.

The revolution has its roots in the sharp decline of small-scale farms, especially cotton farms, in the South. The number of American farms has dropped steadily during the past decade, but nowhere as rapidly as in the 16 Southern states. Between 1940 and 1959, the total number of farms decreased by 39 per cent across the nation, but by 45 per cent in the South. During the same period, farms operated by Negroes -- almost entirely in the South -- declined by 60 per cent. Today, only 121,000 sharecroppers remain in the South, of whom a majority are Negroes. This is less than one fifth of the total twenty years ago. And there are indications that the rate at which farmers are being forced off the land is increasing, as consolidation of land into large mechanized holdings continues.

Agriculture is becoming increasingly polarized between a group of about 50,000 corporation farms and about 1.7 million (half of all U.S. farms) small family units that produce less than $2,500 a year income per family. The USDA reports that "Over 15 million rural people live under conditions of dire poverty... over half the poverty in America is rural poverty." Much of the remaining poverty, it may be assumed, is the result of the influx of uneducated, untrained persons from rural areas who have come to the cities to compete for a diminishing number of unskilled jobs.

Not more than 10 per cent, perhaps only 5 per cent, of the youth growing up in rural America will be able to earn a livelihood on the farm. Yet the opportunities and standards of rural education, necessary to prepare them for other work, are the lowest in the country. A recent study showed that 67 per cent of recent migrants from rural areas had only a grade school education, and only 10 per cent were high school graduates. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare recently stated that one quarter of all American Negroes were "functionally illiterate," i.e., without five years of education.

For the displaced Southern farmer and his family, therefore, the alternatives to city slums are greatly limited. Irregular employment in agriculture as a "day haul" worker or a member of a migrant stream are the only "opportunities" open to most ex-farm operators who remain in a rural setting. A recent study of 202 migrant farm workers in the eastern seaboard migrant stream showed that 161 were former sharecroppers or tenants forced off the land by the agricultural revolution. Another 31 were children of farm families who could not find employment near their homes when they left school.

Existing Federal Programs

Public concern with the effects of this agricultural revolution has largely centered on its manifestations, such as unemployment and automation, city housing and juvenile delinquency, public schools and the movement to the urban suburbs. Until very recently, there has been little attention given to meeting the problem at its roots in the depressed rural areas of the nation, especially in the South.

It is in areas such as Fayette County, Tennessee, where 70 per cent of the population are Negro sharecroppers who earn an average of $1,140 a year per family, that the revolution is now gathering momentum.

Within the past several years, federal programs designed to enable small farmers to remain on the land and, where that is not possible, to assist in the transition of declining rural areas to semi-industrialized economies able to provide non-farm employment to displaced farmers, have been strengthened. The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 provides over $100 million for industrial development, public works, and retraining projects for designated rural areas. If properly administered and fully understood by those whom the programs are intended to benefit, they could make important contributions to the solution of these pressing national problems. These programs include the ARA, the USDA's Rural Development Program (RAD), the various Farmers Home Administration loans, the rural provisions of the 1961 Housing Bill, and the 1962 Manpower Training Act.

Obstacles

But two basic obstacles have impaired the effectiveness of these federal programs to date: 1) the lack of knowledge among rural families of these programs and the conditions of eligibility, and 2) their local administration by political and business interest groups not always sympathetic to the needs of low-income farm families, especially when they happen to be Negroes.

These obstacles are especially serious because federal programs require "local initiative" in their planning and administration. All ARA grants and loans must be requested by local committees organized for the purpose. Farmers Home Administration loan applications too must be approved by local 3-man committees. By law, such local control must be "representative," but as a spokesman for the USDA points out:

> "In some local areas, persons belonging to labor unions and certain church, racial, or nationality groups may customarily be omitted from the decision-making associations within the area and community. Yet national and international considerations require that these persons be counted in on the area development decision-making process. We strongly hope and urge that all area planning committees will be broadly representative, both responsive and responsible to all segments of the local population. Anybody who has not been invited should elbow his way in if that is the only way."

In this statement, the Department is referring to the fact that only one County FHA committee in the United States is known to have a Negro member, and that ARA committees are normally composed of local business leaders and Chamber of Commerce officials, often of anti-union persuasion and determined to preserve their political and economic power. In Fayette County, Tennessee, for example, the official ARA Committee of seven members includes 5 under indictment for interfering with the civil rights of local Negroes.

John A. Baker, Director of Agricultural Credit, and head of the USDA's Rural Development Program, states that "Democratic government is responsive, not compulsive" -- it cannot act unless local persons request aid, or complain of unequal treatment of minority groups. In short, the federal government, while in many cases sympathetic to the efforts of low-income rural families to better their condition, cannot take the initiative in broadening the administrative committees

of its rural programs to make them more responsive to local needs, and therefore, more effective in achieving their goals.

At the same time, the traditions of the rural South are based upon the systematic exclusion of small farmers, labor unions, and Negroes from local politics and commerce. A power structure has become entrenched in most Southern communities that resists efforts to change the economic and political structure of their areas. The first ARA project, for example, a shirt factory in rural Arkansas, received guarantees from local officials that unions will never be permitted to organize its employees. In turn, most Southern employers have continued to limit opportunities for Negro workers to menial jobs, a tradition also supported by most local offices of the U.S. Employment Service.

It is questionable, therefore, whether sufficient trained leadership is presently available in the rural South to initiate requests for federal aid. The experience of the National Sharecroppers Fund (see attached reports) in its Fayette County pilot project shows that some time is necessary for farmers who have never known of the possibility of aid to acquaint themselves with the various programs, eligibility requirements, and channels through which applications and/or complaints are received. On the other hand, our experience also clearly shows that with education and aid, local leadership can make substantial progress.

Proposal

The National Sharecroppers Fund proposes now to broaden its pilot project in Tennessee with a two-year program of education and technical assistance -- a "point 4" program on a regional scale. Proposed co-directors of this two-year program are Dr. Frank P. Graham, formerly president of the University of North Carolina, and Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute. They will direct the work of ten qualified field workers who will work in depressed rural areas in the South, discussing directly with local leaders from church, farmer, civil rights, and labor organizations the federal aid which is available. At the same time, the field workers would function as channels through which complaints may be received and followed up by appropriate government agencies. Experience indicates that a minimum of two years will be necessary for solid results to be achieved, during which time local leadership would be trained to carry on the work.

Areas in which the field workers would function would be carefully selected in terms of need and community acceptance. At present, a majority of rural counties in the Southern states are designated eligible for government aid under the ARA. FHA committees exist in all areas. The Manpower Training Bill and Housing Act apply throughout the South. In some sections of the South, local progress is already being made in such fields as voter registration.

In the selection of areas of work, the National Sharecroppers Fund would proceed only after full consultation with local community leaders interested in economic progress, federal agency officials, and other concerned groups. Requests have already been received from some rural areas for assistance similar to that extended to Fayette County. A conference for low-income families to advance this program is planned in the South for this fall.

The present resources of the National Sharecroppers Fund require additional financial support for this program. Funds would be needed to cover salaries and expenses of the field workers estimated at $10,000 a year, or a total of $200,000 for the two year program. NSF will expect to provide from its own budget all supporting funds such as printing, postage, telephone, public education, and additional travel expenses.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

April 10, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Assistant to Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am enclosing a copy of my letter of March 29th to Dr. Leslie Dunbar. It contains the suggestions for our planned Southern conference. I will be grateful for your thinking on the questions raised. I hope, too, that you will have an opportunity to discuss the conference with Leslie Dunbar so that we may have the benefit of his ideas as well.

I find that I have sent the letter to Mr. Courtney Siceloff so he will know what you are talking about when you ask him about Penn Community Services in Frogmore, S.C., as a possible site for the conference.

Also enclosed is a proposal for a two-year program to make possible an expanded effort throughout the South to insure that federal aid and private programs reach the groups at the bottom of the economic and social scale most in need of help. Our experience in Fayette County, Tennessee, is that the government will respond when local groups organize and request technical assistance and federal loans. The problem which we hope to meet is to reach those in need of this aid who are not even aware that such programs exist and to help them qualify for this aid.

I am enclosing an extra copy of the proposal, along with a carbon of this letter, so that you may pass these along to Dr. Dunbar.

I hope to hear from you soon and to have your suggestions on both these items. It was good to talk with you on the telephone today.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

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enc.

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ALLEN YANCEY, Jr., Tennessee Representative

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April 25, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

Several of us have discussed at length your fall conference and the proposed two-year program. Generally, we think both are excellent and needed.

I have discussed this with Courtney Siceloff and trust he has written you by now. In thinking about the matter further and in talking with him, it seems to me that Penn would be a particularly good site for the conference. The costs, facilities and setting are all favorable but the prospect of interesting Penn in becoming a continuing participant in your program seems especially desirable.

For your two year project South Carolina would undoubtedly be considered as one area of work. Alice Spearman and Ira Kaye (whom you have listed as suggested sponsors) are now attempting to develop a program of rural work for the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. If they have not done so, I hope they will share their ideas with you. Certainly they will be enthusiastic participants in the conference.

One name occurs to us as an addition to the participants list: Norman Jimerson, Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations, Room 1224, Comer Building, Birmingham 3. Beyond that I would think that Will Campbell, Ruby Hurley and C. G. Gomillion could be relied on most strongly for suggestions.

In the matter of SRC participation, Leslie Dunbar feels it would be best to have us represented by the field director or research director, possibly both.

For the conference and your two-year program, we are available to be of any possible assistance to you and NSF. Please call on us if it appears there is anything we can do in these very worthwhile efforts.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

June 26, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 29 1962

FAV
MJ file

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are happy to send you the enclosed Preliminary Announcement of a Conference on

"Farm People and Their Problems --
How Low-Income Rural Families Can Secure A Better Life."

When the final program for the Conference is ready, we will send it to you with a formal invitation to attend and further details about the Conference.

Meanwhile, we hope you will make note of the Conference date and plan to attend. We also hope you will send us names and addresses of other interested persons to whom we should send the Announcement.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

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Preliminary Announcement
of a
Southern Conference to Aid Low-Income Rural Families

FARM PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS:

HOW LOW-INCOME RURAL FAMILIES CAN SECURE A BETTER LIFE

PROGRAM: Speakers, panels, and conference participants will discuss the various aid and development programs of the federal government, and the roles of local, private, and government agencies in promoting economic development and social progress.

DATES: November 14-16, 1962

PLACE: Franklinton Center, Bricks, North Carolina

COST: Approximately $12 for room and board for the duration of the conference. Car pools will be organized, and some funds may be available to assist those who could not otherwise attend.

The past decade has seen millions of people uprooted from their homes in the rural South. The continuing decline of opportunities in small-scale farming and the lack of alternative employment have forced low-income rural families, many without adequate education and vocational training, off the land without the means to better their lives elsewhere. This conference is called to discuss the problems and needs of these rural families and to learn what can be done to improve life in Southern rural communities. Various programs are going forward in the South to meet the needs of rural families. Among them is a program in Fayette County, Tennessee, sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund to help local residents use available federal funds for the economic development of their community. Other groups, too, are gaining experience in working toward economic and social progress. The conference will facilitate the sharing of these experiences and help to demonstrate how rural families, working together with government and private agencies, can help themselves.

The conference invites all who are interested in participating in the development of rural areas: farmers, leaders of church, civic, labor, fraternal, and business groups, educators, staff members of concerned organizations, and government personnel working in this field.

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

October 29, 1962

Dear Friend:

Response to our forthcoming Southern Rural Conference is mounting from those interested in providing sound economic development in Southern rural communities and in buttressing the drive for full citizenship rights for all.

Since we have not yet heard from you regarding your attendance at the conference, we are writing to remind you that its dates, November 14-16, are rapidly approaching. In case you have mislaid the conference program, we are enclosing another. We hope you will find it possible to attend and that you will send in your Registration Form as soon as possible.

You may find the enclosed report, "The South's Revolution--Challenge to the Nation," of interest for its statistical information concerning problems of the region and for its brief account of our pilot project in Fayette County. Also enclosed is a progress report to bring you abreast of current developments in this exciting and hopeful project.

I look forward to seeing you at the conference.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb:gh
encs.

P.S. If it is not possible for you to attend the conference, we hope you will pass the program on to another interested person.

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November 2, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

As I told you over the telephone, I shall not be in attendance at the conference. Mr. Dabbs and Paul Rilling should give us excellent representation, and we are pleased to see on the program the names of Dr. Graham, Paul Christopher, and Courtney Siceloff--all SRC members, and Elbert Jeans and Alice Spearman, who work in a close relationship to our programs.

Best wishes for a most successful meeting.

Paul and I have discussed your telephone call and he will be expecting to talk further with you during the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

November 27, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

I am sorry I did not get back to you by telephone last week, but it was a hectic time what with annual meeting and all.

Paul Christopher and Staige Blackford have, however, informed me pretty well, I think, about their conversations with you. It is an intriguing idea and I am sure an opportunity. I am also sure, as I have said to you, that we are carrying about all the load we responsibly can and, while I am mindful of your statement that the administrative and program burden would be yours, realism points out that some at least would be ours. The first problem, of course, is money and our dilemma here is, quite candidly, as follows: we are loath to undertake an additional fund-raising effort ourselves and we are, on the other hand, hesitant about authorizing anyone else to raise funds in our behalf.

What all this adds up to is that we are, if you are willing, prepared to carry on further consideration of the idea but we think that, although speed is of the essence if the program is to be meaningful, it should be deliberate speed. We think the most helpful thing would be, at this point, for you to write at some length, outlining and summarizing the ideas you have discussed with Paul and Staige. I think this would give us a basis for further discussions which I am sure would be needed. It seems to Paul and me that the proposed program ought to have a certain amount of cooperation or at least good will from the Department of Agriculture, and if

you have any thoughts about that I wish you would include them in the letter.

I am sorry touask you to go to this further trouble, but this is a fairly big thing you propose and we want to give it sound thought.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: Paul Christopher

November 30, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

We received your letter this morning. Ira Kaye had earlier written about the same matter, and by now he has our reply.

As we told him, we are working to get the report done by him and his associates in publishable shape, and intend to have it edited and mimeographed by December 10. Until that is done we do not believe that the findings can be presented, as an SRC report, to the Secretary or to the public. We told Ira that we would return to him all the raw data, which he will be free to use after our report is released.

We are sorry, therefore, that we cannot accede to your's and his request to send him to Washington. We agree fully with you on the importance of the problems--which is why we planned and commissioned the study. And we are doing all that we know how to present the data gathered by Ira and his associates as effectively as possible.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: Ira Kaye

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

November 28, 1962

AIR MAIL

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I think you know that while Mr. Ira Kaye was unable to attend our Southern rural conference at Bricks, North Carolina, recently, because he was called to duty as a reserve officer in the Air Force, a report on discriminatory practices of Department of Agriculture agencies in nine counties of South Carolina was presented to the conference by my husband, Rowland Watts, Special Counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

The report created great interest, especially among the government officials who were there. These included Assistant Secretary of Agriculture John A. Baker, who has suggested that Secretary Orville Freeman would be interested in having the report presented to him.

An appointment is now being sought with Secretary Freeman for Wednesday or Thursday, December 5th or 6th, and we feel very strongly that it will be granted. While Rowland Watts and I expect to be present at the meeting with Mr. Freeman, the conference would have greatly added value if Ira Kaye could be present also, since he knows the South Carolina situation at first hand and is the person who made the study and prepared the report. Mr. Kaye says he would be very willing to take the time to go to Washington for this conference with the Secretary of Agriculture, but that he is unable to pay his own expenses to do so, which he estimates will come to $100. The National Sharecroppers Fund finds itself at a low ebb financially because of the heavy drain upon our resources of the Bricks, North Carolina, meeting. Since the nine-county South Carolina report was prepared with the support of the Southern Regional Council as well as the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, we hope very much that you will find it possible to allocate funds from the Southern Regional Council to enable Mr. Kaye to make the trip to Washington next week.

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We feel certain the meeting with Secretary Freeman will have far-reaching effects in opening up programs of the Agriculture Department to Negroes and other low-income farm families, many of whom have been largely ignored in the operation of the programs to date.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh

December 19, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

We are sending you enclosed ten copies of the South Carolina report. Please let us know if you wish additional copies.

This represents a considerable abbreviation of the material which Ira turned in. We regret that, especially do we regret that there was not more interview material that we could use. Unfortunately, a great deal was simply not tight enough to be published.

We are giving this distribution to bureau heads and up in the Department of Agriculture, to department offices in South Carolina, to committee members in Congress, and to advisory committees to the Commission on Civil Rights in southern states. This is on top of our regular distribution to certain government agencies, human relations agencies, etc. We are not making a press release, although we are sending it, routinely, to some of the press and also to some farm publications and to some South Carolina newspapers which ordinarily do not get our stuff.

I am glad you had a good meeting with the Secretary.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enclosure: 10

SB

you might let
me write to F.B.
a covering letter
when you're
ready to go

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
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133

December 11, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I came away from our Thursday and Friday meetings at the Department of Agriculture greatly encouraged over the prospects of action to aid Negro farmers and other disadvantaged low-income rural families in the South. Ira Kaye has probably given you a discouraging report because, unfortunately, our appointment with Secretary Freeman was postponed several times because the Secretary was tied up at the White House on budget problems. He ended up having to cancel his Thursday appointments entirely. We did work in a short meeting while Ira was there with Assistant Secretary John Baker, and Ira was able to present the most important sections of the report we wanted to make.

The rest of our meeting was carried over to Friday afternoon, and we had a satisfying meeting which included Secretary Freeman for half the time. We covered all of the points we wanted to make and were given assurances that the Department would act on our recommendations.

I feel particularly encouraged about the prospects because the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development discussed our Fayette County project in some detail, and our work there was well received. A subcommittee on equal opportunity and special help to disadvantaged rural families was adopted and will work with the people in the Agriculture Department under John Baker who will be concerned with this new program.

I am looking forward to receiving a copy of the Southern Regional Council's report on the South Carolina study.

I hope to write to you again before long in reply to your letter asking for additional information in regard to our proposed joint project.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh

Summary of an 18 month Demonstration Project
In Developing Job Training Programs Among the "Hard-Core" Unemployed
And Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas, Under Sec. 201
Of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962

Project Agency. National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency with 25 years of experience working to aid rural Southern farm people. Its primary recent emphasis has been to assist, through conferences, informational material, and a field staff, the most disadvantaged rural people in finding solutions to their economic and social problems through participation in governmental farm programs and cooperatives. Its functioning National Board includes authorities in the fields of rural sociology and adult education who will assist in the planning and execution of the project.

Characteristics and Needs of Trainees. Sharecroppers and farm workers who are being displaced by a changing economy often lack the basic education and experience needed to adjust to urban industrial life. They are rural people who, with training and planning, can find more skilled employment on the land and in small rural communities. They have had little experience with state employment offices and are not now being reached by them.

Purpose and Program of Project. The project is designed to demonstrate that unused resources of leadership within the poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with the smaller, predominantly Negro colleges, can effectively develop programs of job training that will enable many unemployed persons to lead economically useful lives in their own communities. During the course of 18 months, the agency expects to assist in developing at least two programs in each of the following six states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. It expects that 1500-2000 trainees will participate.

By using its experience and local contacts, the agency will reach leaders and potential leaders among the rural groups who are not now being utilized in developing training programs. It will assist them and their communities to analyze their training needs in the light of existing and potential job possibilities and help them to develop a fruitful working relationship with the employment services, agricultural vocational agencies, cooperating colleges, and other state and federal agencies.

NSF will encourage the sponsorship of training programs by those colleges that are best qualified by experience to teach the inadequately prepared, but that have hitherto been restrained by lack of staff and funds from exploiting the potentials of serving in this way. It will help them to establish active relationships with the local communities that need the programs and will assist them in the preparation of these programs. It will seek to develop cooperative action for training between these colleges and larger ones that may have greater staff and facilities available.

Personnel Requirements. The project will require one Field Coordinator and three Field Representatives responsible for two states each, and appropriate secretarial-clerical assistance.

Project Agency: National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York
GR 3-0284

Executive Secretary: Fay Bennett

The National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency with more than twenty-five years' experience in work with Southern sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other low-income farm families. Through this work NSF has gained contacts throughout the South and has won the confidence of disadvantaged people who are hard to reach through normal governmental channels and who have often been neglected by local leadership. NSF has worked cooperatively with church leaders, educators, labor officials, and community relations leaders in the South on the basis of mutual trust and confidence.

NSF's program includes bringing low-income rural people together with concerned governmental and private agencies to find solutions to their economic and social problems. NSF's experience is in rural work, and it brings special skills to bear on the particular problems of the rural poor. It has achieved considerable success with its program.

NSF's National Board is made up of leaders in many areas of American life. Its Chairman is Dr. Frank P. Graham, former President of the University of North Carolina and U.S. Senator, and presently mediator for the United Nations. The role of NSF has been recognized by the Department of Commerce in its recent appointment of Dr. Graham as Chairman of the National Advisory Committee to the Area Redevelopment Administration, and earlier by the Department of Agriculture in the appointment of NSF's Executive Secretary, Miss Fay Bennett, to the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development. Other NSF Board members with particularly pertinent background and experience who will be available for consultation and guidance during the course of this project include:

Dr. Manet Fowler, anthropologist, former Consultant in Intergroup Relations, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association

Dr. Patricia Cayo Sexton, Associate Professor of Educational Sociology, School of Education, New York University; author of Education and Income

Dr. Lewis W. Jones, sociologist, formerly of the Race Relations Department, Fisk University; author of Cold Rebellion

Dr. Frank McCallister, Director, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University; formerly Director, Georgia Workers Education Service

Dr. Clarence Senior, Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College; Member, Board of Education, City of New York; formerly Director, Migration Division, Department of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Haverford College; author of The Negro Youth: Their Social and Economic Background and numerous other writings on Negro sociology and education

Dr. Robert B. Johnson, Assistant Professor of Social Work, New York University

Characteristics and Needs of Trainees

The people of the proposed areas of concentration in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee are characterized by low income, substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment, and lack of the training and education which would enable them to break out of the cycle of poverty.

Because these are rural areas, most of the people have not been eligible for unemployment insurance, and few have had any previous contact with state employment security services. Thus the use of such services in preparing the way for training programs presents unusual difficulties. The problem of reaching these people is further complicated by the high incidence of functional illiteracy, which means that such approaches as informational governmental brochures or newspaper publicity and advertising can have only limited success. In South Carolina, for example, one out of every five adults 25 years and older is a functional illiterate. The illiteracy rate in the area proposed for the demonstration project averages about 25 per cent.

Most of these people are experienced only in farm work, and the steady decline in the number of individual farms all over the nation makes it possible to predict that most of them will be driven off the land within the next decade. Their immediate situation is critical. Unless the situation is changed, they will enter the labor market unskilled and unable to compete. The young people, in particular, find themselves with nothing to do, nowhere to go. Many have given up the hope of anything better.

The income of these workers is among the lowest in the United States. Rural workers have been consistently left behind in the general advance of wage levels both in the country as a whole and in the South. Automation has cut into the already meagre wage levels by reducing the total work year in hourly paid farm and rural jobs. Farm worker income levels in the target states to be served by this program are among the lowest in the nation. The average cash hourly earnings for farm workers in Georgia and South Carolina is $0.61; in Louisiana, $0.70, and in Mississippi and in Tennessee, $0.53.

Many such workers in these areas would thus qualify for MDTA training under the provision that persons from farm families which have yearly incomes of under $1200.00 are to be considered unemployed for the purposes of the Manpower Act. Only a very few such workers have been thus far selected for MDTA training. Out of the first 30,014 persons selected for MDTA training, only 359 have been selected from this group.

Beyond these fundamental factors of education and income there are other important impediments to the full utilization of MDTA for these workers.

1. They live in areas in which there are few or insufficient manpower and training resources.

2. They are often totally uninformed as to training and occupational opportunities.

In short, specific training proposals developed under this contract will be directed at persons who:

1. Are members of farm families which have an income of less than $1200 per year.

2. Have not completed six years of school.

3. Can be reasonably identified as likely to be forced off the land by market shifts and automation.

4. Have no marketable skills beyond simple farm methods.

5. Are rural, unemployed, non-farm workers with incomes below $2000.00 and who have had histories of chronic unemployment for an extended period.

Purpose and Program of Proposed Demonstration Project

The purpose and program of the proposed project is:

1. To implement Section 201 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, which provides that the Secretary of Labor shall "...develop policies for the adequate occupational development and maximum utilization of the skills of the Nation's workers, promote and encourage the development of broad and diversified training programs, including on-the-job training, designed to qualify for employment the many persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure full-time employment without such training...." directly on behalf of the unemployed or underemployed persons identified above;

2. To demonstrate that a private agency, such as the National Sharecroppers Fund, with its orientation toward a specific social and occupational group together with deep working relationships with other similarly interested public and private groups, can more effectively marshall local, State and Federal Manpower resources on behalf of these persons than the MDTA program has done thus far;

3. To demonstrate that NSF's experience and contacts can reach and develop indigenous local leadership within the disadvantaged rural groups not presently being reached by the Employment Service and other agencies of State and federal government;

4. To assist this local leadership in analyzing the training needs of the rural people in their areas, to serve as liaison between them and the Agricultural Vocational Education services and educational institutions in developing specific local training programs, and to work with them in securing participation in the training programs developed;

5. To show that, with professional program assistance, the smaller colleges can successfully use their facilities and their considerable experience in working with inadequately prepared students in developing training programs geared to the needs and capabilities of the so-called "hard-core" rural unemployed and underemployed;

6. To encourage and assist other organizations such as church groups, business associations, cooperatives, trade unions, and other public and private agencies to "pool" their resources in rural areas to develop training programs for disadvantaged groups;

7. To assist such groups and agencies in making contact with professional testing, counseling, and vocational training specialists who will enable them to better deal with the unique problems of the rural poor as they relate to occupational and training problems;

8. To demonstrate that such a program can accelerate the involvement of rural and low income farm workers in MDTA and ARA to an extent not now being reached.

The specific objective will be to develop during the course of the 18 months at least two training programs in each of the selected states. It is anticipated that such programs will train 1500 persons during this period and that their demonstrated effectiveness will accelerate the development of additional programs within these states and expansion to other states.

Although all the Southern states need such programs in their rural areas, NSF believes it prudent, while approaches and techniques of project development are being refined in the field, to concentrate initially upon selected rural areas in the six states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. These states have been chosen because of the considerable experience that NSF has already had in working with local persons and groups there, and because of some of the preliminary work it has already done. If, after six months, progress in these six states seems to warrant it and qualified personnel are available, immediate expansion into Florida, Alabama, and Arkansas would be considered.

Approach

It is proposed that a special staff consisting of a field coordinator, three field representatives, and necessary clerical-secretarial personnel be employed. This staff would be supplemented as needed by the NSF's Executive Secretary and staff. Members of the NSF Board who are experienced in rural sociology and in adult education will be available for consultation and guidance in carrying out the program.

NSF's special staff would expect first to evaluate the experiences of others in setting up and carrying out training programs, so that it can profit by, or further test, techniques already used. For example, it would expect at an early date to consult with the administration and staff of the Virginia State College training program for hard-core unemployed workers, in order to build upon their experience. It would also review farm labor training programs which have been successful.

In addition, NSF will encourage labor organizations, county officials, chambers of commerce, trade associations, farm organizations, etc., to imaginative action for manpower development and training programs. Through

these groups we propose the development of regional manpower centers at which a coordinated approach to the range of occupational problems of the "hard-core" unemployed can be developed.

The staff would then designate specific areas for concentration in eligible counties that could be serviced by an interested educational institution. Among the educational institutions which would be approached by the staff for this purpose are:

in North Carolina -	Agricultural & Technical College of North Carolina Bennett College Livingstone College North Carolina State College John C. Smith College University of North Carolina
in South Carolina -	South Carolina State College Benedict College Morris College Claflin College
in Georgia -	Paine College Spellman College Morehouse College Atlanta University University of Georgia
in Mississippi -	Tougaloo College Alcorn College Jackson State College Millsaps College
in Louisiana -	Grambling College Dillard University Loyola University Southern University Leland College
in Tennessee -	LeMoyne College Fisk University Lane College Vanderbilt University Tennessee A. and I. State University

It is expected that more favorable circumstances in North Carolina for cooperative work between Negro and white institutions, and for integration of other aspects of the program, will make the project in North Carolina of particular value as a stimulus in the other states.

The NSF staff will work to encourage the smaller colleges, many of which are understaffed and underfinanced, to develop such projects and will inform them of the aid and experienced assistance that is available. It will act as their liaison with the local leadership in determining what training programs are most urgently needed and in seeking out and selecting

those trainees who are qualified and most in need of the training to be provided. To the extent necessary, it will assist in developing the programs and will help prepare them for presentation to the appropriate state and federal agencies involved.

While the preliminary steps are being taken with the colleges, the field staff will also seek out the established and potential leadership within the disadvantaged groups in the selected areas. Through interviews, meetings, and conferences, the field staff will present the possibilities to them and to the local community and help them to determine what training programs would be most immediately productive. At an early stage it would seek to involve the established leadership and organizational resources of the entire community in planning and developing the programs. It would particularly seek the participation of the local employment security office and vocational teachers and administrators. It would serve as liaison between these persons and groups and the participating colleges.

As the programs are developed, the field staff will render such assistance as is needed to see that they are carried successfully to completion. Throughout the project, the staff will develop a continuing working relationship with state educational and employment security agencies and with national and regional OMAT administrators, as well as with the Bureau of Employment Security and appropriate agencies of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It will proceed as rapidly as possible to develop additional projects through other colleges and educational institutions in other areas in the selected states.

It is not possible to set forth a precise timetable for this pioneering program. It is anticipated, however, that the preliminary developmental work will be completed in about four months and that a further three months would be needed to work out the details of and secure the approval for the initial training programs. The remainder of the year would be devoted to carrying the programs forward and in developing new programs. It is hoped that after the first one is launched the others will develop with accelerating momentum.

Personnel Requirements

Field Coordinator. The Field Coordinator will be responsible for the overall organization, scope, pace, and functioning of the projects in all six states, and will provide overall supervision of staff and liaison with appropriate governmental agencies. He will be responsible for the actual execution in the field of the program in the six designated states. He will be based at the regional headquarters, probably in North Carolina. He will direct and supervise the work of the field representatives and will be available to assist them as needed in negotiation with community leaders and with educational, state, and local officials. He will decide what criteria and methods will shape the demonstration project and prepare a report at its conclusion.

Three Field Representatives. Each field representative will be primarily responsible for carrying out the project in two states and will have his base in one of them. His assignment will be flexible, however, and he may be called upon to assist another field representative temporarily if the progress of the overall project so requires. It may be desirable for all of the representatives to work initially with the coordinator in one state to develop and test their techniques.

February 27 1963

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

I understand that Paul Anthony and you have talked about the proposal to aid low income, rural families. We think it is an attractive idea. But I'm afraid we ought not, at this time, to try to tackle it on a region-wide basis. It would seem to me that everyone concerned would be in a stronger position to plan ahead after the South Carolina program, which you and Alice have going, can be better evaluated.

Part of my reason for saying that is that we think the state Councils on Human Relations would be better situated than are we to render effective program cooperation with you. The state councils, as you probably know, are affiliated with us, but each is an autonomous agency, and with one exception, tax exempt. There is a council now in every state that you note in your memorandum as a state in which you would like to plan program except Louisiana. The Mississippi council is pretty young and not yet blessed with tax exemption.

What we would suggest, therefore, is that after an interval of experience in South Carolina, the

program be discussed with one or two of the other state councils and if they would like to take it on, we would work with them and with you in trying to make that feasible. The groups being, as I said, autonomous, we of course cannot predict how any of them might respond to the idea.

I was in New York a few weeks ago for a short stay and a very tight schedule, and had the pleasure of meeting, for the first time, your husband. Sooner or later I hope to meet the whole family.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund

Dear Miss Bennett:

I understand that Paul Anthony and you have talked about the proposal to aid low income, rural families. We think it is ~~a sound~~ an attractive idea. But, I'm afraid we ought not, at this time, to try to tackle it on a region -wide basis. It would seem to me that everyone concerned would be in a stronger position to plan ahead after the South Carolina program, which ~~&&~~ you and Alice have going, can be better evaluated.

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LWD

SB ✓
PA ✓

let's discuss soon

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would like to —
ready when you are
PB

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.
—for the advancement of agricultural labor—
112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

January 31, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am chagrined to find that so much time has elapsed since I received your letter of November 27 asking me to present in writing a summary of the ideas I have discussed with Paul Rilling, Staige Blackford, Paul Christopher, and James Dabbs. The fact is that I have been out of the office a good deal lately and have been rather swamped with several reports and pamphlets which are under preparation, as well as our Board meeting which takes place early in February.

In order not to delay any further, I am enclosing a brief statement of the proposal we have in mind, with several attachments, in further explanation of our planned work in the rural South. I hope this will be sufficient to start the ball rolling as a basis for discussions in the Southern Regional Council. I will be glad to supply any additional information as questions arise.

You will be interested to know that in the meantime Dr. Graham and I have had a useful meeting with Henry Saltzman of the Ford Foundation's Public Affairs Program staff. The meeting was at the request of Mr. Saltzman, who wanted to talk about how the Ford Foundation might contribute to strengthening American life in rural areas, now that they have participated successfully in a number of urban-oriented studies and projects. I am sending Mr. Saltzman a copy of the enclosed memorandum for his information and hope that the Ford Foundation may be interested in further discussions on this subject, and it may be that they will be interested in financing the program we have in mind.

I hope you will let me know if the enclosed memorandum meets your needs in discussing the proposed project in SRC. We are pleased that already we are engaged in a cooperative effort on field staff with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. This is referred to in the enclosed statement.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh
enc.

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PROPOSAL TO AID LOW-INCOME RURAL FAMILIES
IN BACKWARD SOUTHERN AREAS AND
TO STIMULATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
IN THE RURAL SOUTH

There are an increasing number of government programs designed to aid low-income rural families. Some of the older ones, such as Farmers Home Administration loans, have recently been expanded and liberalized. There are new categories of rural housing loans available; federal funds are available for rural training programs; Area Redevelopment Administration funds are available to improve rural community facilities and to attract industry to rural areas to provide much-needed jobs.

Yet traditional patterns of exclusion and discrimination often prevent low-income farmers, particularly Negroes, from taking part in these programs. That government agencies are responsive and will provide aid when the groundwork is laid in a local community is shown by a National Sharecroppers Fund pilot project in Fayette County, Tennessee. Attachment #1 is a progress report summarizing the steps taken to help a local group by-pass the uncooperative local power structure and qualify for technical and financial federal assistance.

The need now is to accelerate this program of providing information, guidance, and organizing help to local groups of low-income farm families, to enable them to take advantage of these federal aid programs before they are dispossessed of their land and homes. This need is particularly acute in areas where traditional patterns of Negro subservience are changing through voter registration drives. Negroes in these areas need help immediately to prevent reprisal foreclosure of farms and loss of equipment and livestock,

to ensure distribution of needed federal surplus food, and to stimulate planning for a viable future.

To provide this help, the National Sharecroppers Fund proposes to enlarge its field staff to include a field representative in each of the following states: Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina,[1] North Carolina, and Virginia. These field people would carry on programs similar to those we have conducted on a pilot basis in Fayette County, Tennessee. See Attachment #3 where marked "One Year's Experience."

That agencies of the federal government would view such an expansion of our program with satisfaction can be deduced from the close cooperation we have received from these agencies in our work in Fayette County. U.S. Department of Agriculture officials concerned with rural areas development are particularly sensitive to the discriminatory practices in Southern states which have prevented their programs from being fully available to Negroes. They are well aware of the brake this applies to the whole economy, of the compounded difficulties of unskilled, uneducated Negroes migrating to industrial centers, and of the growing blight upon the rural areas of continued Negro poverty and exclusion from the richness of American life.

The membership of the executive secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund on the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development, set up

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[1]The National Sharecroppers Fund and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations have already agreed to co-sponsor Mr. L. S. James as a field secretary for rural economic and social development in South Carolina. Both groups will share equal responsibility for Mr. James' salary and expenses. Mr. James is already at work on this program with primary emphasis on building grass-roots attendance at the coming South Carolina conference to be held February 13-15 at Penn Community Center. State and federal officials as well as church and lay leaders and farmers will participate. Attachment #2 gives the program of a conference held at Bricks, North Carolina, last fall, which has provided the stimulus for similar conferences in other Southern states and for more interest and action in this area of unmet need.

to advise Secretary Orville Freeman and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, further attests to the channels of communication which are established and to the desire of the USDA leadership to find ways of making their programs more effective. While the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development is made up primarily of farm leaders from various parts of the country, it also includes Dr. Henry McCanna, Executive Director of the Church in Town and Country, National Council of Churches; Rev. Edward W. O'Rourke, Executive Director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference; Frank Fernbach, Economist of the Research Department, AFL-CIO; and Elizabeth Herring, Executive Secretary of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. The National Sharecroppers Fund maintains cordial relations with all of these groups in cooperative efforts to help disadvantaged rural families.

Other evidence of USDA's cooperation is shown by the December, 1962, meeting with Secretary Freeman and National Sharecroppers Fund representatives on establishment of a new committee on equal opportunity with an inter-racial staff charged with responsibility for finding ways of making USDA's programs available to all who need them, regardless of race.

Non-governmental agency work is needed to stimulate interest and action on the local level to make these programs work. As high officials of USDA have reiterated: democratic government is responsive, not coercive.

Progress Report
on
National Sharecroppers Fund
Tennessee Program
October, 1962

The pilot project of the National Sharecroppers Fund to assist displaced rural families in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, to become economically self-sufficient is approaching successful completion. Many of these sharecroppers and tenant farmers, most of them Negroes, were dispossessed for registering to vote. Many are also unemployed and underemployed because of the technological revolution in agriculture. Instead of a bare existence in tents or sharecropper shacks, or the prospect of out-migration to metropolitan slums, they can now look forward to finding jobs in an industry which their efforts will help bring to their own community. Along with jobs and a secure income will come better health, education, and cultural advantages which make for a better life.

On October 5, 1962, over 250 Fayette County residents crowded the Mt. Olive Baptist Church in Somerville, Tennessee, to launch the West Tennessee Development Company's drive for local capital to establish a $550,000 factory. This factory will employ about 200 workers, most of whom would be the dispossessed and unemployed farm workers in the local area. The Development Company was organized by a local bi-racial committee after a year's effort by Allen Yancey, Jr., NSF field representative. As required by the Rural Areas Development program and the Area Redevelopment Administration's rules, the committee is broadly representative of community interests, including farmers and businessmen from rural Somerville, and a union leader, an educator, and a bank official from nearby Memphis.

The plant, which will be constructed and operated by the Diamond Plating Company of Memphis, was selected in close consultation with U.S. Department of Agriculture and Department of Commerce representatives after federal experts assisted in analyzing the local needs and resources. Agriculture's Rural Electrification Administration expert John H. Myhre made numerous visits to Fayette County to provide technical help to the group. The Area Redevelopment Administration's specialist on community organization, George H. Robinson, gave much valuable assistance.

The project, which calls for a federal loan for 65% of the cost (approximately $360,000), has been approved by the Fayette County Area Redevelopment Administration Committee and the State of Tennessee. A further 25% will be supplied by the metal plating company and private financing. The remaining 10% will be raised by the local development company through the sale of stock at $5.00 a share, and through interest-bearing loans and contributions which may be obtained from outside the area. Full control will be retained locally.

The October 5th meeting heard ARA officials and Dr. Lewis W. Jones of Fisk University explain and praise the results to date and encourage strong local support. The enthusiastic response of those present was that the local money would be raised. Fay Bennett assured the group of the continued assistance of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

We hope that our next report can announce that this money has been raised and that the factory is under way. The experience gained by NSF in helping to conceive and develop this project, and in guiding it through the intricacies of federal regulations and around the roadblocks of local power opposition, can now be drawn upon to help other rural communities find viable solutions to the ever-mounting problem of farm worker displacement. A full report of steps taken to achieve this progress is being prepared and will be used to stimulate other local groups to initiate similar projects.

A BETTER LIFE *for* FARM FAMILIES

a southern
rural conference
sponsored by

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

November 14-16, 1962
Franklinton Center
Bricks, North Carolina

WHY THIS CONFERENCE?

In the past decade over four million rural Southerners have been uprooted from their homes. The continuing decline of opportunities in small scale farming and the lack of alternative employment in rural areas have forced many families off the land without the means to better their lives elsewhere. This conference is called to discuss what practical steps rural families can take to remain in farming, to obtain other employment near their homes, or to gain skills necessary to secure permanent jobs elsewhere.

WHO MAY ATTEND?

The conference invites all who wish to participate in rural development: farmers, educators, members of church, civic, labor, fraternal, and business groups, staff members of concerned organizations, and government personnel.

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND?

The National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary organization which has worked for over twenty years to bring economic and social justice to Southern sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other low-income farm families. NSF also cooperates with other groups to improve conditions for all American farm workers, including seasonal and migratory farm laborers and their families.

PROGRAM

NOVEMBER 14
WEDNESDAY MORNING

Chairman: W. Judson King
President-Treasurer, Franklinton Center

8:00—Registration

9:30—Welcome

Frank P. Graham
Chairman, National Sharecroppers Fund; former U. S. Senator and President of University of North Carolina

10:00—Keynote

Lewis W. Jones
Sociologist, Race Relations Department, Fisk University

10:45—Rural Areas Development Program

A. T. Mace
Director, Office of Rural Areas Development

Harry Bass
Assistant to the Director of Rural Areas Development

John M. Lovorn
Director, Rural Renewal Division, Rural Areas Development

Job K. Savage
Director, Purchasing Division, Farmers Cooperative Service

11:45—Questions and Discussion

12:30—Lunch

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

Chairman: George Stephens, Jr.
Special Assistant to Governor Sanford, North Carolina

2:00—Area Redevelopment Administration Program

Sherwood Gates
Deputy Assistant Administrator for Area Operations

Anne Gould
Training Coordinator, Area Redevelopment Administration

George H. Robinson
Special Assistant for Community Organization, Area Redevelopment Administration

3:00—Questions and Discussion

4:00—State delegations and resource leaders will meet in separate Workshops.

6:00—Dinner

WEDNESDAY EVENING

Chairman: James M. Dabbs
Chairman, Southern Regional Council

7:30—Rural America—15 Years From Now

C. E. Bishop
Head, Department of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College

Robert W. Hudgens
President, International Development Services

NOVEMBER 15
THURSDAY MORNING

Chairman: C. G. Gomillion
Chairman, Division of Social Sciences, Tuskegee Institute

9:30—One County's Experience in Rural Development—Fayette County, Tennessee

John H. Myhre
Operations Specialist, Rural Electrification Administration

L. T. Redfearn
Member, West Tennessee Development Company

Allen Yancey, Jr.
Tennessee Representative, National Sharecroppers Fund

10:30—Questions and Discussion

12:30—Lunch

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

Chairman: Milton Ogle
Community Development Counselor, Council of the Southern Mountains

2:00—The Role of Private Organizations: Co-ops, Unions, Self-Help

Paul R. Christopher
Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO

W. Judson King
President-Treasurer, Franklinton Center

H. L. Mitchell
International Representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO; former President, National Agricultural Workers Union

Courtney Siceloff
Director, Penn Community Services, Frogmore, South Carolina

3:00—Questions and Discussion

4:00—State delegations and resource leaders will meet in separate Workshops.

6:00—Dinner

THURSDAY EVENING

Chairman: Hollis F. Price
President, LeMoyne College

7:30—Rural Development for All the People

John A. Baker
Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

NOVEMBER 16
FRIDAY MORNING

Chairman: Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council

9:15—Reports of State Workshops

10:45—Discussion

11:30—Summation

12:00—Conference Adjourns

RESOURCE LEADERS

partial list

JOHN H. DUNLAP
Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor

DONALD R. FESSLER
Extension Sociologist, Agricultural Extension Service, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

REV. SHIRLEY E. GREENE
Secretary, The Church in Town and Country, United Church of Christ

ELIZABETH B. HERRING
Executive Secretary, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor

I. H. HILLIARD
Assistant County FHA Supervisor, Halifax, North Carolina

L. S. JAMES
Veterans Administration Office, Columbia, South Carolina

REV. ELBERT B. JEAN
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches

E. WALTON JONES
Extension Economist in Public Policy, Department of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College

R. E. JONES
State Agent, North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service

IRA KAYE
Attorney at Law, Sumter, South Carolina

RICHARD A. KING
M. G. Mann Professor, Department of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College

WILLIAM H. KOCH, JR.
Director, Fundamental Education Project, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches

FRANK LAPEYROLERIE
Knights of Peter Claver; Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO

REV. HERMAN H. LONG
Director, Race Relations Department, Fisk University

JAMES T. McCAIN
Director of Organization, Congress On Racial Equality

REV. HENRY A. McCANNA
Executive Director, The Church in Town and Country, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches

REV. J. A. McKNIGHT
Abbeville, Louisiana

JAMES G. MADDOX
Professor, Department of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College

L. A. POTTS
Dean, School of Agriculture, Tuskegee Institute

REV. J. METZ ROLLINS, JR.
Field Office for Church and Society, Board of Christian Education, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

ALICE N. SPEARMAN
Executive Director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

MEMO *to conference participants*

Franklinton Center, at Bricks, North Carolina, is sponsored by the United Church of Christ. Located in the heart of eastern North Carolina's cotton farming area, with over half of the neighboring population composed of rural families, it provides an appropriate setting for this conference.

HOW TO REACH FRANKLINTON CENTER:

by car: Bricks is located on U. S. Highway 301, 16 miles north of Rocky Mount, N. C., and 3 miles south of Enfield. The nearest major city is Raleigh, 80 miles to the west.

by bus: Trailways Bus System serves Bricks, stopping at the gate of Franklinton Center.

by train: Atlantic Coastline serves Rocky Mount, from which bus connections can be made to Bricks.

by air: Piedmont Airlines serves Rocky Mount.

NOTE: Conference participants can be met at Rocky Mount for a charge of $2.00. Those wishing to be met at Raleigh-Durham will be charged $10.00 for transportation. These costs will be reduced if rides are shared. Please indicate on the Registration Form your mode of transportation and expected time of arrival.

Costs: Registration is $2.00, and $13.00 will cover room and board for the duration of the Conference (Tuesday night through Friday morning, with three meals Wednesday and Thursday, and Friday breakfast). For those not requiring full room and board, modest per diem rates will be available. Supper Tuesday night and lunch on Friday will be available for an additional nominal fee.

Financial Assistance: To the extent that resources permit, the National Sharecroppers Fund will attempt to assist persons who could not otherwise attend. Please write for information concerning such assistance, telling of your interest in attending the conference and the extent of financial need.

Accommodations: Franklinton Center has modern dormitory accommodations (no more than 4 persons to a room). The dining room serves all meals cafeteria style. Main sessions of the conference will be held in the auditorium. Smaller group discussions will be held in conference rooms. A spacious campus offers many recreational facilities, including volley ball, badminton, and ping pong.

Registration: The enclosed Registration Form should be completed and sent to the National Sharecroppers Fund together with the registration fee of $2.00 as soon as possible, since accommodations are limited. Room assignments will be made upon arrival at Franklinton Center.

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112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

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THE SOUTH'S REVOLUTION
★
CHALLENGE to the NATION

THE economic and political revolution in the South is developing with ever-increasing speed. This continuing revolution against the old plantation economy and social system has directly affected millions of families in the South, and has indirectly affected the entire nation. It has its roots in the changing pattern of Southern agriculture, where technology and the accompanying heavy capital requirements for mechanization and land consolidation are breaking down the traditional economic and social pattern of small-scale farming and tenancy. The revolution has enabled fewer farmers to produce more food and fiber, causing one of the greatest dislocations and migrations of our country's history, swelling

the stream of migrant farm workers, and bringing an influx of unskilled workers into the cities of both North and South. But the people most affected by this revolution—Negro and white farm families at the lowest economic level—may now have an opportunity of realizing the benefits which technological progress and government programs can bring.

The contrast between the situation of 25 years ago and that of today shows some of the results of this revolution:

- *In 1935 there were over 3.4 million farmers in the South. Since then, 1.8 million —more than half—have left the land, one-third of them in the last five years alone.*
- *Of the 1.6 million farmers remaining, 88 per cent earn less than $2500 a year.*
- *In 1935 there were 720,000 sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Today only one-sixth—120,000—remain to eke out a marginal existence on land owned by someone else.*

The fact is clear: the agricultural revolution has forced millions of farm families off the land.

Although all low-income groups have suffered, the group traditionally most deprived by the old plantation system—sharecroppers and tenant farmers, and particularly those who are Negroes—are at the greatest disadvantage in seeking a viable way of life. The extent of their dislocation is especially disturbing:

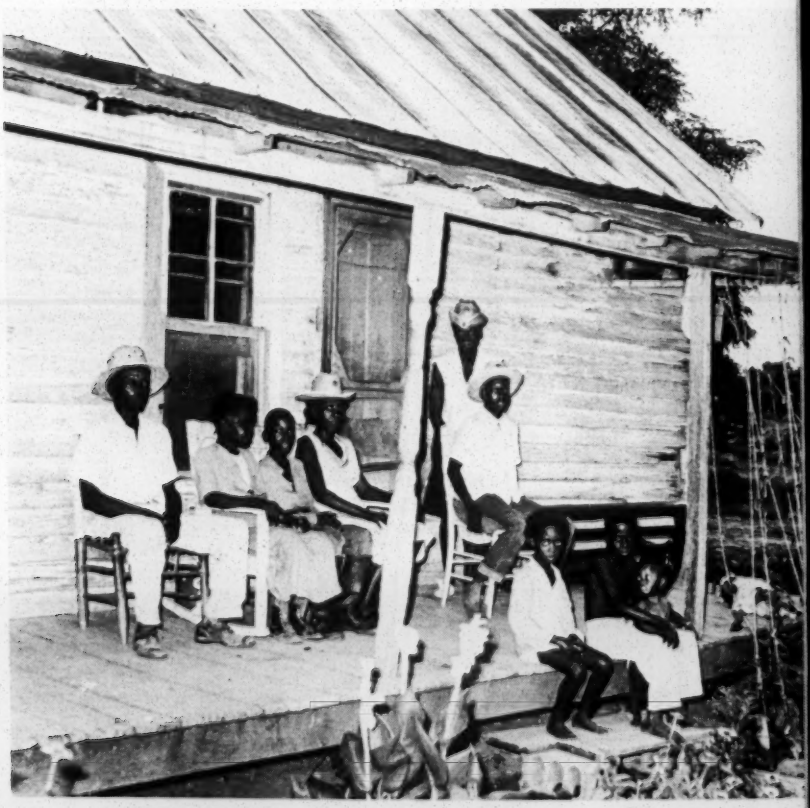
- *More than half of all teenage Negroes living in Mississippi in 1950 had left the state by 1960.*
- *The equivalent of one-third of Mississippi's Negro population left during the 1950's, as did one quarter of Alabama's and South Carolina's, and one-fifth of Georgia's and North Carolina's.*

In all, over four million persons left the rural South between 1950 and 1960. Some of these displaced persons have gone to Southern cities or joined the stream of migrant workers. But more than a million and a half Negroes—the largest Negro migration in American history—and over a million

whites have sought work in Northern industrial cities. These newcomers to our urban areas come unprepared to compete for jobs in an economy that increasingly places a premium on education and developed skills. Their resources are limited because:

- *One half of all adult citizens—Negro and white—of North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama received no more than an elementary school education.*
- *One-quarter of all American Negroes are functionally illiterate—i.e., without a fifth grade education.*

The deteriorating slum cores of our industrial cities and the high unemployment and crime rates, especially among the young, all attest to the present failure of our industrial economy to meet the challenge posed by the agricultural revolution. In 1961, more than one-third of all Negroes in northern industrial cities were unemployed during some part of the year.



Three generations of a sharecropper family forced off the land in Fayette County, Tennessee.

THE OUTLOOK

Dislocation, lack of alternative employment, and unemployment take their toll in poverty and human suffering. Furthermore, for today's movements to achieve equal educational and economic opportunities and political rights to be successful, they must be built on a sound economic base. The evictions of Negro sharecroppers in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, and other economic reprisals have shown that it is not enough for previously disenfranchised citizens to register to vote; if newly registered voters can then be forced to leave their jobs and homes by economic pressure, their hard-won right to vote will not be exercised where it counts most.

All of these problems must be met where they begin: in the declining rural areas of the South, wherever remaining low-income farm families are struggling to stay on the land or to find employment near their homes. The National Sharecroppers Fund believes that the federal government programs such as Area Redevelopment, Rural Areas Development, retaining, Farmers' Home loans, and farm workers' housing loans can make important contributions to these pressing needs of the rural South.

Thus far, however, two basic obstacles have impaired the effectiveness of these federal programs:

- *Many low-income farm families lack knowledge of the programs. They often are not informed of the benefits for which they are eligible.*
- *The programs are locally administered, often by community leaders who are not sympathetic to the needs of low-income farm families, especially if they are Negro.*

These obstacles are especially serious because these programs require all applications for industrial development loans to be made through "local initiative." Local approval is also required for farm ownership and operating loans. If low-income rural groups are excluded from participation, they will not benefit from the programs according to their needs. (There are cases of local approval being denied to those who have registered to vote.)

Fayette County's bi-racial development committee, formed by NSF's Representative (seated, right).

ONE YEAR'S EXPERIENCE

The National Sharecroppers Fund has worked during the past year on a pilot project in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, to determine whether these obstacles can be overcome by local groups working to secure federal aid. We can report the following accomplishments during this time:

- Long months of careful groundwork have led to the formation of a bi-racial economic development company in Fayette County. Federal technicians have provided help to determine the most suitable type of industry that could be established with federal financial aid.
- A metal-plating plant, with potential year-round, full-time employment of 200, is expected to be the first industry in Fayette County to provide alternative employment for the displaced sharecroppers.
- NSF's program has introduced hundreds of low-income farmers to FHA loans, educational loans, and retraining projects.
- Many loan applications previously denied to local Negroes have been appealed to the appropriate federal agencies in Washington with the aid of NSF, with favorable results in qualified cases.
- An investigation of the Fayette County local FHA office has resulted in more careful handling of loan applications.
- A special FHA office was opened in Haywood County and received 100 loan applications in its first week of operation.
- After local requests, backed by NSF, were made, the Department of Agriculture overrode claims by local welfare officials that surplus food was not needed, and 4,000 persons in the two counties have received this food.

Such progress, gratifying as it is, must now be accelerated and repeated in other areas of the South.

A PROGRAM

Because of the traditional exclusion of Negroes, small farmers, and labor representatives from local politics in the rural South, there is a shortage of the trained leadership which is needed in depressed rural areas to insure that low-income families will receive the full benefits of federal programs. NSF's experience in its Fayette-Haywood pilot project indicates that many rural families, excluded until now from federal programs, need help in learning practical methods of applying for and receiving aid. On the other hand, our experience clearly shows that with knowledge and perseverence, local people can make substantial progress toward effective and democratic rural development.

The NSF Board of Directors has approved two major projects to expand its program in the rural South. NSF's goal is to increase participation by low-income rural families in all federal programs that can aid them, as well as to develop self-help projects.

Toward these ends:

- *NSF will sponsor a meeting of rural people and potential leaders from many areas of the South at Franklinton Center, Bricks, North Carolina, on November 14-16, 1962. Government officials, educators, and personnel from private organizations, churches, and unions will also attend.*
- *NSF hopes to expand its Southern field staff considerably. These field representatives would work to aid low-income rural families in promoting economic and social development of their areas. (This program is dependent upon raising the necessary funds.)*

The National Sharecroppers Fund has worked for over twenty years to bring economic and social justice to Southern sharecroppers and other deprived farm families. NSF also cooperates with other groups to improve conditions for all American farm workers, with special attention to the needs of disadvantaged seasonal and migratory farm workers and their families.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 East 19 Street, New York 3, N.Y.

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March 13, 1963

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Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I appreciate your letter of February 27 expressing the reluctance of the Southern Regional Council to approach our proposal to aid low-income rural families on a region-wide basis. I agree that it would simplify matters and make for a stronger program to work with individual states as our resources and contacts develop. We agree that we have worked out a good relationship with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations in sharing the services of Mr. L. S. James and in our work in that state.

You will be interested to know that I have been invited by Dr. A. D. Beittel to attend a meeting of the executive committee of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations at Tougaloo next Monday, and I plan to attend. Since I shall be in the state, I am planning to spend several days talking to people about our program and about possible federal training programs for low-income farm people and other possible economic programs to help them.

I hope you will keep me in mind when you plan to visit New York, and hope that there will be time for us to get together. Rowland told me he met you when you were here for a meeting at the ACLU, but that you were indeed on a tight schedule.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh

The National Sharecroppers Fund has worked for over twenty-five years to bring economic and social justice to Southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers and to migratory farm workers.

LWD
PA
VJ

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August 7, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Staige:

Apparently I am not on your mailing list for we have not yet received a copy of the report "Federal Programs to Promote Employment and Development in Rural Communities" which grew out of the Penn Center conference in February of this year. I would be grateful if you would send us several copies of the report and add our name to your mailing list.

Perhaps you have heard about the forthcoming conference to be held again at Penn Center from September 22nd through 27th, and to be jointly sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. This conference will deal primarily with all phases of cooperatives * as they apply to low income farmers. We have lined up an excellent program and outstanding leadership made up of resource people from government and private agencies dealing with all aspects of cooperatives and credit unions. I hope you will make note of the dates and pass the word around to people who will be working with rural and farm groups. As soon as the conference programs are ready I will certainly see that you get some.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:bb

* and job training programs

sent 100 copies (as suggested by Staige Blackford)
8/8/63 BC

The National Sharecroppers Fund has worked for over twenty-five years to bring economic and social justice to Southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers and to migratory farm workers.

490

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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C O P Y

December 23, 1963

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GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund at its meeting on December 18, 1963, noted with approval a report in the Wall Street Journal that you are considering highlighting in your 1964 legislative program the "waging of war" against domestic poverty and ignorance. Our Board instructed me to convey to you our fervent hope that you will present this concern in your State of the Union Message to the Congress in January, and to set forth to you some of the aspects of the problem that are within the area of our particular concern.

The pockets of poverty in the rural Southeast are expanding at a rapid pace due to the shifting pattern of farming and agricultural technology. The persons who are being displaced are, because of centuries of educational deprivation and gross discrimination and neglect, even less equipped to cope with technological "displacement" than their industrial brothers in the urban North.

We particularly commend to your attention the article, "The Invisible Americans," in the December 21-28 issue of The Saturday Evening Post. This on-the-spot study dramatically illustrates the consequences of rural poverty on the lives and hopes of the families affected. Many of these families are somehow subsisting on a few hundred dollars a year.

Despite substantial progress in Southern industrialization, it has had little if any effect in alleviating rural poverty. Factories cannot be located where there is neither a market for their products nor adequate transportation facilities to bring the products to a market. They cannot be located where there is no water supply, no sewage disposal, no health or recreational facilities, and grossly inadequate public schooling. What is needed first--and now--is a vast new federal program of rural development of secondary roads for access to markets, water supply and sewage disposal, health clinics

and rural schools, and decent housing to meet human needs and make industrial development possible. This program is urgently needed to give the rural areas the stimulus they need to advance economically and socially, and to create the markets that make factory location through Area Redevelopment and Rural Areas Development economically feasible. Such a program would indeed prime the pump of the rural economy and do much to relieve the mounting pressure upon the urban economy from the influx of the poorly educated, unskilled rural unemployed.

The problem is particularly acute for older rural persons who have spent most of their productive lives in agricultural work for which they are no longer needed. Many of these people, despite accumulating debt, have up to now been able to cling to their rural homes and their few acres of land. They cannot hold out much longer. It is both inhumane and uneconomic to force them to spend their declining years on welfare in a city slum. With an adequate federal program now, no senior citizen need fear so bleak a future. An imaginative program of grants-in-aid would give them the supplemental income they need to pay their debts and carry on a modified homesteading operation. If outright grants are deemed inadvisable, a part-time public works program such as WPA should be inaugurated to enable them to contribute to the physical improvement of the countryside while they live in dignity under their own roofs.

Rural youth, too, are in particular and urgent need of immediate help, for most of them will have to find their future off the farm. A large-scale training program is needed which will combine basic remedial education and realistic vocational training in present-day marketable skills with sufficient remuneration to provide both subsistence for the trainee and some assistance for the family at home--as was done in the Civilian Conservation Corps. It should lead into on-the-job training and employment in the larger federal development program and the expanding industries the latter program will encourage.

The National Sharecroppers Fund heartily endorses the other proposals suggested in the Wall Street Journal article. We have long advocated the elementary justice of minimum-wage coverage for farm workers, federal assistance for the education of migrant children, federal assistance to all needy dependent children, expansion of the food stamp plan and other programs for the distribution of food to the needy, and bringing to farm workers the protection of social legislation that most other workers have long enjoyed. These are all necessary but more is obviously needed now. That more is the public works, aid for the rural aging, and training of rural youth that we here urge upon you.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

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FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

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JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

March 16, 1964

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

We are working on the memorandum you asked for concerning the possibility of SRC contracting with NSF to work in the rural areas of some of the Southern states as we are doing in South Carolina so effectively. We are also preparing a brief report on our past year's work in South Carolina in cooperation with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. I hope to have both of these papers in your hands next week.

President Johnson's poverty message has now gone to the Congress and we are busily lining up expert witnesses as well as the poor themselves from rural areas to testify to the need. His recommendations don't go far enough, but they would be a giant step in the right direction. I am enclosing a copy of our letter to the President on this subject and you will note on page 2 that ~~one~~ some of our recommendations ~~was~~ were included in the poverty legislation. I think you will be interested in the whole letter because it indicates the kind of things our field people will be working on. The Administration's poverty legislation will lean heavily on local initiative, as have other federal programs, and this is where our field work is essential to bring the message to those who need these programs, to develop local leadership, and to help local people organize to receive the aid they need.

Also enclosed is the seven page summary of our OMAT project proposal which gives some detail of what is involved, what the needs are, and how our staff will seek to meet them.

I read Claude Sitton's account of the Southern Regional Council's annual report and quotes from you which appeared in the New York Times a few days ago. Will you please send me a copy of your report. I'd also appreciate getting all the reports you issue, including your newsletter to state Councils.

I'm so glad we had an opportunity to meet in Atlanta and to have a good talk about our mutual concerns.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:jk
enc.

Summary of an 18 month Demonstration Project
In Developing Job Training Programs Among the "Hard-Core" Unemployed
And Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas, Under Sec. 201
Of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962

Project Agency. National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency with 25 years of experience working to aid rural Southern farm people. Its primary recent emphasis has been to assist, through conferences, informational material, and a field staff, the most disadvantaged rural people in finding solutions to their economic and social problems through participation in governmental farm programs and cooperatives. Its functioning National Board includes authorities in the fields of rural sociology and adult education who will assist in the planning and execution of the project.

Characteristics and Needs of Trainees. Sharecroppers and farm workers who are being displaced by a changing economy often lack the basic education and experience needed to adjust to urban industrial life. They are rural people who, with training and planning, can find more skilled employment on the land and in small rural communities. They have had little experience with state employment offices and are not now being reached by them.

Purpose and Program of Project. The project is designed to demonstrate that unused resources of leadership within the poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with the smaller, predominantly Negro colleges, can effectively develop programs of job training that will enable many unemployed persons to lead economically useful lives in their own communities. During the course of 18 months, the agency expects to assist in developing at least two programs in each of the following six states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. It expects that 1500-2000 trainees will participate.

By using its experience and local contacts, the agency will reach leaders and potential leaders among the rural groups who are not now being utilized in developing training programs. It will assist them and their communities to analyze their training needs in the light of existing and potential job possibilities and help them to develop a fruitful working relationship with the employment services, agricultural vocational agencies, cooperating colleges, and other state and federal agencies.

NSF will encourage the sponsorship of training programs by those colleges that are best qualified by experience to teach the inadequately prepared, but that have hitherto been restrained by lack of staff and funds from exploiting the potentials of serving in this way. It will help them to establish active relationships with the local communities that need the programs and will assist them in the preparation of these programs. It will seek to develop cooperative action for training between these colleges and larger ones that may have greater staff and facilities available.

Personnel Requirements. The project will require one Field Coordinator and three Field Representatives responsible for two states each, and appropriate secretarial-clerical assistance.

Project Agency: National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York
GR 3-0284

Executive Secretary: Fay Bennett

The National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency with more than twenty-five years' experience in work with Southern sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other low-income farm families. Through this work NSF has gained contacts throughout the South and has won the confidence of disadvantaged people who are hard to reach through normal governmental channels and who have often been neglected by local leadership. NSF has worked cooperatively with church leaders, educators, labor officials, and community relations leaders in the South on the basis of mutual trust and confidence.

NSF's program includes bringing low-income rural people together with concerned governmental and private agencies to find solutions to their economic and social problems. NSF's experience is in rural work, and it brings special skills to bear on the particular problems of the rural poor. It has achieved considerable success with its program.

NSF's National Board is made up of leaders in many areas of American life. Its Chairman is Dr. Frank P. Graham, former President of the University of North Carolina and U.S. Senator, and presently mediator for the United Nations. The role of NSF has been recognized by the Department of Commerce in its recent appointment of Dr. Graham as Chairman of the National Advisory Committee to the Area Redevelopment Administration, and earlier by the Department of Agriculture in the appointment of NSF's Executive Secretary, Miss Fay Bennett, to the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development. Other NSF Board members with particularly pertinent background and experience who will be available for consultation and guidance during the course of this project include:

Dr. Manet Fowler, anthropologist, former Consultant in Intergroup Relations, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association

Dr. Patricia Cayo Sexton, Associate Professor of Educational Sociology, School of Education, New York University; author of Education and Income

Dr. Lewis W. Jones, sociologist, formerly of the Race Relations Department, Fisk University; author of Cold Rebellion

Dr. Frank McCallister, Director, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University; formerly Director, Georgia Workers Education Service

Dr. Clarence Senior, Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College; Member, Board of Education, City of New York; formerly Director, Migration Division, Department of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Haverford College; author of The Negro Youth: Their Social and Economic Background and numerous other writings on Negro sociology and education

Dr. Robert B. Johnson, Assistant Professor of Social Work, New York University

Characteristics and Needs of Trainees

The people of the proposed areas of concentration in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee are characterized by low income, substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment, and lack of the training and education which would enable them to break out of the cycle of poverty.

Because these are rural areas, most of the people have not been eligible for unemployment insurance, and few have had any previous contact with state employment security services. Thus the use of such services in preparing the way for training programs presents unusual difficulties. The problem of reaching these people is further complicated by the high incidence of functional illiteracy, which means that such approaches as informational governmental brochures or newspaper publicity and advertising can have only limited success. In South Carolina, for example, one out of every five adults 25 years and older is a functional illiterate. The illiteracy rate in the area proposed for the demonstration project averages about 25 per cent.

Most of these people are experienced only in farm work, and the steady decline in the number of individual farms all over the nation makes it possible to predict that most of them will be driven off the land within the next decade. Their immediate situation is critical. Unless the situation is changed, they will enter the labor market unskilled and unable to compete. The young people, in particular, find themselves with nothing to do, nowhere to go. Many have given up the hope of anything better.

The income of these workers is among the lowest in the United States. Rural workers have been consistently left behind in the general advance of wage levels both in the country as a whole and in the South. Automation has cut into the already meagre wage levels by reducing the total work year in hourly paid farm and rural jobs. Farm worker income levels in the target states to be served by this program are among the lowest in the nation. The average cash hourly earnings for farm workers in Georgia and South Carolina is $0.61; in Louisiana, $0.70, and in Mississippi and in Tennessee, $0.53.

Many such workers in these areas would thus qualify for MDTA training under the provision that persons from farm families which have yearly incomes of under $1200.00 are to be considered unemployed for the purposes of the Manpower Act. Only a very few such workers have been thus far selected for MDTA training. Out of the first 30,014 persons selected for MDTA training, only 359 have been selected from this group.

Beyond these fundamental factors of education and income there are other important impediments to the full utilization of MDTA for these workers.

1. They live in areas in which there are few or insufficient manpower and training resources.

2. They are often totally uninformed as to training and occupational opportunities.

In short, specific training proposals developed under this contract will be directed at persons who:

1. Are members of farm families which have an income of less than $1200 per year.

2. Have not completed six years of school.

3. Can be reasonably identified as likely to be forced off the land by market shifts and automation.

4. Have no marketable skills beyond simple farm methods.

5. Are rural, unemployed, non-farm workers with incomes below $2000.00 and who have had histories of chronic unemployment for an extended period.

Purpose and Program of Proposed Demonstration Project

The purpose and program of the proposed project is:

1. To implement Section 201 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, which provides that the Secretary of Labor shall "...develop policies for the adequate occupational development and maximum utilization of the skills of the Nation's workers, promote and encourage the development of broad and diversified training programs, including on-the-job training, designed to qualify for employment the many persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure full-time employment without such training...." directly on behalf of the unemployed or underemployed persons identified above;

2. To demonstrate that a private agency, such as the National Sharecroppers Fund, with its orientation toward a specific social and occupational group together with deep working relationships with other similarly interested public and private groups, can more effectively marshall local, State and Federal Manpower resources on behalf of these persons than the MDTA program has done thus far;

3. To demonstrate that NSF's experience and contacts can reach and develop indigenous local leadership within the disadvantaged rural groups not presently being reached by the Employment Service and other agencies of State and federal government;

4. To assist this local leadership in analyzing the training needs of the rural people in their areas, to serve as liaison between them and the Agricultural Vocational Education services and educational institutions in developing specific local training programs, and to work with them in securing participation in the training programs developed;

5. To show that, with professional program assistance, the smaller colleges can successfully use their facilities and their considerable experience in working with inadequately prepared students in developing training programs geared to the needs and capabilities of the so-called "hard-core" rural unemployed and underemployed;

6. To encourage and assist other organizations such as church groups, business associations, cooperatives, trade unions, and other public and private agencies to "pool" their resources in rural areas to develop training programs for disadvantaged groups;

7. To assist such groups and agencies in making contact with professional testing, counseling, and vocational training specialists who will enable them to better deal with the unique problems of the rural poor as they relate to occupational and training problems;

8. To demonstrate that such a program can accelerate the involvement of rural and low income farm workers in MDTA and ARA to an extent not now being reached.

The specific objective will be to develop during the course of the 18 months at least two training programs in each of the selected states. It is anticipated that such programs will train 1500 persons during this period and that their demonstrated effectiveness will accelerate the development of additional programs within these states and expansion to other states.

Although all the Southern states need such programs in their rural areas, NSF believes it prudent, while approaches and techniques of project development are being refined in the field, to concentrate initially upon selected rural areas in the six states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. These states have been chosen because of the considerable experience that NSF has already had in working with local persons and groups there, and because of some of the preliminary work it has already done. If, after six months, progress in these six states seems to warrant it and qualified personnel are available, immediate expansion into Florida, Alabama, and Arkansas would be considered.

Approach

It is proposed that a special staff consisting of a field coordinator, three field representatives, and necessary clerical-secretarial personnel be employed. This staff would be supplemented as needed by the NSF's Executive Secretary and staff. Members of the NSF Board who are experienced in rural sociology and in adult education will be available for consultation and guidance in carrying out the program.

NSF's special staff would expect first to evaluate the experiences of others in setting up and carrying out training programs, so that it can profit by, or further test, techniques already used. For example, it would expect at an early date to consult with the administration and staff of the Virginia State College training program for hard-core unemployed workers, in order to build upon their experience. It would also review farm labor training programs which have been successful.

In addition, NSF will encourage labor organizations, county officials, chambers of commerce, trade associations, farm organizations, etc., to imaginative action for manpower development and training programs. Through

these groups we propose the development of regional manpower centers at which a coordinated approach to the range of occupational problems of the "hard-core" unemployed can be developed.

The staff would then designate specific areas for concentration in eligible counties that could be serviced by an interested educational institution. Among the educational institutions which would be approached by the staff for this purpose are:

in North Carolina - Agricultural & Technical College of North Carolina
Bennett College
Livingstone College
North Carolina State College
John C. Smith College
University of North Carolina

in South Carolina - South Carolina State College
Benedict College
Morris College
Claflin College

in Georgia - Paine College
Spellman College
Morehouse College
Atlanta University
University of Georgia

in Mississippi - Tougaloo College
Alcorn College
Jackson State College
Millsaps College

in Louisiana - Grambling College
Dillard University
Loyola University
Southern University
Leland College

in Tennessee - LeMoyne College
Fisk University
Lane College
Vanderbilt University
Tennessee A. and I. State University

It is expected that more favorable circumstances in North Carolina for cooperative work between Negro and white institutions, and for integration of other aspects of the program, will make the project in North Carolina of particular value as a stimulus in the other states.

The NSF staff will work to encourage the smaller colleges, many of which are understaffed and underfinanced, to develop such projects and will inform them of the aid and experienced assistance that is available. It will act as their liaison with the local leadership in determining what training programs are most urgently needed and in seeking out and selecting

those trainees who are qualified and most in need of the training to be provided. To the extent necessary, it will assist in developing the programs and will help prepare them for presentation to the appropriate state and federal agencies involved.

While the preliminary steps are being taken with the colleges, the field staff will also seek out the established and potential leadership within the disadvantaged groups in the selected areas. Through interviews, meetings, and conferences, the field staff will present the possibilities to them and to the local community and help them to determine what training programs would be most immediately productive. At an early stage it would seek to involve the established leadership and organizational resources of the entire community in planning and developing the programs. It would particularly seek the participation of the local employment security office and vocational teachers and administrators. It would serve as liaison between these persons and groups and the participating colleges.

As the programs are developed, the field staff will render such assistance as is needed to see that they are carried successfully to completion. Throughout the project, the staff will develop a continuing working relationship with state educational and employment security agencies and with national and regional OMAT administrators, as well as with the Bureau of Employment Security and appropriate agencies of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It will proceed as rapidly as possible to develop additional projects through other colleges and educational institutions in other areas in the selected states.

It is not possible to set forth a precise timetable for this pioneering program. It is anticipated, however, that the preliminary developmental work will be completed in about four months and that a further three months would be needed to work out the details of and secure the approval for the initial training programs. The remainder of the year would be devoted to carrying the programs forward and in developing new programs. It is hoped that after the first one is launched the others will develop with accelerating momentum.

Personnel Requirements

Field Coordinator. The Field Coordinator will be responsible for the overall organization, scope, pace, and functioning of the projects in all six states, and will provide overall supervision of staff and liaison with appropriate governmental agencies. He will be responsible for the actual execution in the field of the program in the six designated states. He will be based at the regional headquarters, probably in North Carolina. He will direct and supervise the work of the field representatives and will be available to assist them as needed in negotiation with community leaders and with educational, state, and local officials. He will decide what criteria and methods will shape the demonstration project and prepare a report at its conclusion.

Three Field Representatives. Each field representative will be primarily responsible for carrying out the project in two states and will have his base in one of them. His assignment will be flexible, however, and he may be called upon to assist another field representative temporarily if the progress of the overall project so requires. It may be desirable for all of the representatives to work initially with the coordinator in one state to develop and test their techniques.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

C O P Y

December 23, 1963

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JAC WASSERMAN
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OCIE LEE SMITH
Louisiana-Arkansas representative

L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund at its meeting on December 18, 1963, noted with approval a report in the Wall Street Journal that you are considering highlighting in your 1964 legislative program the "waging of war" against domestic poverty and ignorance. Our Board instructed me to convey to you our fervent hope that you will present this concern in your State of the Union Message to the Congress in January, and to set forth to you some of the aspects of the problem that are within the area of our particular concern.

The pockets of poverty in the rural Southeast are expanding at a rapid pace due to the shifting pattern of farming and agricultural technology. The persons who are being displaced are, because of centuries of educational deprivation and gross discrimination and neglect, even less equipped to cope with technological "displacement" than their industrial brothers in the urban North.

We particularly commend to your attention the article, "The Invisible Americans," in the December 21-28 issue of The Saturday Evening Post. This on-the-spot study dramatically illustrates the consequences of rural poverty on the lives and hopes of the families affected. Many of these families are somehow subsisting on a few hundred dollars a year.

Despite substantial progress in Southern industrialization, it has had little if any effect in alleviating rural poverty. Factories cannot be located where there is neither a market for their products nor adequate transportation facilities to bring the products to a market. They cannot be located where there is no water supply, no sewage disposal, no health or recreational facilities, and grossly inadequate public schooling. What is needed first--and now--is a vast new federal program of rural development of secondary roads for access to markets, water supply and sewage disposal, health clinics

and rural schools, and decent housing to meet human needs and make industrial development possible. This program is urgently needed to give the rural areas the stimulus they need to advance economically and socially, and to create the markets that make factory location through Area Redevelopment and Rural Areas Development economically feasible. Such a program would indeed prime the pump of the rural economy and do much to relieve the mounting pressure upon the urban economy from the influx of the poorly educated, unskilled rural unemployed.

The problem is particularly acute for older rural persons who have spent most of their productive lives in agricultural work for which they are no longer needed. Many of these people, despite accumulating debt, have up to now been able to cling to their rural homes and their few acres of land. They cannot hold out much longer. It is both inhumane and uneconomic to force them to spend their declining years on welfare in a city slum. With an adequate federal program now, no senior citizen need fear so bleak a future. An imaginative program of grants-in-aid would give them the supplemental income they need to pay their debts and carry on a modified homesteading operation. If outright grants are deemed inadvisable, a part-time public works program such as WPA should be inaugurated to enable them to contribute to the physical improvement of the countryside while they live in dignity under their own roofs.

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The National Sharecroppers Fund heartily endorses the other proposals suggested in the Wall Street Journal article. We have long advocated the elementary justice of minimum-wage coverage for farm workers, federal assistance for the education of migrant children, federal assistance to all needy dependent children, expansion of the food stamp plan and other programs for the distribution of food to the needy, and bringing to farm workers the protection of social legislation that most other workers have long enjoyed. These are all necessary but more is obviously needed now. That more is the public works, aid for the rural aging, and training of rural youth that we here urge upon you.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb:gh

Rec'd 4/7/64 File Nat'l. Sharecroppers Fund

FROM: Fay Bennett, Executive Director
Migrant Children's Fund
Room 1000, 112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003
GR 3-0284 or 914-RO 9-0145

FOR RELEASE: Monday, April 6, 1964

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The establishment of a new national clearing house and action center for the education of migrant children was announced today by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Chairman of the Migrant Children's Fund, and Mr. Henry B. Herman, Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee. The objective of the new program, the result of the merger of the two organizations, is a concentrated attack on the problems of the nation's most educationally and economically deprived group of children.

"We believe that a pooling of resources will help to break down the obstacles keeping migrant children from attaining equal educational opportunity and denying them legal protections in this last bastion of child labor on the American scene," said Dr. Mays and Mr. Herman in a joint statement. The new program is being partially financed by a grant to the Migrant Children's Fund from the Charles E. Merrill Trust.

The newly merged program establishes the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children, with an advisory committee composed of both MCF and NCLC board members. The new Committee will work directly with educators, public officials, and community leaders to extend and improve educational opportunities for migrant children.

The National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children will collect and disseminate information about programs designed to meet the special educational needs of the hundreds of thousands of disadvantaged migrant children in the country. It will encourage state departments of education to include migrant children in their school programs, develop citizen support for programs to benefit these uprooted children, and consult with national government and voluntary agencies in this work.

- more -

Miss Cassandra Stockburger, for the past eight years Southern Representative for the Migrant Ministry of the National Council of Churches, has been appointed director of the new program.

The spokesmen for the two merging organizations pointed out that bills passed last year by the U.S. Senate would extend federal grants to states to enable them to provide greater educational opportunities for migrant children, and would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to regulate the employment of children in agriculture outside of school hours. "House passage of these bills would greatly enhance the opportunities of migrant children to attain the educational benefits which they need in order to break out of the migrant pattern and prepare themselves for more productive lives," they said.

The Migrant Children's Fund was established in 1954, and during its nine years of existence it has provided grants for special educational projects, summer schools, and teacher training centers, and has conducted educational campaigns to develop wider public knowledge and concern for migrant children. Its officers, in addition to Dr. Mays, who is President of Morehouse College, include: Vice-Chairmen: Dr. Frank P. Graham, former President of the University of North Carolina; Dr. George I. Sanchez, Chairman of the Department of History and Philosophy of Education, University of Texas; and Secretary-Treasurer: I. Cyrus Gordon, Attorney at Law.

The National Child Labor Committee, which was established by an Act of Congress in 1904 to deal with the problem of child labor, has long had a special concern for migrant children and has frequently joined with the Migrant Children's Fund and other interested groups in programs on their behalf. Along with Mr. Herman, who is a Leader of the Ethical Society of New York, its officers are: Vice Chairmen: George S. Stevenson, M.D., former President of the World Federation of Mental Health, and Mrs. Mildred Jeffrey, Director, Community Relations, United Automobile Workers of America.

PA
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MJ-file

FRANK P. GRAHAM
chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
vice-chairman
ELIOT D. PRATT
secretary-treasurer

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

April 15, 1964

Dear Les:

I think you will be interested in seeing the enclosed statement which was presented on behalf of NSF to the House Labor Committee in support of the Anti-Poverty Bill. I'm also enclosing copies of some newspaper clippings which indicate that our farmer stole the show.

We brought Mr. Canty to Washington to participate in the Hearing. His straight-forward and earnest presentation made a great impression on the Congressmen who were present. Passage of this bill, along with necessary administrative reforms to ensure that its provisions are made available to the people who need them, can save an awful lot of people in the South from being forced off the land.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:jk
enc.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, APRIL 13, 1964

Needy Farmer Testifies for Poverty Bill

Washington, April 13 (AP)—A 56-year-old Negro farmer from South Carolina, who said he was too poor to buy glasses, read alloud in halting tones today his statement to Congress describing his rural life and his support for President Johnson's anti-poverty bill.

The farmer, Willie Preston Canty of Pinewood, told the House Labor subcommittee that he was $9,887 in debt and ineligible under present law to get a loan from any federal farm agency.

He said the Johnson bill's provision for grants up to $1,500 to poor farmers would put him back on his feet.

A different view of such grants came from Dr. Harry L. Brown, a director of the American Farm Bureau Federation, who was the first witness to testify against the bill.

Brown, who was Assistant Secretary of Agriculture under Henry A. Wallace in the 1930s, said that grants and loans to poor farmers would, "Whatever the intention may be, operate to perpetuate subsistence farming and rural slums."

"The concept that low-income families should be settled and maintaine don little farms is an old and reactionary idea," Brown said. "The result would be stabilized, government-directed and subsidized poverty."

Brown said the Farm Bureau Federation supported "the farm loan program of the Farmers Home Administration, which is primarily designed to provide assistance to those farmers who can enlarge their enterprises to become economic-sized operators."

Farmer Canty was brought before the subcommittee by Fay Bennett, executive secretary of the National Sharecropers Fund. He read his statement so slowly and haltingly that Rep. Martin (R-Neb.) questioned whether he had written it himself.

Miss Bennett said that, although Canty did have help in the statement, the main reason why he read poorly was that he couldn't afford glasses.

Canty's statement said that because of three bad crop years and the need to pay hospitalization costs for his father, he had to mortgage his farm of 55 cleared acres and 57 uncleared acres.

"My total debt, including the mortgage and cost of machines, is $9,887," he said.

Canty said he had to support his wife and three unmarried sons. The oldest of these boys, an 18-year-old, has been working in a New York barber shop but will come home next week to help on the farm, Canty said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Tuesday, April 14, 1964

FARM UNIT FIGHTS POVERTY PROGRAM

Bureau Leader Asserts Bill 'Does Violence to Budget'

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—An assistant Secretary of Agriculture during the Depression said today that the American Farm Bureau Federation was solidly opposed to the Administration's antipoverty program.

"This program does violence to a balanced budget," Dr. Harry L. Brown of Georgia, a spokesman for the farm bureau, told a special House subcommittee.

He was the first witness to voice opposition to the antipoverty bill during the two weeks of hearings held so far by the subcommittee.

Two other farm groups—the National Farmers Union and the National Grange—were scheduled to testify today in support of the bill but were asked to come back later.

The subcommittee wanted to adjourn in time for the annual Congressional exodus to the ball park to witness the opening of the major league baseball season a game between the Washington Senators and the Los Angeles Angels.

"Maybe this describes the mood of the country today," Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, said dryly as the subcommittee prepared to adjourn, "For heaven's sakes, don't let poverty interfere with the baseball game."

Earlier, one of the nation's poverty statistics appeared in person before the subcommittee to describe his plight. Haltingly, at times painfully, Willie Preston Canty of Pinewood, S.C., read his prepared statement.

Mr Canty, a 56-year-old Negro explained that he was $9,887 in debt because of three bad crop years and his father's extended illness. He said he needed glasses but could not afford them.

Mr. Canty said that he and his family—a wife and three children—lived on their 112-acre farm, raising four crops from which they cleared $1,200 last year. He could not get credit from farm agencies, he said, and borrowed money at 7 per cent interest from a private individual.

Mr. Canty said he thought he could get back on his feet if he could obtain a $1,500 grant under the proposed antipoverty program. With the money, he said, he would buy some cattle, a planting machine and perhaps try to raise sweet potatoes.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, in opposing the en-

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TESTIMONY OF FAY BENNETT
PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
ON H.R. 10440, THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964
April 13, 1964

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My name is Fay Bennett. I am Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund, an organization which has been working for more than a quarter of a century to bring economic and social justice to sharecroppers, tenants, small farmers, and farm workers. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before this Committee to testify to the necessity for a broad federal program to end rural poverty. We support H.R. 10440 as an important step in that direction. We are particularly interested in Title III of the Bill, in the section to help young people through the work-study, work-training, and job corps programs, and in the rural community action programs.

There is much talk about the exodus from the land. We all know that in the last few decades millions of Americans have left the farm and have gone to the city. We know that American research and know-how have made possible the production of a super-abundance of food and fiber, with fewer and fewer people. Just the other day, the financial pages of the New York Times (April 10) told of new developments to harvest prunes and lettuce mechanically. Machines are replacing men on the farm as they are in the factories.

It almost seems as though people are becoming obsolete. When machinery becomes obsolete, we scrap it. Are we also to put our jobless people on the scrap heap? It seems that this is what happens when we offer the jobless the alternative of starving or seeking relief checks.

A nation's human resources are its most important component. This is why the Economic Opportunity Bill is such a necessary and hopeful first step in the war on poverty. It offers hope that a civilized nation with a highly developed technology, educational system, and culture can do the necessary providing and planning to rescue its poor, its unemployed, and its underemployed from despair.

How will it do this?

Here is how the bill will work to help the rural poor. Title III provides for grants of up to $1,500 and loans of up to $2,500 to low-income rural families who have a reasonable possibility of bringing about a permanent increase in their income. They could do this by improving their land or acquiring more land, improving their operations, participating in cooperative associations, paying off debts, and generally "getting on their feet." They would also get technical assistance and help in planning for a better income-producing operation. Those who do not own any land of their own could buy a family-size farm from a nonprofit corporation which, under the Bill, could acquire available land and develop it for resale to low-income farm families. Its cost is slight and can mark the difference between remaining independent and being reduced to relief. This is the realistic help that many of these persons need to gain self-sufficiency.

By now this Committee is well aware of the fact that one out of three rural families (over 15 million in all) has a cash income of less than $3,000 a year. Yet $3,000 would seem like great wealth to the more than five million farm families (some of whom are hired farm workers) whose yearly income may be a few hundred dollars, or perhaps $1,000, but less than $2,000. These are the people who do not have enough to eat, whose children go to bed hungry and often do not have a pair of shoes. Their houses are unsafe, and the wind and rain blow through. They sleep four and five to a bed. They are in despair. They must have help.

Many people in these situations write to our office and ask what they can do to help themselves. Here is one such case: Mrs. C. is a sharecropper in north

Leflore County in the Mississippi Delta. She has eleven children. Her two oldest sons, aged 15 and 17, help her work the farm. They raised 24 bales of cotton last year, but all she got in the settlement was $500, on which all twelve are barely surviving. "In severe need of clothes and food," the report to our office says.

What will happen if Mrs. C. finally gives up this seemingly hopeless struggle to survive on the land? Or, what is more likely, if she is forced off by her landlord's decision to fully mechanize his cotton crop? She will probably not find work to feed, clothe, and house her family of twelve in the country or in the city. They most probably will all be reduced to complete dependence upon welfare, at a tremendous cost to her dignity, her children's future, and the economy of the community. If they come to New York City, they will join the 470,000 persons who were on the Department of Welfare's rolls in January, 1964--six per cent of the population. This welfare cost $34,668,000 for the month, for an average of $180.62 for each of the over 190,000 family cases on the rolls. If Mrs. C.'s family were paid only the average, it would come to $2,167.44 for the year.

Will the Economic Opportunity Bill help Mrs. C.? Probably not directly, and not much. But it could give her children a chance to break out of this pattern, through the work-study, work-training, and job corps programs. And it could and will help many rural families whose situation is not so extreme.

Here is the case of Mrs. D., a South Carolina widow: She and her sons, aged 27, 18, and 14, work her 109-acre farm, 70 acres of which are cleared. She raises cotton, soybeans, and tobacco. Her debts amount to $2,500, and her income is insufficient to warrant a Farmers Home Administration loan to help her improve her situation. Under Title III of this Bill, she might be eligible for a grant or a loan from FHA, along with help in planning for a more efficient and profitable farming operation. Other provisions of the Bill would help her sons prepare for a better future.

Another story comes from Mr. W. P. Canty, who is here today. He writes as follows:

"I am Willie Preston Canty. I live in Pinewood, Clarendon County, South Carolina. I have lived and worked on a farm all my life. I am still anxious to stay on a farm. I am now 56 years of age. I have a wife and three children to support. I have been operating a farm for 36 years. I raise four crops in addition to raising hogs and vegetables for my family as well as for sale.

"Last year, I was able to raise 20 bales of cotton which grossed $3,000, $400 worth of tobacco with an allotment of one acre, and $100 for soybeans. I also raise some corn. My gross income from the farm was $3,500. After paying all expenses, I had about $1,200 left. There has been a gradual decrease in the tobacco allotment which has helped to decrease my income. I was forced to mortgage my farm, which is composed of 112 acres with 55 acres clear land. My total debt including the mortgage and cost of machines is $9,887.

"Many of my relatives and friends have left the farm because of heavy indebtedness and poor crop yield plus inability to get credit. I have found it very difficult to get proper credit from agencies which lend to other farmers. My friends who have gone to cities bring back some disturbing stories about the conditions in which they have to live in some areas. I should like to stay on my farm and raise my children in the country where I feel it is best for all of us; in fact, at my age changing from the farm would <u>not</u> be <u>easy</u> nor <u>helpful</u>."

Mr. Canty will gladly answer any questions the Committee may wish to ask him.

I think that legislators from the urban areas should be deeply interested in supporting the part of Title II of the Bill which calls for community action programs in the rural as well as the urban areas. Our cities are already overcrowded and staggering under the almost crushing burden of trying to meet the needs of millions of uneducated, poorly educated, and untrained people who have already

been cast off the land. We dare not add to this intolerable burden. Many of our urban centers are potentially explosive because of the unmet needs of the millions of rural cast-offs.

The community action programs could spark the efforts needed to improve rural health and social services, education, job training and counseling, economic development, and housing. Other programs already authorized will gain greater impetus through a joint community effort aided by federal financing. All of this could bring about a rebirth in our rural areas, relieve the overcrowding in our cities, and help the nation along the road to economic prosperity and social health.

The Bill's loan program to local cooperatives to help low-income farmers would provide essential production, processing, purchasing, marketing, and other services and facilities which may make the difference between survival and going under. This is not a new idea. This kind of program literally saved thousands of small farmers during the thirties. Many of these small and struggling farmers of the thirties have become big and prosperous through their cooperatives. They aren't interested in the little fellow who today is struggling to survive as they struggled to survive thirty years ago. The government of the people in a democracy must care. It must now offer the seed money, along with the technical assistance needed, the guidance, and the intelligent planning to reawaken and renew rural communities.

Of course I am not suggesting that this Bill will bring about the millennium. Lots more is needed in the way of public works programs, extending the minimum wage and unemployment insurance to farm workers, etc.

The provisions of H.R. 10440 will help to make a family self-sufficient, able to provide its members with adequate food, clothing, and shelter. It will bring new dignity and new hope to the mothers and fathers of these families. It will save the taxpayers millions of dollars in relief and welfare payments, which

often perpetuate poverty because they do not give a family the basic help needed for a new start.

In addition, it will give local leadership the opportunity to work hand in hand with local government, state government, and federal government to take advantage of the many programs available for education, vocational training, health, and welfare. It will spur cultural development and spiritual growth.

Who can say what kind of new awakening can come from giving those now left out a chance to be included in the promise of the American dream? Who can say what new musicians will develop, new writers and composers, new orchestras and choral and theater groups, and new strength for Americans to think and work and plan together for a better country for all?

File
Nat'l. Sharecroppers Fund

May 22, 1964

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay:

Your letter of May 1 has been read and discussed here pretty throughly by the staff, and we are able now to give you a considered response to it.

Let me say, first, that we all have a strong interest (a) in the program you propose and (b) in participation in it by the Southern Regional Council and the state councils on human relations.

We believe that the soundest approach is one that would draw most directly on the special resources and skills of each participating group.

We would, therefore, like for you to consider and discuss with us a modification of your proposal along the following general lines:

1. The states in which program would be carried on would be selected by considering need and opportunities, the interest of the state council in the program, and the state council's capability of administering it along with its other programs. Tentatively, we would think that promising states as of now are (in more or less order of eligibility) South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas.

2. As you wrote in your proposal, the program "has the advantage of flexible development, on a state by state basis, as funds become available."

3. The staff person assigned to each state would be under the supervision and direction of the state council director.

4. Recruitment of the staff person would be a joint responsibility of NSF and the state council.

5. The NSF would provide staff training.

6. The NSF's Project Director would provide regular consultation and advice to the field staff, would keep this program in liaison with other NSF programs and with SRC, would be available for special conferences, workshops, etc. and would help the field staff plan and administer such, and would assist as he could and as you saw desirable in consultations with federal offices.

7. The Southern Regional Council would receive and disburse funds and would select, after discussion with all concerned, the state councils which would participate.

8. SRC would also undertake research and publications in this field, as seemed to it desirable on the basis of advice from NSF and the state councils.

9. NSF would support fully the fund-raising efforts of SRC for this program.

In short, we would make certain decisions as to place and would contribute research; NSF would provide the technical skills; and the state councils would carry out the work.

Finally, we feel strongly that program planning in the field should be done in such a way as to make the program and its staff relevant to the whole problem of poverty and under-education. The situations of the rural and urban poor are closely related. I hasten to make clear that we understand and believe that this program should be confined to the rural South. We would hope, however, that the program would have a

built-in readiness, if ever the opportunity developed, to become a contributing part of an integrated private agency program addressed to the whole problem.

Please write to me with your comments as soon as you have had a chance to consider these suggestions. I would hope that you could, at the same time, make clear for us again how this program, as you see it, would differ from and be related to your MDTA program which Dr. Williams will, I understand, direct. Although you have fully explained this to us, I am afraid that none of us has got the picture clearly in mind.

All best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: Frances Pauley
Alice Spearman
BCC: Dr. Frank Graham
Vernon Eagle

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May 29, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of May 22 in response to our proposal for a cooperative program with SRC and the state councils on human relations in rural areas of some of the southern states.

In general, the specific modifications you suggest are in line with our thinking. The only points which I think need additional clarification are numbers 3 and 8 of your letter.

Under number 3, you state, "The staff person assigned to each state would be under the supervision and direction of the state council director." We think that you should add, "and the appropriate officer of the National Sharecroppers Fund who will be directing rural field work."

Under number 8, I would merely add the suggestion that the research and publications in this field might be undertaken and carried out in cooperation with NSF.

I would also question the paragraph following your numbered points which says, "In short, we would make certain decisions as to place and would contribute research; NSF would provide the technical skills; and the state councils would carry out the work." It seems to us that SRC is making too sharp a delineation between the functions of NSF and the state councils. We feel, based on our experience in South Carolina and our work in other states, that the considerable knowledge we have of the multitude of governmental and private programs available to meet the needs of small farmers and impoverished rural people in the South would make it very necessary for our staff to do more than provide the technical skills. The rural field staff employed under this program would need some direction from our national staff and would need help from NSF generally in many ways to work effectively. In other words, there should be a mutually agreed upon joint direction of the rural field man's work.

There is no question in our minds but that this whole program would benefit the state councils greatly and would help recruit rural leaders as members of the state councils and would encourage the setting up of local councils in areas where these could be effective.

The final point you raise concerns how this field program would differ from and be related to our OMAT program which Dr. J. Earl Williams will direct. The latter will concentrate solely on developing training programs for rural unemployed, along with recruiting people to take the training and helping to open up employment opportunities. While NSF's field work would support this effort, NSF also works to develop many more opportunities and programs in rural areas for economic and social development. These include farmer cooperatives, credit unions, farm and rural housing loans, operating loans, and bringing knowledge and helping local groups attain many other services and programs which they need.

I expect to be in Knoxville June 6th and 7th for briefing meetings with our OMAT training staff and can easily stop off in Atlanta on Monday or Tuesday, June 8th or 9th, to discuss all of this in greater detail with you and others of your staff whom you would like to have sit in on such a meeting. Please let me know if you'd like me to plan to meet with you then.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb:gh
enc.

cc: Frances Pauley
Alice N. Spearman

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May 29, 1964

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 502
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Frances:

You will be glad to know that Jac Wasserman will be in Atlanta from June 3rd to the 8th to make arrangements for moving his family there, and to meet with you and others in preparation for his work in Georgia and to get in closer touch with our Southern field people. He then plans to begin his work in Georgia officially on July 1st.

While Leslie Dunbar has offered office space to Jac, we feel it would be more desirable at this stage for him and us to accept your gracious offer to let him work out of your Georgia office on an expense-shared basis, since he expects to be spending considerable time doing field work in Georgia until we are able to expand our field staff.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Leslie Dunbar in reply to his recent letter on the possibility of a joint project with NSF.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb:gh
enc.

cc: ✓Leslie Dunbar

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file

June 3rd, 1964

PAV
MJ-file

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administrative assistants

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

My plane from Knoxville is expected to arrive in Atlanta at 12:13, Monday afternoon, June 8th, and I shall come directly to your office from the airport.

I have already gotten in touch with Jac Wasserman so that he will plan to meet with us on Monday afternoon, too.

I am looking forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:tr

June 16, 1964

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay:

Enclosed is our draft of the proposal. We have lifted much of the language of your original document, though have tried to hold the length to a minimum.

The number of states to participate has been left open--"up to eleven"--to allow us to work with whatever resources we can find. Also, in this regard we have keyed the overhead for NSF and SRC to the resources. Should the total program be funded your overhead needs and ours would follow the idea expressed in your last letter. They will, of course, be reduced corresponding to any overall reduction in resources. We felt this was the only way to get around large sums for overhead before the program funds could begin to be used.

I think the enclosed follows closely our discussions here and comes out as an attractive proposal. Needless to say, feel free to make any revisions you see fit.

The wheels grind slowly, but I am encouraged that they grind.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.

The Rural Advancement Project

- for final Proposal + List of Foun dations appealed to See: Rural Advancement Proj. file. MJ

The Rural Advancement Project is a cooperative program for economic, health, and educational advancement in the rural areas of southern states sponsored by the state Councils on Human Relations, the National Sharecroppers Fund, and the Southern Regional Council.

Goals of the Program:

1) To stimulate the development of local rural leadership and community organization.

2) To document the needs of local areas and to present findings and recommendations to appropriate federal, state, and local administrative agencies.

3) To bring information about available federal and state programs to those who are eligible but have thus far not benefitted and to assist them in obtaining the benefits to which they are entitled.

4) To combat discriminatory practices in the administration of government programs designed to assist low-income farm and other rural people.

The Need and Opportunity:

Despite an outmigration of millions of people from the rural areas in the past two decades, rural underemployment is currently estimated to be the equivalent of four million persons. If the openings needed for rural young people in the next decade are added, the job gap becomes eight million.

Continued outmigration is not a satisfactory answer to this situation. Some people who have spent their lives in farming are too old or too ill-educated to learn another trade. Many farm workers and young people would like to stay in rural communities if training and employment opportunities were available. Further, those who leave the rural areas usually lack the skills needed to compete successfully in the shrinking industrial job market. Under these conditions migration is likely to mean a swelling of city relief rolls rather than a better life for the migrants. What is needed is the rebuilding of the rural areas to provide work opportunities, social services, and the amenities of civilized living.

This is true of all rural people. But by every standard--income, employment, education, housing, health and welfare services--the situation of the southern rural Negro compared with that of the

white is worsening, both relatively and, often, absolutely. In the most important escape route from poverty and despair--education--the number of farm whites 25 to 29 years of age who were high school graduates in 1950 was 18% more than that of non-whites; by 1960 the difference had increased to 30%.

These people who are most deprived, rural Negroes, are those who have the hardest time getting help. Traditional patterns of exclusion and discrimination have barred them. They have not known what to ask for and how to go about it.

Government programs are available: Area Redevelopment, Manpower Retraining, and surplus food programs can aid non-farm as well as farm people in rural areas. Farm loans and grants, crop loans, insurance and allotments, and various Extension services can aid low-income farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers.

The expanded program of the national war on poverty should make it possible to reach some who were too poor to qualify for previous forms of aid--and its wide popular support should create a climate in which state and local cooperation is easier to secure.

The Cooperative Program:

This idea of a cooperative effort has developed because of the several unique assets of the agencies involved.

The state Councils on Human Relations have established offices, professionally staffed, in the several southern states. They have ini intimate knowledge of their states, experience in working in localities, and established memberships.

The National Sharecroppers Fund has developed over a period of almost 30 years a high degree of experience and technical knowledge in this specialized area. It enjoys also a cordial relationship with officials in Washington whose cooperation is required for this program.

The Southern Regional Council has superior research resources and a close cooperative relationship with the state Councils on Human Relations. It is in a position to determine in which states this program can be most effectively developed. The agency's administrative experience can be used in the distribution of funds and seeing to their proper usage. The SRC research staff, in consultation with NSF, is available to carry out pertinent research projects and distribute needed information.

The program would be organized as follows:

1) A staff person for this program would be added to each state Council on Human Relations participating.

a) There are presently eleven state Councils. The prog-

ram here proposed is a flexible one and, depending on the availability of funds, could be carried on in from one to eleven states.

b) The states in which program would be carried on would be selected by the Southern Regional Council after considering need and opportunities, the interest of the state Council in the program, and the state Council's capability of administering it along with its other program.

c) NSF would recruit and train personnel, to be placed with the approval of the appropriate state Council director.

d) The staff person assigned to each state would be under the administrative supervision and direction of the state Council director. Program planning would be provided through the cooperative action of the state Council and NSF.

2) The National Sharecroppers Fund will establish a regional office in Atlanta headed by a regional program director. This office, with the assistance of the NSF national office, will provide staff training, regular consultation and advice to the field staff, liaison with other NSF programs and, with SRC, would be available for special conferences, workshops, etc., and would assist in consultations with federal offices.

3) The Southern Regional Council would receive and disburse funds and would select, after discussion with all concerned, the state Councils which would participate. SRC would also undertake research and publications in this field, as seemed to it desirable on the basis of advice from NSF and the state Councils.

Proposed Annual Budget

Programs of eleven state Councils @ $14,120 per Council	$155,320.00
NSF regional office	23,500.00
Total cost for eleven states	$178,820.00

As was noted above, however, this is a flexible program that can be started state by state. Furthermore, if only one or two states were participating, the budget for the NSF regional office would be somewhat lower. The budgeted figures include an allowance of 15% for administrative and research costs, to be divided equally between the Southern Regional Council and the NSF national office.

January 23, 1964

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

file

Dear Fay:

Congratulations on the contract award from the Department of Labor. I think it is a very exciting thing that the Department has turned to you for this help, which you are better qualified to give than anyone else.

We may have some later suggestions of people, in reply to your letter of January 17, and if so, I shall send them to you. In the meantime, two persons you might think about are:

(1) Ozelle Sutton, Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

(2) William Bagwell, staff member, American Friends Service Committee, High Point, North Carolina.

Both of these are people we are able to recommend strongly for the kind of work which is outlined in the project summary.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

FB Please advise

January 17, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative

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JEANETTE ALLEN
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administrative assistants

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The National Sharecroppers Fund has just been awarded a contract from the U.S. Department of Labor to act as its agent on behalf of the Manpower Development and Training Program to encourage and stimulate training programs among the "hard-core" unemployed and underemployed in the rural areas of six Southern states. I enclose a one-page summary of the project.

I am writing to you now to ask for your suggestions for competent staff people to carry out the project. We are looking first for a field coordinator and would expect him to help in the search for the other three staff people.

I am sure you agree with us that this project is a very exciting one and offers great hope for opening the door to education and training in neglected rural areas in the South where federal agencies have hardly made a dent.

To realize the full potential of this project, we will need a field coordinator who is not only capable, creative, imaginative and knowledgeable about the South, but also the kind of person who can work cooperatively with state officials, educators, and the local people who need the training which will be offered. He would need administrative ability to set up a regional office and direct the work of three field people. He would also need persistence and energy in large measure. The salary would be commensurate with the qualifications of the person.

I do hope you will let me hear from you immediately if you can suggest someone whose qualities approach this description and who might be interested in taking on this important assignment.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:jk
enc.

Summary of an 18 month Demonstration Project
In Developing Job Training Programs Among the "Hard-Core" Unemployed
And Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas, Under Sec. 201
Of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962

Project Agency. National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency with 25 years of experience working to aid rural Southern farm people. Its primary recent emphasis has been to assist, through conferences, informational material, and a field staff, the most disadvantaged rural people in finding solutions to their economic and social problems through participation in governmental farm programs and cooperatives. Its functioning National Board includes authorities in the fields of rural sociology and adult education who will assist in the planning and execution of the project.

Characteristics and Needs of Trainees. Sharecroppers and farm workers who are being displaced by a changing economy often lack the basic education and experience needed to adjust to urban industrial life. They are rural people who, with training and planning, can find more skilled employment on the land and in small rural communities. They have had little experience with state employment offices and are not now being reached by them.

Purpose and Program of Project. The project is designed to demonstrate that unused resources of leadership within the poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with the smaller, predominantly Negro colleges, can effectively develop programs of job training that will enable many unemployed persons to lead economically useful lives in their own communities. During the course of 18 months, the agency expects to assist in developing at least two programs in each of the following six states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. It expects that 1500-2000 trainees will participate.

By using its experience and local contacts, the agency will reach leaders and potential leaders among the rural groups who are not now being utilized in developing training programs. It will assist them and their communities to analyze their training needs in the light of existing and potential job possibilities and help them to develop a fruitful working relationship with the employment services, agricultural vocational agencies, cooperating colleges, and other state and federal agencies.

NSF will encourage the sponsorship of training programs by those colleges that are best qualified by experience to teach the inadequately prepared, but that have hitherto been restrained by lack of staff and funds from exploiting the potentials of serving in this way. It will help them to establish active relationships with the local communities that need the programs and will assist them in the preparation of these programs. It will seek to develop cooperative action for training between these colleges and larger ones that may have greater staff and facilities available.

Personnel Requirements. The project will require one Field Coordinator and three Field Representatives responsible for two states each, and appropriate secretarial-clerical assistance.

MJ

~~[illegible]~~ filed
Nat'l. Sharecroppers Fund.

August 3, 1964

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay:

The letters all went out Friday, except the one to the Ford Foundation which limped out today.

May we have good hunting!

I hope you will feel free to follow-up as you see wise with any of the foundations. Indeed, I hope that you will, from your vantage point in New York, do so.

We are more than ever convinced that this is a good idea, and we are eager to get into it.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

List of Foundations sent proposal for joint SRC-NSF Project

Daniel Hunter
Stern Family Fund
New York

~~&&&N&&&Hyman&Bookbinder&&~~

1. Mr. Orin Lehman
   Director
   Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation
   Empire State Building
   New York, New York

Merrill Trust
New York

2. Mr. Henry T. Heald, President
   The Ford Foundation
   477 Madison Avenue
   New York 22, New York

Mr. Eliot D. Pratt
The Eliot Pratt Fd.
177 E. 71st Street
N. Y., N. Y.

3. Mr. H. K. Hochchild, President
   Hochchild Fund, Inc.
   1270 Avenue of the Americas
   New York, New York

4. Mr. ~~Jacob M. Kaplan, President~~ Raymond S. Rubinow, Secretary
   The J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc.
   55 Fifth Avenue
   New York, New York

5. Mr. William J. Norton, President
   McGregor Fund
   2486 First National Building
   Detroit 26, Michigan

6. Mrs. Frances Payne Bolton, President
   Payne Fund, Inc.
   350 Fifth Avenue, Room 7706
   New York, New York

7. The Compton Trust
   c/o Mr. Randolph P. Compton
   20 Exchange Place
   New York 5, New York

8. Mr. H. S. Richardson, Jr., President
   The Richardson Foundation, Inc.
   122 East 42nd Street
   New York 17, New York

9. Mr. Vernon A. Eagle (DONE- 3/30/64)
   Executive Director
   New World Foundation
   475 Riverside Drive
   New York, New York

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

REGARDING:

Letter to Miss Bennett saying that all letters to foundations were sent out.

DATES

6/16/64 - 6/31/64 and
8/3/64

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

All correspondence filed under "Rural Advancement Project"
(Joint project with SRC, NSF, and State Councils)

File
Nat'l Showcases Fund.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Bennett, Miss Fay

REGARDING:

"Rural Advancement Project" (joint project with SRC, NSF, AND State Councils)

DATE

June 16 - August 3, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Folder marked: "Rural Advancement Project"

NOTE: List of Foundations appealed to for support of this project is attached to correspondence.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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File: Rural Advancement Prog.

October 2, 1964

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project director

OCIE LEE SMITH
Louisiana-Arkansas representative

L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It occurs to me that Les Dunbar should send a copy of our joint proposal to:

cc: Fay Bennett

Mr. Eliot D. Pratt
The Eliot Pratt Foundation
177 E. 71st Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

I had first thought we should not write to Eliot Pratt about this since he is our Treasurer. However, his personal contributions to NSF come out of his personal funds since NSF is not tax exempt. Therefore it should do no harm but should instead be a good idea to send the proposal and request for funds to the Eliot Pratt Foundation.

I would think Les would want to add a sentence where it fits into his letter, saying something to the effect that of course it isn't necessary to tell Eliot about NSF since he is so deeply involved and knows all about our work, and he's sure that if Eliot wants to talk about it any more he can call me.

I will look for you and Les at the NAIRO meeting Wednesday morning.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb:gh

October 30, 1964

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

A postcard only.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

Rec'd 10/15/64

October 14, 1964

LE ✓
AV ✓
VI ✓
PA ✓
MI-file

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project director

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Louisiana-Arkansas representative

L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of our most recent progress report on the OMAT project under the supervision of the National Sharecroppers Fund and financed by the Department of Labor to stimulate the development of training programs for hard-core unemployed and underemployed in southern rural areas. Also enclosed, in case you haven't seen one is a little information sheet which tells about this project. And while I'm at it, let me enclose a very short report which gives a glimpse of our work.

As soon as I get word from your office that copies of our joint proposal has been sent to the additional Foundations which we discussed on the telephone yesterday, I will try to see some of the principals involved with the Foundations as soon as I can to interpret further the aims of our program. I shall also plan to see some of the other people we talked about at the NAIRO conference.

As soon as I have something definite to report, you will be hearing from me.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:tr
encs.

September 30, 1964

TO: Dr. Seymour L. Wolfbein, Director
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

FROM: Dr. J. Earl Williams, Project Director

SUBJECT: Progress Report No. 4, Southern Rural Training Project: National Sharecroppers Fund--OMAT Demonstration Project No. P 3-64.

The weeks of background work and our emphasis on attempting to establish a good working relationship with the agencies with whom we must work, as well as others with similar interests, is beginning to pay off. Our staff has been responsible for a wide-spread infusion of ideas into existing federal, state, and local agencies across the South. We have also made a conscious effort to involve as many individuals and groups as possible in the development of training proposals. As a result, almost the entire time of the staff is now being spent in assisting organizations in drafting the preliminary prospectuses to be forwarded to the OMAT office. In this regard, we have developed the first two parts to a training project development kit to be used in drafting a preliminary prospectus. This has received favorable comment from institutions and affected agencies, including the Atlanta and Dallas offices of OMAT. A copy of the kit is attached.

Perhaps our greatest problem is the matching provision of the MDTA Act which supposedly goes into effect on July 1, 1965. Although some states are willing to gamble on a change in the law and, thus, approve a project which goes beyond July 1, 1965; others insist that all projects be terminated by July 1. This can sometimes be overcome by designing the project so that only non-matching items such as regular OJT or special services of contracting agencies remain after July 1. In other cases, we are designing projects to start on January 1, 1965, and largely terminate by July 1, 1965. This means that we are under extreme pressure to get an acceptable preliminary prospectus from each institution to the Washington OMAT office, and after getting OMAT's reaction, moving as quickly as possible through the approval stages for the final proposal in order to have the projects funded sometime in December. We are attempting to speed up this process by involving as many of the agencies which must approve the final proposal at as early a stage as feasible and by informal talks with OMAT staff in Washington.

With the above policy in mind, the current status in regard to preliminary prospectuses is as follows:

A. Proposals to be discussed informally with OMAT, BES, and HEW in Washington in early October.

1. The Memphis State University prospectus has been submitted to OMAT. Personnel from the University, along with the Project Director and Field Representative handling Tennessee will be present to discuss final plans for this project.

2. Fort Valley State College of Fort Valley, Georgia, will submit a prospectus to our office in time for the Washington meeting.

3. The Chattanooga City School System will submit a prospectus to our office in time for the Washington meeting.

4. Although the prospectus from Austin Peay State College, Clarksville, Tennessee, will not be ready in time for the meeting, a detailed statement and explanation of the project will be prepared by this office in time for the meeting.

5. The Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans, is preparing a proposal covering several skills for training in two geographical areas and including some recruitment in Mississippi, as well as Louisiana. Although the draft of this project is not as far along as the others, the broad objectives and training possibilities will be presented by the Project Director.

B. Other Prospects and Investigations.

1. Several competing organizations in South Carolina are anxious to take the lead in a broad experimental and demonstration project. The staff is attempting to work out a compromise proposal utilizing the efforts of all the groups. If this effort fails, a backstop proposal has been developed. Consequently, a prospectus should be submitted before the end of the year.

2. Initial groundwork has been completed with a junior college in Mississippi which should be able to conduct a competent project for prospective NASA employees. Assuming the proper environment exists, the preliminary prospectus could be ready in November.

3. Preliminary work has been done in the Delta area of Mississippi. More must be done before any definite proposals are developed. There are at least two competent institutions in the area that are desirous of developing a training project. Assuming more groundwork and the proper environment, a prospectus could be completed before the end of the year.

4. Initial contacts have been made with two other institutions in Louisiana which have expressed an interest in developing projects.

5. Meetings have been held with interested parties in the NASA area of Alabama. A real training possibility exists in the area, and the staff will devote time to promoting a project as soon as it can be scheduled.

6. Depending upon the outcome of the Washington meetings, initial investigations may be conducted in North Carolina in October. A cooperative effort with the North Carolina Fund would be initiated.

7. Extensive investigations are being conducted in the Augusta and Savannah areas of Georgia.

A Glimpse of NSF's Program in Action

reprinted from

The New York Times

July 20, 1964

Jobs for Farm Workers

TO THE EDITOR:

Columbia University economist Joseph Froomkin has found that only a small minority of the current manpower retraining programs "appear likely to get the trainees off the unemployment rolls," according to a report in The Times of July 6. Mr. Froomkin is especially skeptical about training workers in farming . . . .

My own knowledge and experience in this field convince me that retraining can greatly benefit farm workers . . . in alleviating their abysmal conditions.

Certainly the labor requirements of the nation's farms are changing under the impact of vastly improved technology. But the workers currently being displaced from the land can and should be taught to operate the new machinery. Often such retraining must begin with equipping them with the basic skills of literacy . . . .

Currently several excellent training programs are in progress for farm workers . . . . Some are sponsored by the Area Redevelopment Administration and some by the Manpower Development and Training Act. Along with basic literacy courses, these provide training in the operation and maintenance of farm machinery, pruning and other skills . . . .

There are other training courses which can improve the standard of living of these low-income people. Among these are small-farm management and the principles and management of farm cooperatives and credit unions. The United States Government is today conducting just this sort of training around the world with great success . . . .

The National Sharecroppers Fund has recently contracted with the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training to help set up some of these important programs in the rural areas of six Southern states. They will be reaching farm people whose yearly income is less than one-third of what is considered the poverty level. At least 25 per cent of these workers are functionally illiterate.

I should like to suggest that basic changes must occur in our agricultural labor patterns before we can provide adequate gainful employment in rural America. Three essential changes are ending the importation of surplus foreign labor, abolishing racial discrimination in Federal and state economic aid programs, and extending minimum wage coverage and the right to union recognition to farm workers . . . .

FAY BENNETT,
Executive Secretary,
National Sharecroppers Fund.
New York, July 8, 1964.

NSF MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE

"How can we better our lives?" *Farmers and sharecroppers learn about rural training programs, credit unions, Farmers Home Administration loans, and cooperatives.*

"How do we put these programs into effect?" *Staff members of concerned groups attend NSF conference to learn about programs to aid those by-passed by our "affluent" society.*

NSF's Field Staff: Art Emery, L. S. James, Ocie Lee Smith, and Jac Wasserman. NSF field men organize meetings; develop grass roots leadership; speak for the oppressed; bring help and hope.

INFORMATION ABOUT:

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

1407 Fifth Avenue, N.E.
Knoxville, Tennessee 37917
Phone 524-3451

Project Staff

J. Earl Williams
Director

Dalton Roberts
Field Representative

Wendell H. Russell
Field Representative

Paul Webber
Field Representative

June 9, 1964

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

The Southern Rural Training Project is a training demonstration project of the National Sharecroppers Fund under Section 201 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The project is designed to demonstrate that local leadership in poorer areas of the rural south, in cooperation with local institutions and organizations, can develop effective training programs that will help unemployed and underemployed persons lead economically useful lives. During the year staff members expect to assist in developing programs in each of the following six states: Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Other southern states may be added later.

The project staff through local contacts will work with leadership of rural groups in developing training programs. Training needs will be analyzed in terms of existing jobs and possi bilities for job development and economic improvement. Communities will be assisted in developing effective working relationships with the employment services, agricultural agencies, cooperating educational institutions, and other state and federal agencies concerned with training and economic development. The staff which is composed of persons on leave from educational and governmental posts is experienced in working with these groups.

THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

The National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency of more than twenty-five years' experience in working with southern sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other low-income farm and rural families. Through this work NSF has gained contacts throughout the South and has developed programs for rural people who are hard to reach through normal governmental channels. In these programs NSF has worked cooperativelv with many church leaders, educators, and community relations leaders.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962

As indicated above the project is under Section 201 of this act as quoted below:

Sec. 201. In carrying out the purposes of this Act, the Secretary of Labor shall determine the skill requirements of the economy, devel op policies for the adequate occupational development and maximum

utilization of the skills of Nation's workers, promote and encourage the development of broad and diversified training programs, including on-the-job training, designed to qualify for employment the many persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure full-time employment without such training, and to equip the Nation's workers with the new and improved skills that are or will be required.

President Lyndon B. Johnson in his Manpower Report of March 1964 said "We must have new willingness to experiment with fresh approaches and put resulting knowledge to practical use." In using this approach the Southern Rural Training Project's work will be geared to the three fundamental goals of the President's Active Manpower Policy:

The first is to develop the abilities of our people.

Another is to create jobs to make the most of these abilities.

The third is to link the first two, to match people and jobs.

October 15, 1964

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

Les wanted me to let you know that a proposal was sent to the Payne Fund as of 7/31/64. A copy is enclosed for your files.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

January 11, 1966

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

Enclosed is a contribution of $50.00 from Miss Mary L. Dyckman. In Miss Dyckman's letter of transmittal she indicated she would like to see these funds used by your southern office. We send them along with the stipulation that they be used by that part of your program which is in accord with the requirements of our tax exemption.

Please have receipt of these funds noted on the enclosed carbon of this letter and return it to us at your convenience.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - 2

cc: Miss Mary L. Dyckman
Orange, New Jersey

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

December 16, 1965

Miss Mary Dykeman
596 Berkeley Avenue
Orange, New Jersey

Dear Miss Dykeman:

I am sorry to have missed you when you called the last few times. I think you have some idea of how terribly busy we are these days.

I am glad to know that you are interested in making a tax-exempt contribution to the work of the National Sharecroppers Fund. This can be done under our joint program with the Southern Regional Council and State Councils on Human Relations under the Rural Advancement Project. The check should be sent directly to the Southern Regional Council, addressed to Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director, at 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Enclosed is a copy of the Project proposal which includes a budget for eleven states as well as for a National Sharecroppers Fund regional office. Sufficient funds have already been obtained for this Project to finance rural field work in four of these states; namely, South Carolina, Georgia and, more recently, Alabama and Florida. In some cases a foundation has provided the financing of the budget for a whole state or more than a state, and in other cases such as Georgia, several smaller contributions were made by small family trusts until we had enough money to employ a person for that state under this co-operative program.

I hope that your gift can be allocated to our regional office in Atlanta which supervises this field work. With the addition of Florida and Alabama under this program, our Field Director, Mr. Jac Wasserman, who works out of our regional office in Atlanta, must now supervise the rural work of our field staff in seven states. This is a great burden upon him and he should have additional assistance as well as more travel money. Thus far the National Sharecroppers Fund is financing our regional office and the work of our Field Director from its own resources. It would be of considerable help if some of this burden was taken up by our Rural Advancement Project which would make possible more effective direction of our rural field work from our regional office.

Also enclosed is "A Glimpse of NSF's Program in Action". Separately I am sending you a report of one of our conferences held at Bricks, North Carolina, which is called "A Better Life for Farm Families." I think you will find reading this little booklet of great interest to you, and it will give you a good idea of how effective such conferences are. Since the Bricks conference we have had two conferences in South Carolina, one in Mississippi, one in Georgia, and we are now planning one for Alabama. The conferences plant many seeds which come to life after the conference participants go

home. As an example, if you will read the quotation I have marked on page 2 of the pamphlet, the follow-up to this is that the small rural co-operative, of which the priest was president, was one of the first Southern rural groups to receive a loan from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Father McKnight used the knowledge he received from the conference, and subsequent help and guidance which we were able to supply, to make use of several government programs which he had not known about previously.

Do let me know if I can give you any further information about our work or about our co-operative program with the Southern Regional Council under the Rural Advancement Project.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lt
Encs.

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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project director

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Louisiana-Arkansas representative

L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

VEW
TPA

January 19th, 1965

SW

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am extending a cordial invitation to you on behalf of our Board of Directors to attend a private Consultation on the Southern Rural Training Project, and a luncheon meeting to discuss involving the rural poor in meaningful antipoverty programs.

The Consultation will take place at the Dinkler-Plaza Hotel in Atlanta on January 30th and 31st. It will bring together the staff of the Southern Rural Training Project, NSF's field staff, NSF's Advisory Committee, governmental officials, and a few specially invited regional and state leaders of private agencies.

The Consultation will hear reports from our Southern Rural Training Project staff who have assisted local institutions in developing several excellent training projects for hard-core rural unemployed in some of the southern states.

We believe you will find the Consultation highly rewarding and we will be glad to have your participation in the discussion of how to effectively carry out training and antipoverty programs involving the rural poor in the southern region.

Enclosed is a program of the Consultation as well as a folder which briefly describes our Southern Rural Training Project. We hope very much that you will find it possible to attend this Consultation or as much of it as your schedule permits.

I look forward to hearing from you and hope that I will see you in Atlanta on January 30th.

Sincerely,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham
Chairman

FPG:tr
encs.

Consultation on Southern Rural Training Project
and Antipoverty Programs

Dinkler-Plaza Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia
January 30-31, 1965

Saturday, January 30

9:00 A.M. Introduction - Frank P. Graham, Chairman, National Sharecroppers Fund

9:10 A.M. Field Reports and Rural Training Projects - Presiding: Clarence Senior, Chairman, NSF Advisory Committee

Obstacles and Achievements in Southern Rural Areas
Jac Wasserman - Georgia
L. S. James - South Carolina
Art Emery - Tennessee
Ocie Lee Smith - Louisiana and Arkansas
James Mays - Mississippi

Problems and Promise for Rural Training Programs in the South
J. Earl Williams, Director, Southern Rural Training Project

12:15 P.M. Recess

12:45 P.M. Luncheon and Panel Discussion

Government Programs Concerned with Meeting the Needs of the Rural Poor
Daniel J. Schulder, Division of Special Activities, OMAT
William Harris, Regional Director, OMAT
James L. Sundquist, Deputy Under Secretary of Agriculture
William M. Seabron, Special Assistant to Secretary Freeman
Earl Redwine, Regional Director, Community Action Program, OEO

3:00 P.M. Reports on Southern Rural Training Projects

J. Earl Williams, Director, SRTP
Wendell Russell, Field Representative, SRTP
Paul Webber, Field Representative, SRTP
Benny B. Solomon, Field Representative, SRTP

5:45 P.M. Recess

8:00 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. Discussion: How to recruit for training projects. Supportive services needed in the projects, and community involvement in them. General discussion on achieving greater involvement of rural poor in these programs, and enlisting wider interest of government and private agencies.

Sunday, January 31

9:00 A.M. Meetings by areas to discuss specific plans for recruitment for training programs and involvement of rural poor in poverty programs.

12:00 Noon Adjournment

INFORMATION ABOUT:

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

1407 Fifth Avenue, N.E.
Knoxville, Tennessee 37917
Phone 524-3451

Project Staff

J. Earl Williams
Director

Dalton Roberts
Field Representative

Wendell H. Russell
Field Representative

Paul Webber
Field Representative

June 9, 1964

SOUTHERN RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

The Southern Rural Training Project is a training demonstration project of the National Sharecroppers Fund under Section 201 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The project is designed to demonstrate that local leadership in poorer areas of the rural south, in cooperation with local institutions and organizations, can develop effective training programs that will help unemployed and underemployed persons lead economically useful lives. During the year staff members expect to assist in developing programs in each of the following six states: Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Other southern states may be added later.

The project staff through local contacts will work with leadership of rural groups in developing training programs. Training needs will be analyzed in terms of existing jobs and possibilities for job development and economic improvement. Communities will be assisted in developing effective working relationships with the employment services, agricultural agencies,

cooperating educational institutions, and other state and federal agencies concerned with training and economic development. The staff which is composed of persons on leave from educational and governmental posts is experienced in working with these groups.

THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

The National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency of more than twenty-five years' experience in working with southern sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other low-income farm and rural families. Through this work NSF has gained contacts throughout the South and has developed programs for rural people who are hard to reach through normal governmental channels. In these programs NSF has worked cooperatively with many church leaders, educators, and community relations leaders.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962

As indicated above the project is under Section 201 of this act as quoted below:

Sec. 201. In carrying out the purposes of this Act, the Secretary of Labor shall determine the skill requirements of the economy, develop policies for the adequate occupational development and maximum

utilization of the skills of Nation's workers, promote and encourage the development of broad and diversified training programs, including on-the-job training, designed to qualify for employment the many persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure full-time employment without such training, and to equip the Nation's workers with the new and improved skills that are or will be required.

President Lyndon B. Johnson in his Manpower Report of March 1964 said "We must have new willingness to experiment with fresh approaches and put resulting knowledge to practical use." In using this approach the Southern Rural Training Project's work will be geared to the three fundamental goals of the President's Active Manpower Policy:

The first is to develop the abilities of our people.

Another is to create jobs to make the most of these abilities.

The third is to link the first two, to match people and jobs.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

Rec'd 3/25/66

March 24, 1965

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JAMES N. MAYS *Mississippi representative*
EUGENE W. HAGANS *South Carolina representative*
ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for sending us your check for $2500, representing the first quarterly payment on the grant from the Aaron E. Norman Fund to the Rural Advancement Project for support of the National Sharecroppers Fund Southern Regional Office and a strengthened program of workshops for field work.

We are depositing this money in a special account and are setting up a special set of books to handle receipts and disbursements for the Rural Advancement Project.

We shall see to it that the funds are used in the way stipulated by the Norman Fund. We shall also provide you with a financial report indicating that the funds under this grant are being properly used.

We look forward to a strengthened program making possible greater services to the rural poor.

Sincerely yours,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:BZ
Enclosure
cc: Deborah Cole
Jac Wasserman

Mr. J.P.'s 32-acre farm in Tipton County, Tennessee, was to be sold at auction to pay off a local bank. The county FHA had refused to refinance the loan. Sale of the farm would have left the family and an aged, invalid mother with no home and no place to go. NSF stepped in; negotiations reopened. When reversal of the FHA decision came, not only was the bank paid off, but a new four-room home and a tractor were financed. Increased income from the tractor is making possible regular loan payments, and the J.P. family expects to be able to add inside running water by fall of 1966.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

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JAMES N. MAYS
Mississippi representative

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South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

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GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

"THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS"

NSF supporters, students, librarians, editors, and others who rely on our annual reports for an accurate highlighting of developments from year to year, will be glad to know that "The Condition of Farm Workers in 1965" will be ready by spring. NSF's own greatly expanded activities demanded this separate report to our contributors.

MJ - file
RAP

1965 REPORT on the work of NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

"... Some people work for $2 per day. ... It hurts to think about some of our children out of school because they don't have the clothes or are sick and there is no money for medicine ...."

—Letter to NSF

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR

NSF

SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Regional Office
5 FORSYTH ST., N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

1965 In the second year of the nation's war against poverty, the National Sharecroppers Fund again greatly expanded its work in the rural South. There is an increasing urgency — and increasing opportunity — for NSF's program. Racial discrimination and changing patterns in agriculture must not continue to force the rural poor from the land and into city slums where, untrained, they face a life of deepening poverty and growing despair. It is encouraging that the opportunities to build a better and stable family life in rural communities are increasing through governmental, cooperative, and self-help programs. Bringing the knowledge, training, and technical assistance necessary to seize these opportunities is the core of NSF's Southern work. This work must be accelerated.

THE CHALLENGE

Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs

For years, NSF has charged discrimination in services to Negro farmers by various agencies of the Department of Agriculture and other governmental departments. Upon presentation of surveys of specific areas and documented individual cases, some improvement in practices was obtained and many individual injustices were corrected. But progress was painfully slow and very spotty. With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, all federal, state, and local agencies must end discriminatory practices as a condition to receiving federal funds. Compliance in some areas has been good, but in others delaying and evading tactics are being employed. Much work is yet to be done, and government agencies must quicken the pace of their enforcement procedures.

Equal Opportunity under Anti-Poverty Programs

Discrimination against the rural poor — Negro and white — is not the only factor that prevents them from taking advantage of the newer programs to end the shame of poverty in the United States. The stated requirement of most of these laws, including the Economic Opportunity Act, is that the program must be initiated at the local level. But when the local "power structure" is opposed to change, and when knowledge of these programs and how to apply for them is not available to the rural poor, the new "opportunities" do not come. That is why NSF's trained field workers are an essential bridge between government programs and the people who need them. NSF helps people learn how to help themselves through education and self-organization.

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

NSF has sought to meet this challenge in the field by continuing its Southern Rural Training Project; developing an emergency Farm Labor Counseling Program; and intensifying the program of its regular Southern field staff.

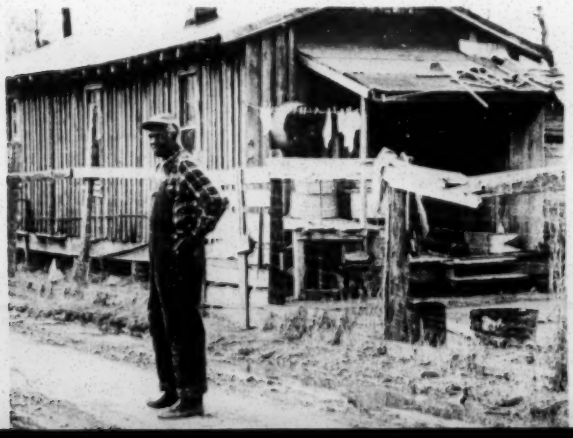
Southern Rural Training Project

The Southern Rural Training Project, established under a contract with the U.S. Department of Labor in mid-1964, has been extended to July, 1966. SRTP is designed to demonstrate that local leadership in poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with local institutions and organizations, can assist in developing effective training programs for the rural unemployed and underemployed.

The SRTP staff has helped set up sixteen projects in six states, in addition to giving technical assistance to other development groups. For a sampling, in **Louisiana,** one of the projects will make possible self-help housing and one will train farm workers. Another will serve recently released prisoners. In **South Carolina,** one project includes self-help housing for migrants, and another will provide adult basic education in an area where an NSF survey showed that 82% of the adults have less than an 8th grade education. In **Florida,** two projects will upgrade the professional skills of teachers and former teachers, most of whom are Negro and whose original teacher-training does not enable them to meet current standards. In **Georgia,** there are two On-the-Job Training projects being developed, one for child-care workers and another for trainees at the sub-professional level in a state hospital. Other projects are in **Alabama** and **Tennessee.**

Sponsoring groups for these projects vary widely and include a local school district, several predominantly Negro civic improvement associations, a State Department of Education, a local union, a local farm bureau, a state teachers' association, and several colleges.

A number of the projects provide training for seasonal and migrant farm workers during the off-season, and the people served range from jobless youth to middle-aged farmers in need of basic education and training. All trainees receive living allowances and supportive services designed to help them stay with the program to completion, often a difficult thing to do, especially for heads of families. Other projects being explored include one to spur cultural and economic development of two Indian tribes, and one to train professionals and sub-professionals for work with migrant farm families along the Eastern Seaboard.



Farm Labor Counseling Program

NSF has long opposed the importation of foreign contract farm workers, whose extreme poverty makes them willing to work for low wages, and whose presence has undermined the already substandard wages of America's farm workers. NSF therefore felt a responsibility to offer help to the Secretary of Labor in the first season after termination of the Mexican labor importation program. The Farm Labor Counseling Program was set up by NSF to advise unemployed rural workers about the availability of "criteria" farm jobs, that is, work under guaranteed fair labor standards. NSF representatives reached 13,000 potential workers in eight states, and approximately 1,100 were recruited for out-of-state farm work. These workers were also given information about other services the government employment bureaus offer. Many expressed strong interest in job training programs. More young people applied for Job Corps and other youth training opportunities than there were places available. This NSF program has given a "push" to the state employment services, which all too often discriminate against rural workers in the South, especially Negroes, whose daily farm earnings are in the neighborhood of $3 for a ten-hour day.

Intensified Field Work

The Southern Rural Training Project and the Farm Labor Counseling Program have been specialized extensions of NSF's work of bringing the knowledge and technical assistance needed by the rural poor to help themselves achieve a life of dignity through economic independence.

NSF's programs, carried on through workshops, conferences, individual guidance, distribution of fact sheets on government programs, and local meetings, have continued to expand. In addition to its field work in Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, work has been initiated in Alabama and Florida. In four of these states, the field work is sponsored jointly by NSF, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Council on Human Relations. Some of the highlights of 1965 follow.

Cooperatives: Rural cooperatives have long contributed to successful farm operation, but the poor have rarely had an opportunity to participate in them. NSF's field staff has helped to organize local co-ops and aided several of them to secure federal loans to expand their services. The Panola County, **Mississippi,** Farmers Co-Op received a Farmers Home Administration loan of $113,000 to expand from its small okra marketing program into the much-needed supplying of fertilizers, insecticides, and farm equipment to its members. In **Tennessee,** a $49,000 Economic Opportunity loan was obtained for the Mid-South Consumers Oil Cooperative, whose impetus came when supplies were cut off from Negro farmers who registered to vote. Rural and low-income families in 13 counties of **South Carolina** have organized co-ops to obtain cotton pickers,

combines, tractors, plows, sprayers, and other farm equipment.

Farmers Home Administration and Economic Opportunity Act Loans: If cooperatives have contributed to successful farming, supervised credit at reasonable rates has been the foundation of farm survival. Making such loans is the responsibility of the Farmers Home Administration through the expanded financing and more liberalized programs of the Economic Opportunity Act. Too often loans have been discriminatorily denied. NSF field workers have helped to prepare the applications and to appeal unjust denials. Following key cases in which NSF secured reversal of local loan rejections in **South Carolina,** 441 families (many of them Negro) have received EOA loans. NSF assisted 30 farmers in **Louisiana** to secure EOA loans for the first time. In **Tennessee,** over fifty FHA loans were obtained, including twenty farm purchase loans for former sharecroppers and tenant farmers.

Other Field Activities: Bi-monthly leadership training meetings are held in 44 out of 46 rural counties in **South Carolina.** A series of four multi-county workshops were held in Southwest **Georgia** to learn about government programs and how to organize Community Action Projects to fight poverty. Groundwork, through NSF's Farm Labor Counseling Program, has been laid for full-time work in **Florida,** to start early in 1966. Mass evictions of sharecroppers in Lowndes and Wilcox Counties, **Alabama,** show the need for an emergency housing program, and NSF is working on this. In cooperation with the Alabama Rural Areas Council, NSF called a statewide conference where the rural poor could confront representatives of the government agencies who are supposed to aid them. (Held at Montgomery, January 21-22, 1966, the conference produced a lively exchange of information and ideas, and plans for action.)

As a result of wide distribution of NSF Fact Sheets in **Mississippi** on the right of all farmers and sharecroppers to take part in Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee elections, Negro committeemen were elected for the first time — 27 in all. These local farmer committees determine acreage allotments and administer other federal agricultural programs; hence their decisions are of enormous importance to the survival of the small farmer. Numerous emergency loan commitments were obtained in **Louisiana** to repair Hurricane Betsy damage. Since most of them have remained unmet, NSF continues to press on this issue. In **Tennessee,** five farmers saved their land from auction by obtaining previously denied FHA loans.

LEGISLATION

For the first time in history, a minimum wage bill (H.R. 10518) including coverage for farm workers was reported favorably out of the House Committee on Education and Labor. The bill, covering some 1.3 million farm workers at $1.15 an hour, is ex-

pected to come up for a vote during the second session of the 89th Congress.

Other bills to protect farm workers, including workmen's compensation and coverage under collective bargaining laws, are expected to come before the Congress in 1966.

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

NSF serves as an important source of public information on issues related to rural poverty. NSF officers and staff speak frequently at public and private conferences, such as a meeting of VISTA volunteer trainees, high school and college seminars, summer camp groups, and on TV programs. They also appear before legislative committees and at administrative hearings. A number of significant books which appeared in the last year drew upon resources provided by NSF. Material for articles and radio and TV programs is frequently supplied. NSF reports and releases are sent regularly to newspapers, magazines, libraries, government and private agency officials, legislators, labor and church leaders, and other concerned citizens. An approximate total of 18,000 pieces of literature was sent out in answer to 500 requests in 1965. Labor, church, and other groups ordered quantities of materials to distribute through their own channels.

NSF SERVES ON A WIDE FRONT

Frank P. Graham, NSF's Chairman, served on a three-member advisory committee to the U.S. Department of Agriculture on policies to provide equal opportunity to all through USDA's Federal-State Extension Services. NSF Vice-Chairman A. Philip Randolph has been named honorary chairman of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." Its Executive Secretary, Fay Bennett, has been reappointed to the Secretary of Agriculture's Rural Areas Advisory Committee. NSF is in close touch with national developments and has access to appropriate officials as needed to report developments in the field, to suggest policy, and to follow up on complaints concerning local administration of federal programs.

NSF participates in the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty; it co-sponsored a four-state conference on Cooperatives and Credit Unions, held in Louisiana; and it provided valuable assistance to other groups working with the rural poor.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

New members added to the National Sharecroppers Fund Board during the past year are Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Associate Director, Commission on Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches; Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Coordinator of Special Events, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, and author of **The Trumpet Sounds;** Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, President of Clark College; and Dr. Pauli Murray, attorney and author of **Proud Shoes.** NSF lost through death Board member Gardner Jackson, whose entire adult life had been devoted to the cause of justice for America's dispossessed.

NSF continues to grow as the opportunities for expansion of work in the South open under the impact of the civil rights revolution and the war on poverty. The number of contributors showed a net gain in 1965 of about 14 per cent, and total contributions increased by 18 per cent.

NSF grants were again made to the pension fund for aged members of the former Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and to the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, of which NSF is a member.

To carry on NSF's expanded program, about 350,000 pieces of educational and promotional material were mailed to prospective new donors. The following finance report is summarized from the certified audit which is available at our national office for inspection by NSF contributors.

INCOME: Contributions		$129,832.73
EXPENDITURES:		
Program and Education		
Grants to Other Organizations	$ 4,100.00	
National Office Personnel (includes payroll taxes and employee benefits)	24,761.11	
Southern Field Work, Conferences, Travel	17,730.58	
Educational and Program Materials (printing, mailing, postage)	24,161.12	
Rent, Telephone, Office Expense, Miscellaneous	6,093.60	
Total Program and Education Expenditures		$ 76,846.41
Promotion		25,846.11
Administration		19,014.25
Total Expenditures		$121,706.77
Excess of Income over Expenditures		8,125.96

Note: Additional funds not shown in this report were available for NSF's field work through the Rural Advancement Project, jointly sponsored by NSF, the Southern Regional Council, and the Georgia and South Carolina Councils on Human Relations.

Suggested Form of Bequest

"I give and bequeath to National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, the sum of $....."

MJ - file

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

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L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative
ART EMERY
Tennessee representative
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

January 13, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for sending us the $50 contribution from Miss Mary L. Dyckman of New Jersey which we have applied to the educational program of our Rural Advancement Project which is sponsoring the Alabama Conference for rural people in Montgomery. I am sure you have already received an invitation and a conference program. Nevertheless, I enclose another hoping very much that you find it possible to attend.

The program for the conference is a very significant one as I am sure you realize. This kind of confrontation of federal and state officials and rural poor of Alabama will surely produce good results in helping these families to achieve economic security and better living conditions.

We especially invite your participation in the Saturday afternoon session at which important Agriculture Department officials will discuss the crisis in rural America and what can be done about it.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm

Enclosure

ALABAMA STATEWIDE CONFERENCE
ON GOVERNMENTAL ANTI-POVERTY AND OTHER
PROGRAMS TO AID LOW-INCOME RURAL PEOPLE

Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama
January 21 and 22, 1965

FRIDAY, JANUARY 21

Morning

8:00 - 10:00 Registration

10:00 Morning Session - Chairman: Lewis W. Black, Chairman, Alabama Rural Areas Council

Greetings --Levi Watkins, President, Alabama State College, Montgomery

"The Challenge" (brief opening remarks) - Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary, National Sharecroppers Fund

Keynote Address: "Massive Rural Readjustments in the South" - Leland N. Fryer, Assistant to the Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, USDA

"The Public's Responsibility for Rural Poverty in the South: Programs and Remedies Under the Office of Economic Opportunity" - Emanuel Boasberg, Interagency Relations, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

11:15 Questions and Discussion

Afternoon

12:30 Lunch

2:00 Panels on Federal Programs for Farm and Rural People in Alabama, with Emphasis on Increasing the Capacity of Public Agencies to Serve the Needs of the Disadvantaged - Chairman: Joseph Bradford, Rural Task Force, OEO

Farmers Home Administration
Leland N. Fryer, Assistant to the Administrator, FHA, Washington, D.C.
Robert C. Bamberg, Alabama State Director, FHA, Montgomery
Mrs. Rachel Brown, Social Worker, FHA, Washington, D.C.

Federal Extension Service
Raymond C. Scott, Assistant Administrator, FES, Washington, D.C.

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
John B. Vance, Assistant Deputy Administrator, State and County Operations, ASCS, Washington, D.C.
B. L. Collins, Alabama State Director, ASCS, Montgomery
Victor B. Phillips, Assistant to the Administrator, ASCS, Washington, D.C.

Office of Economic Opportunity (Community Action Programs)
Earl Redwine, Regional Director, C.A.P., Atlanta, Georgia
Orville O'Shields, Economic Opportunity Officer for Farmers Home Administration in Alabama
Representative of the Alabama Technical Assistance Corporation

3:15 Response from Rural Panel

J. B. Newman (farmer), Clopton, Alabama
Ernest Essex (farmer), Demopolis, Alabama
Rev. S. S. Seay (minister and farmer), A.M.E. Zion Church, Montgomery, Ala.
Mrs. Lillian S. McGill (community leader), Haynesville, Alabama

4:00 Questions and Discussion

6:00 Dinner

Evening
8:00 Evening Meeting - Chairman: Joe L. Reed, Executive Secretary, Alabama State Teachers Association, Montgomery

"The Courts and Economic Security for Rural People" - Charles Morgan, Jr., Director, Southern Regional Office, American Civil Liberties Union

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22

Morning
8:00 "Cooperatives and Credit Unions" - Chairman: G. W. Taylor, Director, Agricultural Education, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

"What a Cooperative Is and How It Can Help Rural People" (with slides) - Speaker from Farmers Cooperative Service, USDA, Washington

"What a Credit Union Is and How It Can Serve Rural People" - William E. Jordan, Senior Field Representative, Alabama Credit Union League

Film on Credit Unions - "The People of Kolevu"

"Training for Cooperative and Credit Union Leadership in Rural Areas" - G. T. Dowdy, Director, Agricultural Economics, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Sam F. Parigi, Director, Southern Rural Training Project

10:00 Questions and Discussion

11:00 Organizational meeting to establish state organization and multi-county organizations of farm and rural people

12:30 Evaluation and Conclusion - Jac Wasserman, Field Director, National Sharecroppers Fund

12:45 Adjournment

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NOTE: There will be a special afternoon program from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. to discuss the crisis in rural America. Interested persons are invited to remain for this session.

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Sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund's Rural Advancement Project
in cooperation with Alabama Rural Areas Council
and concerned religious, community, and government agencies

GB

January 19,1966

MJ

MEMORANDUM ON EVICTION OF NEGRO SHARECROPPERS AND TENANT FARMERS

TO: Executive Committee, Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

FROM: Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary, National Sharecroppers Fund

Some 90 Negro sharecropper and tenant farmer families have been or are about to be evicted in Alabama. Similar evictions are occurring in Louisiana and Mississippi. Up to 12,000 evictions are expected in Mississippi alone by late spring.

Changes in agricultural technology, as well as emerging Negro voting power, have combined to accelerate the displacement of Negro farm and rural families, especially where they have the potential of becoming an important political force.

Immediate crash programs are necessary to provide temporary economic and physical security and to begin to plan for the future. We suggest:

1. The President should declare the areas where evictions are taking place equivalent to disaster areas and order the mobilization of all resources of government to provide immediate temporary shelter, food, and medical attention.

2. Plans should be made to use the pertinent Titles of the Federal Housing Act and EOA to build cluster-unit shelter communities to serve up to 400 families each.

3. Services including surplus food, counseling, and job and vocational training should be provided through a neighborhood house development center setting.

It is estimated that of the 900,000 Negro farmers once in the South, there are now 200,000 Negro farm operators. In the next 15 years, 150,000 will be displaced unless effective preventive measures are taken. In addition, there will be 350,000 white sharecroppers and tenant farmers displaced in the same period. It is estimated that there will be at least an additional 450,000 functioning rural families who will be displaced and who will need residences and opportunities.

For long-range solutions, a federal-state, public-private enterprise program of rural development will be needed to provide the jobs locally to stem the migration to the cities and provide a balanced urban-rural economy. A program of building up the physical facilities and providing the social services needed will in addition create most of the needed jobs in the area.

Providing doctors, dentists, nurses, outpatient clinics, schools, recreational areas, water and sewage systems, and vocational training will provide thousands of additional new jobs. It is estimated that within a ten-year period both the facilities and the services can be provided and 300,000 new rural jobs created annually. Funds to finance the programs will largely be returned by increased tax revenues from an expanded local economy. The alternative is far more expensive and wasteful of our human resources, and the nation cannot afford this.

February 2, 1966

GB
MS

PRESS STATEMENT ON MISSISSIPPI EVICTIONS

By Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003 Tel:GR3-0284

file

The spectacle of Air Force troops bodily evicting 110 impoverished men, women and children who had sought shelter from sub-freezing weather in an unused Air Force building in Greenville, Mississippi, is a disgrace to the nation.

The serious plight of these poverty-stricken people shows that immediate federal help is needed to prevent severe hardship and actual hunger.

Nor is this Mississippi situation an isolated case of need being met with indifference and callous treatment. Some 90 Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmer families have been or are about to be evicted in Alabama. A number of evicted families are now living in tents in Lowndes County, Alabama. Similar recent evictions in Louisiana were halted only when the Justice Department brought court action and obtained a temporary restraining order.

We estimate that thousands of poor farm families in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama (and perhaps in other Southern states as well), will be put out this winter and in need of emergency help. Other poor families who are permitted to remain in their dilapidated shacks are also in need of government assistance. City slums cannot absorb a further influx of thousands of impoverished rural families who are being pushed off the land through no fault of their own.

These people do not want a government hand-out. They ask for training programs and jobs (in addition to immediate food distribution to stave off hunger) so they can stay in their communities and work to better their lives.

We call upon the President to mobilize all necessary resources of government in order to provide immediate temporary shelter, food and medical attention for the dispossessed and the cold and hungry.

Meanwhile planning should be started immediately to provide jobs through building needed homes, roads, schools and health and recreation facilities in these rural areas. We urge Washington officials to respond immediately to meet these urgent human needs.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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Rec'd 2/7/66

February 4, 1966

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Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We have been becoming increasingly concerned over the huge task faced by our regional office in Atlanta, under Jac Wasserman's direction, now that he has the added duties of providing training, guidance and supervision for four rural field representatives under our joint Rural Advancement Project, while none of the funds yet raised for this joint project have gone toward the expenses of the regional office.

file

Because we were so eager to move forward and establish the regional office in Atlanta to help Jac give closer supervision to the field staff, we jumped the gun as it were and opened our office there before the funds were raised to cover its cost, listed in the budget at $23,000. This has placed a great financial burden on the National Sharecroppers Fund which we can ill afford. I am sure you realise that Jac also supervises the field work of three additional field representatives on NSF's pay roll.

There is not only the question of finances to meet the minimum cost of Jac's operation, but there is a real need for additional funds for the regional office to finance the workshops, consultations, staff meetings, additional field travel, trips to Washington etc., to make our work more effective.

I am sure you are aware that there are greater increased demands for our services in Alabama and Mississippi right now while people are being evicted and need housing and other economic programs. Our office can help these people meet their needs but we do need more money to do the job right.

This morning I had a good talk with Deborah Cole of the Norman Fund about this and I believe she will place the matter of financing the NSF regional office under the joint program before the Norman Fund at its next meeting. Incidentally I met with Mrs. Cole, at

her suggestion, following her telephone call to me on a related matter.

Next week I have an appointment with Les Dunbar about this and hope that the Field Foundation will also consider this matter. I enclose for your information a memo on the general problem of the evictions which was prepared for the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty which their executive committee unanimously approved, and also our statement on the Mississippi situation.

Yours sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB/vmg

c.c. Jac Wasserman

March 25, 1966

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay:

Just a note in response to your letter of the 24th. While it's fine with us, it is not necessary that NSF have a separate checking account for the Norman Fund grant. If you are doing it solely for that purpose, don't make extra work forsyourself.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

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May 5, 1966

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Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Ocie Smith for your information. I had to put in the item in paragraph 3. because Ocie has written me saying why don't you and I find a job for him.

It was good to have lunch with you and discuss various things.

Next week some of us will be meeting with OEO officials in Atlanta and I expect to be spending most of Wednesday, May 11th, going over all of our field work programs and problems with Jac. If you are around, perhaps I can drop into your office to say hello, and to meet some of your associates.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB/vmg

Encl.

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Mr. Ocie Lee Smith
P.O.Box 982
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70821

Dear Ocie:

Thank you for the record you sent me with your recent note.

Enclosed is your severance pay check covering the month of May, less the $100.00 travel advance which must be deducted at this time.

Paul Anthony and I had lunch together when I was in Atlanta last week. He did mention that you had got in touch with him but did not know what might be done. I am sure you will hear from him if he has anything to suggest.

Mrs. Alice Spearman thought there might be a position in South Carolina. Why don't you write to her at the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, South Carolina 29201?

It might be possible for a job opening to develop with the Labor Department under their Farm Labor Service. I should think they might have need of more people working in their Louisiana office on farm labor recruiting. I will be glad to call Tod Potter, Director of the Farm Labor Service in Washington, if you are interested.

Another possibility is that something might develop with one of the training programs in Louisiana which have been set up through the Southern Rural Training Project. Why not get in touch with Frank Lapeyrolerie who is director of the training program at Reserve, Louisiana.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB/vmg

File
Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund

May 19, 1966

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay:

Thanks very much for the April 1 progress report of the Southern Rural Training Project. I have read it carefully, and with interest. You are right, it is impressive reading. I had no idea this much was being accomplished under the program. Congratulations on it!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 5/9/66

(1)

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Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is the latest Progress Report of our Southern Rural Training Project (financed by our Labor Department contract). Do read it. It is very exciting to know that so many valuable new training programs are being developed to reach low income rural people, many of whom are functional illiterates.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB/vmg

Encl.

April 1, 1966

TO: Dr. Curtis C. Aller, Director
Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

FROM: Dr. Sam F. Parigi, Project Director

SUBJECT: Progress Report No. 6, Southern Rural Training Project: National Sharecroppers Fund -- OMPER Demonstration Project No. 83-31-07 in Developing Job Training Programs among the Hard Core Unemployed and Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas.

Report for February, March, 1966

New project development and service to expedite the funding of proposals already submitted characterized SRTP's operations during the past two months. However, equally significant has been the funding of two additional EOA Title III-B projects (200 trainees total) and the approval for funding in April of a project (180 trainees) by the U. S. Office of Education. Therefore, six SRTP projects have been funded in the past four-month period and we anticipate funding of three other programs by the end of May.

Four proposals have been submitted during the report period: two to the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research (U. S. Department of Labor), one to the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (Experimental and Demonstration program), and one to the Migrant Division (Office of Economic Opportunity). In addition, SRTP has participated in program construction on two other projects that have been submitted and considerable developmental work has already taken place

on six EOA Title III-B programs and four OMPER E & D projects. It is a continuing challenge for SRTP to develop and to service through funding all projects with which we are associated.

I. EOA TITLE III-B PROGRAMS FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONAL FARM WORKERS

1. Programs Funded

MACTAD (Mobile, Alabama). Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, announced on March 30, 1966, a grant of $52,131 to the Mobile Area Committee for Training and Development, Inc. The funds will finance an educational and prevocational training program for 100 low-income, seasonally employed agricultural workers. Prevocational training follows the cluster pattern and is designed to raise the skills of the trainees who remain in agricultural work, and also to provide introductory training for occupations outside agriculture. MACTAD, Inc., has also applied for an OMPER E & D, and it is anticipated that some of the EOA III-B graduates will have their educational and skill levels raised sufficiently so that they may be eligible to participate in the MDTA project when it is funded. (See also Summary and Evaluation.)

Ferriday, Louisiana. The announcement of this program's funding was made on March 28, 1966. Basic education, prevocational training and supportive services will be offered to 100 low-income seasonally employed farm workers from Concordia Parish in the upper Louisiana Delta area. This program's approval marks the second funding of

SRTP-developed EOA III-B's for seasonal farm workers in Louisiana, the only such programs approved to date in that State. (See also Summary and Evaluation.)

2. Proposal Submitted

Fayette County, Tennessee. Fayette County is ranked the third lowest county in the United States by annual family income ($1,363), and the fourth lowest in per capita income ($470). The need for manpower development projects is obvious, and SRTP, through the sponsorship of the Fayette County Economic Development Commission (Leander J. Palmer, Director) and with the cooperation of numerous county officials, quickly developed this program which will offer basic education, prevocational training, and supportive services for a three-month period to 180 unemployed or seasonally employed persons. Among the criteria for entry into this program are: an annual family income of less than $1,000 a year and an educational level of less than sixth grade.

Prevocational training will be given in three clusters: (1) Agriculture, including instruction in small farm management, new and improved farming techniques, crop rotation, fertilizer preparation and application, machinery operation and minor repair; (2) building trades, such as carpentry, electrical work, brick masonry, and plumbing; and (3) homemaking education, with instruction on child guidance, home care of the sick, family hygiene, home management, sewing and clothing care.

This program should be especially meaningful because of the participation of volunteer professionals. As an example, Art Emory of the National Sharecroppers Fund will offer the trainees suggestions on credit unions and cooperatives. J. M. Nunnerly of the Farmers Home Administration will explain the availability of $1,000 signature loans to owners of homes and will assist persons who so desire to apply for the loans.

The development of this project is reflective of our recent SRTP efforts in the field of EOA III-B's. An area was chosen because of its low income level and lack of MDTA and OEO projects. Most persons, initially contacted, stated that the area did not have an off-farm season in the summer. Albert Newall, SRTP Tennessee Field Representative, consulted with a number of helpful persons in the State Agriculture Department, but evidence seemed to show a period too brief for a project. Further contact with local agricultural experts revealed that recent changes in the county's agricultural situation now easily allowed a three-month program in the summer (lay-by period). Local farm authorities estimated that there was now a 75 percent surplus of farm labor due to cotton acreage cuts and farm mechanization. Walton Sharp, SRTP's Louisiana Representative who developed the III-B's in that State, then was assigned to the project. He and Newall received an enthusiastic response to the prospects of a III-B program from the local CAP, farm workers, educators and various agency personnel. With the two Field Representatives operating in "high gear" and the Knoxville office giving

priority to the proposal, a program was rapidly structured. A broadly representative Advisory Committee (including one-third representation of farm workers) was selected by the local group. At an early stage in project development, the Migrant Division of OEO was notified of our activity in Fayette County and Mr. Ken Vallis of that organization responded quickly by visiting in Somerville on March 22 to discuss the project with its sponsor. On the night of March 22, two weeks after Newall's initial inquiry, the EOA III-B Advisory Committee met and, after a thorough explanation and discussion of the proposed project by Mr. Vallis, Dr. Sam F. Parigi (SRTP Director), Mr. Sharp, Mr. Newall, and Mr. Palmer, the necessary OEO forms were signed. The proposal had been developed with haste, but not waste. The sponsor helped SRTP representatives "touch base" with local workers, educators, and governmental officials and SRTP also informed related state agencies of the program (Example: State OEO, State Department of Employment Security, which normally has a representative in Somerville one day a week, and State Vocational Education). The Fayette County project bids to be the first EOA Title III-B in Tennessee.

3. Projects In Advanced State Of Development

Dorchester, South Carolina. This project is to be sponsored by the Colleton-Dorchester Counties Development Corporation, the CAP agency for Colleton and Dorchester Counties. L. S. James, SRTP's South Carolina Field Representative, and Walton Sharp are developing the program which is designed to serve 120 low-income, adult, seasonally

employed farm workers. Income statistics show that 49.6 percent of the family units in Dorchester County have annual incomes of less than $3,000. The program, as presently envisioned, will be a year-round one, with full-time education and prevocational classes during the off-farm season and education classes two nights a week during the farm season. Farm workers, educators, and representatives of related agencies have offered their cooperation and Ken Vallis of the Migrant Division met with the program's sponsor on March 17. Drafting work has begun on the proposal which will be submitted in April.

Tennessee Elk River Development Association (TERDA). On March 23, 1966, Albert Newall and Dr. Parigi of SRTP met with Mr. Cuyler Dunbar, Director of the COMET E & D; Mr. Ralph Mitchell, Executive Director, Elk River Development Association; Mr. Mark Whitaker, Director of TERDA; Mr. James Lemons, TERDA Program Analyst; Mr. Robert Marshall, COMET Elk River Director; and Mr. B. H. Cummings, a COMET OJT Supervisor, to discuss a successor program to the COMET Project which will soon terminate in the area. Various alternatives were explored in a full-day meeting and it was finally resolved that attention should focus on developing a rather distinctive EOA Title III-B for 320 "rockbottom" rural farm workers. A subsequent meeting to discuss the project has been scheduled for Knoxville in early April. TERDA is the CAP agency for a nine-county area of South-central Tennessee and will sponsor the program.

The genesis of SRTP's involvement in this project is interesting. Cuyler Dunbar had originally suggested that the Elk River group contact SRTP for assistance in project development. Thereupon, Mr. Ralph Mitchell met with Mr. Peter Pesoli, SRTP Field Coordinator, in Knoxville to discuss the Elk River's competency to sponsor and their desire for a manpower project. Subsequently a delegation from Elk River went to Washington to contact Congressmen and federal agency personnel about possible programs in their area. On this occasion, two Washington officials recommended to the Elk River delegation that they seek assistance from SRTP for their program development.

Thibodaux, Louisiana. Because of his developmental work in Louisiana, SRTP's Walton Sharp was invited to attend the quarterly Louisiana State OEO Conference in Baton Rouge. At this meeting Sharp was introduced and mention made of his development of the Reserve, Louisiana, EOA III-B. Subsequently a number of persons contacted him at the conference, including Lucien Caillouet, Director, LaFourche Parish CAP, who asked assistance in developing a III-B program. The project's development began shortly afterward, including the formation of an Advisory Committee on March 3, 1966, and a visit from Ken Vallis of the Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers Division on March 23, 1966. It is projected that the program will reach 180 low-income, undereducated farm workers.

Thomasville, Georgia. Early SRTP explorations in Georgia revealed a need for manpower programs in the Southwestern area of that State. Alfred Morris, SRTP Field Representative, is developing this project which will have as its sponsor the Southwest Georgia Community Action Council, Inc., a CAP group representing thirteen counties. There is some question at present on the number of counties which will be served by the project, and consequently the number of trainees. Indications are that this EOA III-B will serve approximately 200 trainees, 100 in each session. To date, there are no funded EOA III-B's in Georgia.

4. Other EOA III-B Projects Being Developed

Alexandria, Louisiana. A CAP agency, which was to sponsor the project, has had some internal difficulties, so SRTP has arrested its program development until the dispute is resolved. It now appears that the different groups are reaching a compromise and perhaps a needed program can be developed soon to utilize the services of many capable volunteers who wish to help less fortunate persons in their area.

Elloree, South Carolina. Considerable "leg-work" has been done on this tentative project which will project SRTP into the self-help housing field. Complex problems concerning construction, legal titles, and work-sharing agreements will necessitate a delay in further project development until May. SRTP's staff is small and a

decision had to be made to delay this time-consuming project so that other equally desirable projects could be submitted in April and early may.

Shiloh (Tennessee). A multi-county CAP agency (with several EDA counties included) has indicated a desire to sponsor an EOA III-B for approximately 400-800 persons. Extensive contacts with farm workers, county officials, and school representatives reflect keen interest in the program, especially in view of the fact that the sponsor was becoming disappointed because of the previous rejection of several proposals which it had submitted.

Dillon, South Carolina. Initial contacts have shown widespread interest in a year-round program for this rural area of South Carolina. Many of the farm workers contacted by SRTP Field Representative L. S. James confided that they had never been to school and they cannot read nor write. Sponsor: Dillon County Community Action Council, Inc.

State Of Florida EOA III-B. Alfred Morris has acted as a consultant to the State Office of Economic Opportunity in its development of a program to serve 2,500 trainees in nine counties of Florida. The proposal should be completed by the end of March and will be submitted to Tom Karter, Chief, Migrant Division, OEO in Washington. This program again demonstrates the cooperative relationship that SRTP has developed with state agencies.

5. Previously funded Projects

Reserve, Louisiana. One hundred and twenty trainees are actively participating in this project. Of the 133 persons receiving physical examinations, tuberculine time tests showed 42 positive, and follow-up examinations revealed that a few of these required medical attention. One unanticipated problem developed when the sponsor had difficulty in obtaining bonding because the project was only scheduled for a three-month period. SRTP's Field Representative learned of the problem and was able to arrange the bonding service.

II. COOPERATIVE RESEARCH DIVISION, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, H.E.W.

Approved For Funding

Project TEST. Project TEST has been approved for funding having cleared all review barriers. As related in Progress Report No. 5, the funding of the program was progressing much more slowly than anticipated. On March 1, we learned that the program had been transferred from the Division of Adult and Vocational Research to the Division of Elementary and Secondary Research. Subsequently it appeared, because of complications created by its having been transferred to another division, that the program would not be funded in the current fiscal year. (Our experience is that programs which linger from year to year tend not to be funded.) Mr. Peter Pesoli, SRTP Field Coordinator, then made a special trip to Washington on March 10 to expedite the

program which is designed to upgrade the skills of 180 teachers in Florida who, despite having failed to achieve the minimum 500 score on the National Teachers Examination as required by Florida law, still have the potential and desire to remain in teaching. After conferences with Mr. Walter Mylecraine, Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Education, Dr. Lewis Bright, Associate Commissioner of Education and Director of Cooperative Research Division, and J. Ned Bryan, Officer in Charge of Curriculum Branch, in which Pesoli explained the urgency of the program and the funding technicalities which had been encountered, the SRTP Field Coordinator was told that the program was an excellent one and that it would be funded by the U. S. Office of Education. That same day the program's sponsor, the Florida State Department of Education, was notified by Mr. Mylecraine that the program had been approved. Upon the request of Dr. Joseph W. Crenshaw, Director of Instructional Services, Florida Department of Education, Pesoli went to Tallahassee, Florida, to assist in making modifications to the program schedule so that classes may begin on May 16.

Since the program's sponsor and SRTP have been informed that the project is ready for the formal signing, funding may reasonably be expected to occur in early April.

III. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT EXPERIMENTAL AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

1. Proposals Submitted In Reporting Period

Training Indigenous Persons For Sub-Professional Occupations (Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi). SRTP was requested by OMPER to contact Dr. Jane E. McAllister, Jackson State College, and assist in the development of an E & D program. Dr. Parigi met with Dr. McAllister and other interested staff members of the college on February 10. At this conference an earlier proposal draft by the college was discussed as were methods for expanding the program. After a full interchange of information and ideas, SRTP was given permission to draft a proposal for submission to OMPER. O. H. Simmons of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission was informed of the project and he, in turn, gave needed information to estimate training allowances. The proposal was quickly developed and hand-carried to Washington by the Project Director on February 24. A conference was held that day with OMPER officials: Mr. Seymour Brandwein, Director, Office of Special Manpower Programs, Mr. Charles Gilmore, Chief, Special Programs, Dr. Arenia Mallory, and Mr. Richard McAllister. At this conference tentative approval was given to the proposal and SRTP subsequently presented the final proposal to OMPER on February 24. The project will train 115 underpriviledged persons as "counseling interns" to fill the demand of governmental and private employers for social service personnel.

Since the proposal was submitted to OMPER, SRTP has discussed the proposal with State Employment Service and Vocational Education, and also Regional Employment Service and H.E.W. representatives. A target date for funding of May 1 has been set.

Mobile Area Committee For Training And Development (MACTAD, Mobile, Alabama-OMPER. Expectations for the funding of this program soared as a result of a conference at OMPER offices in Washington on February 24 between Mr. Gilmore, Dr. Mallory, Dr. Robert Gilliard (MACTAD), Father A. S. Foley (MACTAD), Mr. Jim Hendricks (MACTAD), Mr. Jim Blackburn (Employment Service), Mr. Pesoli, and Dr. Parigi. The checkered life of this project has been recited in earlier reports, but a positive turn occurred at the meeting when OMPER agreed to consider funding the entire "package" of remedial education, institutional training, and supportive services for 280 trainees. A target date for funding of May 1 was set at the conference. Because of the time that had transpired and the changed conditions, it was necessary to completely redraft the proposal. Before doing so, however, Newall and Parigi of SRTP met in Montgomery with Mr. Copeland J. Pace, Coordinator of Manpower Training, Alabama State Employment Service and Mr. C. S. Bilbro, Assistant MDTA Director, Alabama Vocational Education Department, on March 3 in order to coordinate the project revision with their agencies. On March 10 SRTP's Director met in Mobile to review the proposal revision with the

sponsor, and the new proposal was submitted to OMPER by mail on March 16. Since that time SRTP has had introductory discussions on the project with Regional ES and H.E.W. personnel.

Bureau Of Apprenticeship and Training - MACTAD E & D. To complement and expand the MACTAD-OMPER E & D, a separate BAT-MACTAD E & D has been developed and submitted by SRTP. After a series of duscussions with various agency personnel at national, regional, and state level, SRTP concluded that the OJT component could be processed more easily if it were submitted as separate, but tied to the OMPER E & D. The design of this proposal is to seek funding of 100 OJT slots by BAT, but to have the entire administrative cost of the OJT development included in the OMPER-MACTAD E & D. The funding of the BAT-MACTAD E & D is, therefore, contingent upon the funding of the OMPER contract and the two contracts are scheduled to conclude on the same date.

Comment On Project Development And Servicing. These two MACTAD E & D projects have required a significant amount of SRTP staff time, but without that involvement the proposals would not be progressing. A rough summary of SRTP-MACTAD E & D activities during the past two months will perhaps illustrate what SRTP means by the term "servicing a project." Conferences have been attended specifically to discuss MACTAD E & D projects in Washington, Atlanta, Montgomery, and Mobile. Sixteen telephone conversations were initiated by SRTP on behalf of these projects, and at least eight telephone calls were received. In addition, fourteen

letters were written to expedite the project. It is now hoped that the project is "on the way" and that correspondingly less SRTP time be required.

2. Projects In Advanced Stage Of Development.

Mississippi Forestry Project. This project marks another example of SRTP's "outreach service" to OMPER. On March 1, Mr. Gilmore of OMPER requested SRTP to undertake the development of a Mississippi E & D project which had the interest of the State Employment Service and the U. S. Forest Service. Consequently Albert Newall and Dr. Parigi met with Dr. Henry Taylor, Rural Community Development Service (U.S.D.A., Washington); Mr. C. M. Evenson, Regional Job Corps Coordinator; Mr. Dale Eaves, BES (Atlanta Region); Mr. Harvey Jackson and Mr. Fred Ungerer of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission; and Mr. Tom Forister, National Forests in Mississippi, on March 4 in Jackson, Mississippi. This meeting was an exploratory one, but in a second meeting, which was held in Jackson on March 14, a number of decisions concerning the structuring on the project were made, and agreement was reached on sending information to Knoxville so that a draft proposal could be written. Among the participants at this meeting were Mr. O. H. Simmons, Mississippi E.S.; Mr. A. P. Fatherree, Mississippi Director of Vocational Education; Mr. H. T. Huddleston, President of Summit Junior College; and Mr. Del W. Thorsen, Deputy Forest Supervisor, National Forests in Mississippi; and SRTP representatives. Upon the receipt of information from

conference participants, SRTP drafted a proposal which was mailed to the concerned agencies on March 4. The proposal will be reviewed by these agencies and then a final draft will be submitted to OMPER. This is the first time that SRTP has participated with RCDS in project development, but it appears that such an association may be mutually beneficial.

Orleans Parish Prison. Program development has continued on this project and proposal drafting has begun. Some problems are being encountered on reaching agreement as to proper structuring of the program so that it will have the needed flexibility essential for a social and training center for released prisoners. One distinctive feature of the planned program is the extensive use of highly qualified professional volunteers. Representatives of the Louisiana Employment Service and Vocational Education Department have been kept abreast of developments.

3. Proposal Previously Submitted

Ability Development For Demand (ADD), Tampa, Florida. It has been decided that the University of South Florida will act as program sponsor rather than Tampa's Office of the Mayor. Reportedly, this decision was reached at a Washington conference of March 8, 1966. OMPER did not notify SRTP of the sponsor change, and our effectiveness in servicing the project has been impaired. Nevertheless, we are continuing our efforts in the program's behalf and it is our understanding that the MT-1's will soon be completed.

4. Other New Developments

Triana (Triana, Alabama). A meeting was held at the Pulaski-Cavalry Hill Rehabilitation Center on February 10, between SRTP's Peter Pesoli and Albert Newall, Charles T. Brandon, Chairman, Pulaski-Cavalry Hill Recreation Committee, Leon Frazier, President of Technical Assistance Committee, and Clyde Foster, Mayor of Triana. The purpose of this meeting was to explore ideas for making Triana a component part of the present Pulaski-Cavalry Hill E & D, which would strengthen the program of both groups. Additional information has been gathered which will speed the proposal development and Mr. Pesoli contacted the Huntsville E.S. Office to notify them of the contemplated activity.

Training School For Boys (Milledgeville, Georgia). The proposed sponsor for the project has had to decline further active participation because of recent changes at the institution. However, the contact person has agreed to cooperate if another sponsor wishes to conduct the program and it appears that a Georgia university will seek the project. If so, the program to provide training for child care workers will be altered to reflect the ideas of the new sponsor.

Test II Project (State of Florida). SRTP has delayed development of TEST II because of the frustrating problems of implementing TEST I. TEST II, which seeks to upgrade the skills of displaced teachers in related but non-academic fields, is designed as a companion proposal to TEST I and program development will now be renewed.

5. Previously Funded Projects

Austin Peay State College Project (COMET). COMET continues to function in a highly creditable manner, and good communications exist between Mr. Cuyler Dunbar, COMET Director, and the SRTP staff. Upon the request of Mr. Dunbar, Newall and Morris of the SRTP staff undertook OJT development for COMET on three days during the bitter cold wave of early February. Mr. Dunbar has also introduced SRTP staff to persons in the Elk River and Beech River areas of Tennessee who are seeking manpower programs to continue the work begun by COMET.

Loyola University Project (SEESAW), New Orleans, Louisiana. Active recruiting of trainees for the secretarial phase of the project to be held in Reserve, Louisiana, commenced in the latter part of February and the formal training began on March 21. Some difficulties are being encountered in finding adequate training facilities in Slidell, but the sponsor is optimistic that the program will start there, as planned, on May 1.

St. Mary's Dominican College Project (New Orleans, Louisiana). Classes for secretarial training and dialectic speech remediation began in early January. Mrs. Geoffray, Project Director, has related that trainees were keeping pace with the course outline, and that the majority, through individual efforts outside class, were ahead of schedule. The presence of counselors at the training site is credited with diminishing trainee problems. SRTP's Field Representative spoke to several trainees who were grateful for the opportunity of getting the training and enthusiastic concerning the program.

IV. ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT (Other than Title III-B)

1. Section 206 and Section 207

National Sharecroppers Fund Proposal. SRTP's parent has originated the idea of a project which would not only provide technical assistance in project development, but also train rural persons to: (1) acquire sufficient technical knowledge to assess their community and individual needs, (2) develop programs (under EOA, Vocational Education Act of 1963, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Manpower Development and Training Act, etc.) to meet those needs, and (3) carry out such programs successfully. SRTP assisted in drafting the proposal which was submitted to OEO in March. NSF has arranged a meeting with Sargent Shriver on April 6 to discuss the proposal and rural conditions. Several key board members of NSF, Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of NSF, Pesoli and Parigi are scheduled to attend the meeting.

2. Title II-B

Holly Hill, South Carolina. Our last Progress Report showed 375 trainees receiving adult education training, but the program has now expanded to 500 enrolees. State officials have told our South Carolina Representative that the program is especially successful because of the active support of local organizations.

V. OJT DEVELOPMENT

SRTP's OJT work has primarily occurred in Georgia, South Carolina, and recently in Tennessee. Our system of referring signed OJT-1's from area redevelopment areas to local BAT representatives met with varied results. In some instances the employer has been quickly contacted and the application processed. In other instances, several months have elapsed and BAT representatives have not established contact with OJT-1 signers. As a result of BAT-SRTP combined efforts, training slots have been approved for 62 persons under OJT provisions. SRTP's next Progress Report will contain a more comprehensive treatment of OJT activity.

See also BAT-MACTAD E & D under Section III.

VI. OTHER ACTIVITIES

1. Florida Migrant Center

Mr. Julian Morse, Coordinator of Migrant Education, Florida State Department of Education, invited SRTP's Field Coordinator to a meeting attended by a number of persons working with migrants on February 17 in Florida in order to discuss the possibility of establishing a center to train sub-professionals (and some professionals) working with migrants. As a consequence of this meeting, and subsequent discussions, it was decided to change the proposal site of this training from Florida Atlantic University to the University of South Florida.

SRTP has been asked by Mr. Morse to assist in the development of this program and a tentative meeting date has been set with officials of the University of South Florida. Some work has already been done by SRTP on a component of this program with Mrs. Minnie Fields of the Florida Migrant Education Office.

2. An article by the Project Director entitled, "The Tennessee Pilot Farm Management Projects" was published in the January, 1966, issue of the Employment Service Review.

3. Walton Sharp was instrumental in bringing together 20-40 students of the Louisiana State University Catholic Center with Mr. John Goodman, Director of the Medicare Alert Program. The students were thus able to render help where it was needed and, at the same time, became introduced to "Poverty Programs" in which they have an interest.

VII. SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

SRTP is extending itself to develop projects in all corners of the Southeast. During this reporting period projects have been funded in Louisiana and Alabama. One proposal has been approved for funding in Florida and additional workers were placed on OJT's in Georgia. One proposal has been submitted from Mississippi and another from that State is being reviewed by cooperating agencies before formal submission. In Tennessee, one project was submitted and projects in South Carolina and Georgia are in advanced stages of preparation.

The acceptance of our project by agency personnel seems to improve each month, and oftentimes SRTP has been asked or is recommended to participate in development of new programs. "Success breeds success" is an old adage, and with each additional funding, new requests are being made to SRTP by local sponsors for assistance in project development. Unfortunately our small staff of six is limited in the number of projects it can handle at one time. It is the staff's feeling that this healthy response to SRTP's activities is reflective of the need to more directly carry manpower projects to rural areas and to provide the "total service-package" indicated in this report.

The sponsors, SRTP (and marginal farm workers) were gratified by the funding of the two EOA III-B projects. However, the projects were funded later than expected which has resulted in considerable pressure being placed on the sponsor by applicants and potential staff interested in participating. The funding delays have also created problems of recruitment since few instructors can long afford unemployment and some trainees, who are temporarily employed during a short farm season, will miss the program which they heartily sought during the off-farm season. These funding delays were not encountered on the previously funded Reserve III-B which was submitted to the Migrant Division on December 3, 1965, and approved by OEO on January 24, 1966. Apparently a joint announcement is now needed from both OEO and the U. S. Department of Labor, and the ramifications of that joint announcement appear to have delayed the fundings of these latter projects.

SRTP's contract is due to expire on July 9. Given the fast pace of present project development, the new opportunities opening to us, and our desire to provide the maximum service possible, we are faced with the problem of maintaining the momentum of the Project, while at the same time providing for an orderly termination of our operation. The problem is compounded by the fact that SRTP does not wish to leave a number of potential sponsors dangling with half-completed developmental work.

NOTE: SRTP was given permission by Mr. Charles Gilmore to submit this report late because of the priority of project development in which it was engaged during the usual time allocated for drafting the Progress Report.

See Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund

June 24, 1966

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecropper's Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

I am very sorry that your schedule prevented a visit yesterday, but it was a pleasure talking with you on the phone.

Following our conversation, I did check again with Al Ulmer on the participation or lack of it of National Sharecropper's Fund people in the Mississippi and Florida conferences. To my surprise, I learned that in the case of Mississippi James Mays, Lewis Black and Art Emery were all invited and did attend. The Florida meeting was attended by both Eugene Hagans and Hubert Thomas. In the latter instance we arranged transportation. In the Florida meeting LaVert Taylor and Lewis Black were also invited but found it impossible to attend. In both instances, Jac Wasserman was invited and knew about the meeting and its participants well in advance. Besides these there were, of course, others in the meeting who were well aware of the services and contributions of the Sharecropper's Fund. I wonder if you had known this, or were in my position of not realizing how thoroughly the Sharecropper's Fund was involved. Frankly, I don't think we could do much better in cooperating than that.

While we may never overcome, we shall certainly cooperate!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See Mr. Shawcrofters Fund.

June 27, 1966

Mrs. Deborah M. Cole
Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Debbie:

Thought you might be interested in Al's report of a recent conference and a letter indicating one reaction to it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Rec'd 7/15/66

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July 12, 1966

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Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your June 24th letter.

I have known about the co-op conference which was held in Mississippi and I knew that several of our field people attended and participated. In fact Jac Wasserman had been scheduled to speak but was prevented from doing so at the last moment because of his wife's illness.

I did not know about the Florida meeting on co-op self-help housing, but I did learn later from Jac that he was aware of the meeting and had been invited. Here, the fault is between Jac and me. Our own communications broke down because had I known that Jac was not able to attend the Florida meeting on self-help housing, we could have arranged for another one of our people to be present. Again, there is no fault with SRC on this point.

The main points I raised with you on the telephone when I was in Atlanta, and when we unfortunately were not able to meet personally, had to do with the field trip of Co-op League people, Al Ulmer and a special Co-op League consultant, and the subsequent report prepared by the consultant. I realise of course that SRC had nothing to do with preparing the consultant's report, but the point I raised was that in none of this had there seemed to be an awareness of the role which NSF has played in the matter of developing rural cooperatives in the South over the past five or six years, through cooperative conferences and through specific help of our field men in actually helping local groups establish going cooperatives in South Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi. Actually the travelling team of Co-op League people did meet with our folks in those states, but it seemed to me that some mention of this should have been made in the final report and that this might have been done had Al Ulmer been aware of our earlier work in this field. I can't blame Al for not knowing since he is fairly new with the program and has spent the past several years overseas, and this is why I brought the matter to your attention. It seemed to me that perhaps he and Jac might have gotten together earlier in planning the field trip with the Co-op League people and in having them briefed about our work in this area. In no sense am I suggesting that there is any "competition" between NSF and SRC on these matters. My only

(more)

To: Mr. Paul Anthony July 12, 1966

desire is to set the records straight and to let the people who are working in this field know a little about what has been going on in recent years.

My final point raised with you over the telephone had to do with your report to the several foundations in requesting a renewal of their grant to the Rural Advancement Project to continue the work of Hubert Thomas in Georgia. Here you explained that the report was gotten up very hurriedly and you yourself commented that NSF's role in this three-way cooperative project did not get the attention it deserves. You will recall that you suggested that in future reports you would send a draft to me and Jac Wasserman so that we could add a paragraph or two from our close association with this work to round out the report. I know this procedure will help in strengthening the report.

I know that SRC will cooperate, and so will we, and altogether, we may yet someday overcome!

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB/vmg

P.S. You will be glad to know that we have just taken on a special Consultant on Project Development for the coming year. He is Walton H. Sharp who is just finishing up his year's work with our Southern Rural Training Project and is a real "pro" in helping indigenous groups in rural areas develop training and OEO proposals, in getting them approved and funded, and in getting the cooperation of all of the relevant government agencies. As soon as Walt comes to work with us, the middle of August, we will begin to plan an NSF/RAP workshop for field men in Atlanta at which Walt can spend two or three days with the men sharing his know-how and planning a schedule in the field with them to help them in developing projects with the local groups with whom they work.

File Rural Advancement Proj.

~~AW~~
~~ES~~

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administrative assistants

August 2, 1966

To: Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

From: Jac Wasserman, Field Director

Subject: Summary of Activities for April 1- June 30
Charged to Norman Fund Grant.

April 10-11: Participated and spoke at a meeting on self-help housing in Moultrie, Georgia, sponsored by NSF/RAP. This meeting was attended by leaders of Southwest Georgia counties.

April 12-15: Participated at CCAP Conference in Washington, D. C.. Also arranged and participated in a two-day conference with officials of USDA for delegation from Dallas County, Alabama, to discuss their grievances in connection with crop allotment diversion payments, and discriminatory practices of USDA agencies.

April 27-29: NSF/RAP staff meeting and workshops in Atlanta, Georgia.

May 31-June 2: Attended White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" in Washington, D. C.

June 21-23: NSF/RAP Staff Meeting and workshops in Atlanta, Georgia.

June 29-30: Participated with leaders from many Southwest Georgia Counties at meeting on Credit Unions and ASCS elections sponsored by NSF/RAP in Newton, Georgia (Baker County).

cc: Fay Bennett

File
Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund

September 6, 1966

Mr. Gary Piper
Special Assistant
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Piper:

Thank you very much for the final report of the Southern Rural Training Project.

I have read the summary and look forward to reading the entire report. Quite clearly the program has been a real success and all those connected with it, especially Miss Bennett, are to be congratulated.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

August 23, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed, for your information, is the final report of the Southern Rural Training Project (SRTP), which, as I think you know, closed up shop at the end of July.

At the beginning of the report is a one-page summary that allows a quick review of the record of SRTP over the past year. I hope that you will be free to read this summary now and the remainder of the report when you have an extra bit of time.

As you know, Fay Bennett is on vacation leave for the month of August. I am sure that when she returns to the office she would appreciate receiving any comments you may have on the past year's conduct of the project or on the contents of this final report for the Southern Rural Training Project.

Sincerely,

Gary Piper

Gary Piper
Special Assistant

GP/rgf
enc.

file — National Sharecroppers fund

September 26, 1966

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

Thank you very much for the information about your Atlanta meeting, and I would, indeed, enjoy having lunch with you. Unfortunately, during all of the days that you will be here I will be in your fair city of New York. Should something happen to change my plans, I shall look forward to seeing you during those days.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Recd 9/22/66

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September 21, 1966

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Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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•

FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You may know that a NSF/RAP workshop will take place at the Atlantan Hotel beginning Wednesday evening, October 5, and continuining through Friday afternoon, October 7. We hope that all of the RAP field representatives will attend as well as the state Councils executives who can spare the time. I have also written about this meeting to Ed Stanfield and Al Ulmer.

At this workshop we will have the special assistance of Walt Sharp, one of the ablest field representatives of our Southern Rural Training Project, who will be available to work with the field men in the various states on developing training programs with local groups. Also Mike Kenney, Field Coordinator for NSF, will also be available to help local groups develop programs to improve their economic well-being. This means that Jac Wasserman in our regional office can keep in closer touch with the RAP program in the several states and provide more guidance and assistance.

Perhaps we can have lunch together on October 5, 6, or 7 to talk things over. Will you be free on any of these days?

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:lm

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

INFORMATION LETTER

Number 31 September, 1966

I. Organizing Farm Workers in Wisconsin
II. Farm Worker Organizing in Texas
III. News Bulletins

I. ORGANIZING FARM WORKERS IN WISCONSIN

"Those people are the most neglected in the state. A friend of mine does volunteer work for them; he says that they've never seen a dentist; that when they break a bone it heals any old way, just so they can go back to picking in the fields."
--An unidentified man, attending a rally of migrant farm workers in Wisconsin.

On August 14, 1966 about twenty-five cucumber pickers set off across the plains of central Wisconsin from Wautoma to Madison to protest their living and working conditions to officials at the state capital eighty miles and four walking days away.

The group, called Obreros Unidos (United Workers) is affiliated with the National Farm Workers Association in California, and headed by Jesus (who pronounces his name Jesse) Salas. A Stevens Point State University student, Salas comes from a migrant family who settled in Wautoma seven years ago and opened a small cafe. He was graduated from high school in 1961 and worked summers in state-sponsored education and social programs for the migrants.

The Obreros Unidos are making simple demands: a $1.25 hourly state minimum wage (at present the state law does not cover farm workers); representation on the 28-member Governor's Commission on Migratory Labor; accident insurance; sanitary facilities; better housing.

Participants in the march (who represent the 4,000 migrants who come to Waushara County during the summer months) encountered no real hostility during their journey to Madison. "One man even stopped his car, said 'good luck' and handed us a ten dollar bill," said the Reverend Anthony Dolski of the Green Bay Catholic Diocese.

Ranks of the marchers swelled to about 150 on the final day, as sympathizers including clergy and nuns fell into line. They were greeted at the steps of the state capitol by government officials, among them Joseph C. Fagan, chairman of the Wisconsin State Industrial Commission, which reports on wage conditions and adjusts wage scales for women and minors. Fagan spoke warmly of the marchers, and attached considerable significance to their dignified protest: "The biggest challenge you gave us, Jesus Salas and your brave band, is to have a human concern. Apathy in moral standards, due to preoccupations in living, in making a dollar, is a growing problem. You gave us for only a brief week the chance to look at something much better than what we have had for some while. And that is the chance to care about someone who is trying very hard to care about his own people."

co-chairmen: Frank P. Graham • A. Philip Randolph • treasurer: John A. Mackay • assistant treasurer: Robert W. Hudgens • committee: Steve Allen • William L. Batt, Jr. • Louis H. Bean • Robert Coles • Helen Gahagan Douglas • Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy • L. H. Foster • Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn • Henry B. Herman • Msgr. George G. Higgins • Jacob M. Kaplan • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Isador Lubin • Archbishop Robert E. Lucey • Benjamin E. Mays • Bishop Reuben H. Mueller • Peter H. Odegard • Daniel H. Pollitt • Wilbour E. Saunders • Dore Schary • John M. Seabrook • Helen K. Shettle • Norman Thomas • Frederick S. Van Dyke • George Wiley • Josephine Wilkins • founding members: Herbert H. Lehman • Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt • Maurice T. Van Hecke • executive secretary: Fay Bennett • assistant executive secretary: Linda W. Lewis • field representative: Stanley Hamilton

An editorial in the Capital Times dated August 20, 1966 gives an excellent appraisal of the import of the march: "The migrants ask for a wage [$1.25] that barely breaks through the poverty line. Since Wisconsin prides itself on its social conscience and since exploitation of migrant labor is not a recent development, it seems reasonable to expect the state to pay its due bill with alacrity. The state, which accorded the march a proper dignity, will make a farce of that march if the migrants' petition is shunted, shuffled and referred. There should be no necessity for even the hint of the need for another march."

Wisconsin state law does not provide a minimum wage for farm workers at the present time. It is even doubtful whether the substandard wages set for women and minors by the State Industrial Commission (for women over 16, $1.10 an hour in areas with populations over 1,000; $1.00 in towns under 1,000; for minors 95 cents and 85 cents respectively) apply to migrant women and children.

Joseph Fagan said that if a case were found where men made less money than women working in the fields, his Commission could test the non-discriminatory clause of Wisconsin's fair employment practices law by questioning whether women could receive the minimum and not men. A series of hearings will be held this fall to determine public sentiment concerning a $1.25 hourly wage for migrant workers.

At least one large canning and processing company, Libby, McNeil and Libby, already guarantees its 400 field workers $1.25 an hour. Often Libby pays as much as half of this in deficiency wages to workers unable to pick $1.25 worth on the piecework basis used by other companies.

In answer to the inevitable grower charges that they are presently paying the desired wage, a University of Wisconsin graduate student, Mark Erenburg, who has been working on a wage study with migrants for three years, said that if the workers were making more than $1.25, the processors should not be opposed to paying them the minimum wage.

One of the demands has already been met: the migrants were enjoined to elect their own leaders to represent them on the Governor's Commission on Migratory Labor.

Increased interest has also been shown in improving housing conditions: Mr. Carl Kwasigroch of Middleton, Wisconsin, inspector for farm camps in four counties, said the housing code itself was deficient; it describes such details as screening and ventilation, but says nothing about walls and floors. "How can you possibly judge a dwelling unit?" he asked.

The march has ended, and no economic pressure or walkout is planned, but it took an 80 mile march on blistered feet to gain the state's ear.

II. FARM WORKER ORGANIZING IN TEXAS

> "I am doing it [marching] with my own heart, I have already wasted all my life in the fields. I don't want the new generation to struggle like I did...."
>
> --Reyes Alaniz (quoted from the Texas AFL-CIO News, August 20, 1966)

Starr County, Texas, scene of the most recent farm labor strike, is among the poorest in the nation: the average family income is $1,568, less than one third the

national average. The migrant worker is the worst paid, worst housed and most backward in the four-county Rio Grande Valley. The only person lower on the economic scale is the Mexican worker from across the border.

The strike began on June 1, when 300 workers, with no support, picketed at the gates of La Casita Farms. The strikers, who numbered over 1,000 in late June, voted to affiliate with the California-born National Farm Workers Association, which recently received an organizing charter from the AFL-CIO, a preliminary step toward full membership in the labor federation. (Its new name is the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.)

The farm workers in Texas have never organized before. They are asking only "a decent wage for a decent day's work." The workers are demanding $1.25 an hour; at present the wage rates range from 40 cents an hour to a top of 85 cents.

Unlike the year-long California grape strike (one of whose leaders, Eugene Nelson, is in great part responsible for the Texas movement), the Starr County strike has received the staunch support of local priests who have spoken out time and time again on behalf of their impoverished parishes.

Father Henry J. Casso, executive director of the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking in San Antonio, had this to say: "The scope of the strike is illustrated by the fact that some of the poorest people in San Antonio, those migrant farm workers who live around Mission Espada, have contributed food and clothing to the strikers." (More than 10,000 pounds of food was shipped to the strikers by the Bishop's Committee during the first three weeks of the strike.)

Bishop Medeiros of the Brownsville diocese commented upon the significance of the strike in terms of human dignity: "Human labor is not just another commodity on the market; it is something which comes from the human person and confers dignity upon the product of his work. It cannot be bought or sold like groceries or farming tools, because something of the human person is stamped on his work, and we cannot buy or sell human beings."

According to Newsweek Magazine (September 12, 1966), "Neither the march nor its clerical support would be possible without the hard-headed leadership of San Antonio's Catholic Archbishop Robert Emmet Lucey, 75, who likes to recall that his father was a union man. When the strikers recently marched into Lucey's cathedral to offer a basket of melons and a bushel of cotton to God, he told the crowded church: 'We endorse and approve your demand for an hourly wage of $1.25....This objective of yours is a step in the right direction.'"

On July 4, a small group of the strikers began the 387 mile trek to Austin, Texas, to present their grievances to the Governor, and to ask him to call a special session of the state legislature to enact a $1.25 minimum wage law. Among the leaders of the march were Eugene Nelson, former picket captain of the Delano grape strike; Houston Baptist minister James L. Navarro; Houston priest,Rev. Antonio Gonzales; and San Antonio priest,Rev. Sherrill Smith. According to a report in the New York Times only about twenty-five marchers made the entire trip. Three of these were more than seventy years old, and one was eighty-three. Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, joined the marchers for an afternoon. The trip was made without incident; in several cities the mayors and city officials turned out to greet the marchers and in some cases offered their political support.

During most of their two months on the road the marchers were accompanied by a small grey burro with $1.25 painted in pink on his side.

Governor Connally paid a surprise visit to the demonstrators en route, and told them he would neither call a special legislative session nor be on hand to meet with them in Austin. Further, he urged that the rally planned in Austin be cancelled because marchers in other parts of the nation had caused "riots, bloodshed, loss of life and property." Father Sherrill Smith called the Governor's token visit "a slap in the face, a pat on the head, the great white father type of thing."

As the small troop marched through downtown Austin, Protestant and Catholic clergy, labor union officials, Negroes representing Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and local citizenry swelled the ranks to some 4,000 strong.

Hero of the two and a half hour rally on the Texas State Capitol steps, though not present, was New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Over 8,000 people shouted "Viva Kennedy" when a telegram from him was read to the crowd. At one point the participants chanted "We want Kennedy." The liberal Senator has increasingly articulated the cause of the farm worker in Congress and to the nation. He was present at Senate hearings held in Delano, California, and his reply to a charge that it would be impossible to devise a system of collective bargaining for farm workers has often been quoted: "If we can put a man on the moon by the end of the 1960's, it seems we should be able to work out such a simple problem for farm workers after thirty years of talking about it."

Thirty labor union leaders were present, and pledged continued support for efforts to organize the two million farm laborers in Texas. Nicholas Zonarich, head of organizing for the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, said: "For the first time the farm workers have been united into the house of labor. We shall support you."

III. NEWS BULLETINS

1. The Congress finally approved amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act assuring for the first time some 400,000 farm workers (those who labor on farms hiring at least 500 man days of work during a calendar quarter) a $1.00 hourly minimum wage beginning February 1, 1967. The minimum rises to $1.15 in 1968 and stops at $1.30 in 1969. Sugar cane workers are included in the coverage, but local, temporary workers are not.

Senator Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) led a floor fight to include a provision regulating child labor in agriculture; although it was defeated, the final bill does contain a provision prohibiting the employment of children under 16 in "particularly hazardous" agricultural occupations.

While the bill is certainly an encouraging beginning in the efforts to bring farm workers into the mainstream of American life, it is important to realize the narrow scope of coverage: in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, for example, where extreme poverty is the lot of nearly every worker, the federal minimum will not have any effect, for there are very few farms large enough to come within the provisions of the law.

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2. The year-long strike of some 2,000 grape pickers in Delano, California, directed first at Schenley Industries and more recently at the DiGiorgio Corporation, has been a struggle for employer recognition of two farm unions. In April, Schenley Industries agreed to recognize and bargain with one of the unions, the former National Farm Workers Association, an independent grass-roots organization headed by Cesar Chavez. A satisfactory contract was signed several weeks later.

By mid-summer the DiGiorgio Corporation, largest grape ranch in the area, had agreed to hold an election to determine which union, if any, the pickers preferred. The issue was further complicated when the Teamsters Union saw a chance to take advantage of the unionizing efforts, and began signing up workers in the DiGiorgio fields. The election was planned for August 30, to be run by the American Arbitration Association.

It was feared that since the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, and the National Farm Workers Association would be listed separately on the ballot along with the Teamsters, the three-way ballot might lead to a Teamster victory. On August 22, the two farm unions merged into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO; the new union has received its organizing charter, a preliminary step toward full membership in the labor federation.

1,343 farm workers cast their ballots a week later at the DiGiorgio ranches, and only 19 rejected union representation. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the merged union, as opposed to the Teamsters.

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3. Oscar Gonzalez, head of an independent farm union in California, called a strike in the tomato fields of Albert Aguilar in the Santa Clara Valley on August 26. It is the first farm worker strike in the history of the valley.

According to the United Farm Workers Union, Aguilar laid off 200 domestic pickers in anticipation of the arrival of Mexican braceros later that week. Said Gonzalez: "We're going to make them obey the criteria for braceros." (In order to bring in Mexicans, a grower must first pay at least $1.40 an hour to domestics; if there is a labor shortage even at this wage rate, the grower can apply for foreign workers.) Gonzalez charged that Aguilar is paying only $2.50 a day to pickers.

One effect of the strike is that braceros may not be allowed in the fields if investigators from the state determine that the strike is valid.

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4. According to the Los Angeles Times "California's gross farm income will soar to an all time high of more than $3.8 billion this year despite the dramatic and far-reaching changes made in the farm labor work force."

See Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund

December 28, 1966

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

In response to your letter about our bill for copying of $89.80, we have an arrangement as a convenience with a number of agencies -- most though not all in this building -- that we will do copying for them at cost. This is actually less than cost since the billing does not reflect equipment rental and maintenance, nor staff time spent in the work.

The total costs of this courtesy to small agencies, which cannot afford adequate copying equipment, runs to several thousand dollars a year; an amount which SRC could not possibly absorb.

If NSF is unable to meet this expense, we can and will absorb it. However, in fairness to the other small agencies who do reimburse us for part of this service, and to avoide a precedent

which we cannot afford, it will be necessary for us to discontinue this service to NSF in the future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Jac Wasserman
Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander, SRC Secretary-Treasurer
SRC Xerox Operator

File

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

December 27, 1966

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We have received a bill from SRC for $89.80 for xeroxing copies of material in connection with our work in the southern region and in helping local groups working under RAP.

As you know, NSF bears the major responsibility for financing the regional office in Atlanta, and covers the salaries and travel expenses of Jac Wasserman and Mike Kenney who spend a great deal of their time in the field on our joint RAP program and in giving direction to the field men and local groups.

I wonder therefore whether it might be possible for the SRC to absorb the cost of our use of your xerox machine? This would be a great help to us right now when we are at a low ebb in funds and have yet to receive major contributions to our newly established tax-exempt Rural Advancement Fund.

With best wishes for a Happy New Year,

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB/vmg

c.c. Jac Wasserman

File
Nat'l. Sharecroppers Fund

February 24, 1967

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

Thank you very much for the Randolph testimony and the other interesting material. I am certainly in agreement with you that we do need a massive program to meet what is in fact a crisis. Certainly the work and objectives of NSF were never more needed.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

February 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am sure you will be interested in reading the enclosed testimony presented by Mr. A. Philip Randolph before the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty.

Also enclosed are recent clips from The New York Times, in case you missed them, showing the growing desperation of sharecroppers and tenant farmers who are being driven from the land.

I hope you will note especially in Randolph's testimony the section beginning on page 8 showing what can be done and calling for a crash and massive program to meet the needs of the rural poor.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:iwp
Enclosures

P.S.: This morning's Times has a front page story telling about the desperation in Mississippi counties and other southern states because the food stamp plan has been substituted for free surplus commodities. Note our Appendix "B" in Randolph's testimony which I am enclosing that gives the figures for eight counties in Mississippi.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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June 1, 1967

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I hear you have been on vacation and hope you get back to "the land of the free" before all hell breaks loose in the Middle East.

I especially hope you will be back in Atlanta during the coming week, because I shall be there on June 6 and 7 to attend part of the first week's training session of our NSF/OEO Project, and I would like very much to see you. I hope that we can have lunch together on one of those days.

It is a long time since we have talked about the Rural Advancement Project and where we go from here. There has been new interest expressed in having rural field representatives in Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina and Tennessee, and as Ed Stanfield will tell you, we have been having some correspondence with Elijah Coleman of the Arkansas Council concerning the possibility of our jointly sponsoring a rural field person in that state.

Since you are a reader, I enclose a reprint from the Employment Service Review which tells about the Project Seesaw (Special Extension Education for Secretarial and Agricultural Workers) developed through our Southern Rural Training Project.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:iwp
Enclosure

Reprint No. 10
April 1967

A Beginning for the

Rural Disadvantaged in Louisiana

PROJECT SEESAW

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR: W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

While some employers provide their own classrooms and machine shop training facilities, the first 12 weeks of tool and die apprenticeship usually take place in high schools or vocational schools.

A Beginning for the Rural Disadvantaged in Louisiana

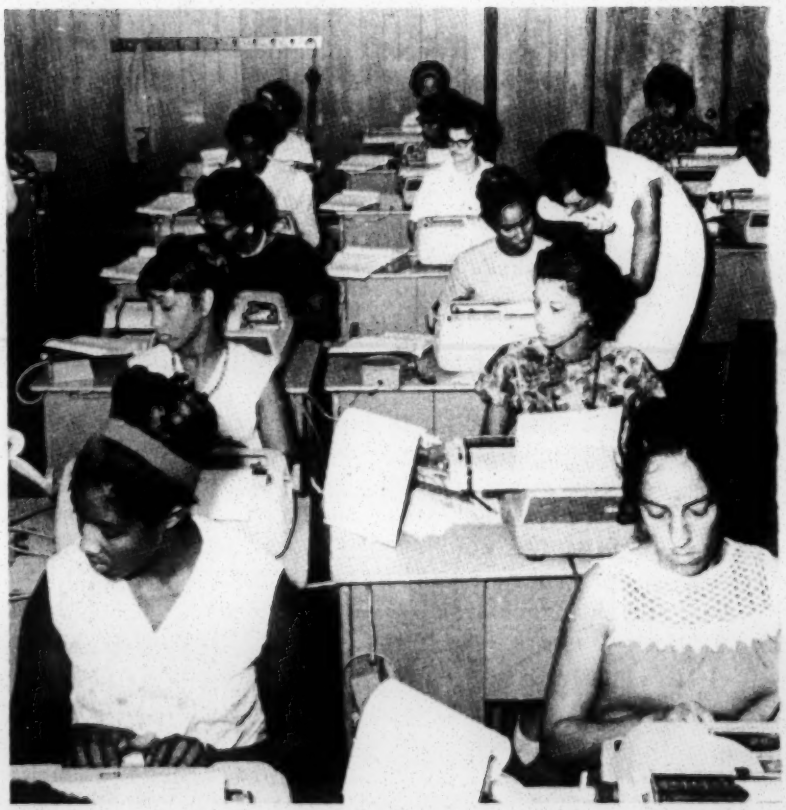
Project Seesaw

"This is the first time I've ever seen my name on a paycheck. It's so beautiful I'd like to frame it. Now I'm a taxpayer." These were the proud words of a 25-year-old Negro woman whose life has changed radically. Abandoned by her husband and supporting four small children on welfare, she could not even get a job as a domestic, because of the labor surplus in her small Louisiana town. Now, she commutes 90 miles a day in her newly-bought Volkswagen to her secretarial job at Tulane University in New Orleans.

A 47-year-old Negro man who had known nothing but a life of part-time work as a carpenter or in the sugarcane fields repeats over and over, "This is the first time I've had a steady job in my whole life."

These are two of the 150 disadvantaged persons who enrolled in Special Extension Education for Secretarial and Agricultural Workers (SEESAW), an MDTA training program sponsored by the Institute of Human Relations at Loyola University in New Orleans.

The experimental and demonstration project was designed to provide men and women of four isolated rural parishes in southern Louisiana with marketable job skills, basic education, and personal development guidance to prepare them to get and hold decent jobs.



The force behind Project SEESAW is Father Louis Twomey, the dynamic director of the Institute and a member of the National Manpower Advisory Committee.

Father Twomey firmly believes that "the University should be involved in community problems. Something—not enough—but something is being done in the cities," he says, "but virtually nothing is being done in the rural areas." He believes that these disadvantaged must be sought out and helped to gain employment.

Federally funded and integrated, the project was a breakthrough for conservative St. Tammany, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist parishes. Training was divided among 3 centers, 2 for training 90 women in secretarial skills and the other for training 60 men in welding and mechanical skills. At all centers, training lasted for 6 months and included basic education and classes in personal development and job information.

Most of the women had had some high school education, and some had graduated. But, this meant little as far as skills, because the schools are generally poor, especially for the Negroes. The men had about a fifth grade level of education and required more basic education than the women.

An age limit of 30 was set for the secretarial training, but exceptions were made for several older women who were anxious to enroll. Ambition was not centered in any one age group, for the men ranged in age from 16 to 66. The older men enrolled mainly because of a burning desire to learn to read and write.

Of the 150 who were accepted for training, 134 graduated. This is a remarkable record considering that for some trainees coming to school meant getting up before 6 a.m., coming as far as 60 miles, following a grueling schedule of classes from 8 a.m. till 4 or 5 p.m., and not getting back to their families until about 8 p.m. However, one of the training centers was purposely located in a suburb of New Orleans to force the women to get into the habit of commuting from their outlying communities. For some, the trip to school was the longest they had ever taken. One girl wrote in an essay during the first week of class, "My trip on the river road to the airline (highway) is an experience I shall never forget because it is the most drive I have ever did." The distance is about 30 miles.

One center which had enrolled only 30 girls had an extremely close-knit group. The women kept up each other's morale, and the center proudly graduated all 30—setting an unofficial record for no dropouts from a training program.

About 80 graduates of those actively seeking work were placed in jobs by 3 months after training ended at the first center, a month after it ended at the second, and a couple weeks after the third closed. In the last center, half of the 56 secretarial graduates had jobs only 2 weeks after they completed training and at a time when job openings are normally scarce. The majority had not expected to go to work until the beginning of 1967.

Many of those working are receiving pay beyond their wildest dreams. The secretaries are averaging more than $300 a month, and some are receiving nearly $470 a month. An example of the women whose dreams have come true is a young Negro girl in her twenties who had dropped out of school in the 10th grade to help support her younger brothers and sisters. Working as a maid, she had received at most $80 a month. After 6 months of training, she is a receptionist at Boeing and getting $410 a month.

The men, most of whom had known only seasonal work in the sugarcane industry for about 90 cents an hour, are getting a median of $2 an hour, and some are receiving as much as $2.50 an hour.

In addition to the personal benefits of the training, the project shook the foundations of some hardboiled attitudes. Located in vacant stores, a union hall, an education building of a white Methodist church, the integrated staff and trainees entered right into the middle of town activity and unassumingly went about their business. Although Negroes were in the majority among enrollees, one center achieved a nearly 50–50 racial balance.

It is a tribute to the project's success and to the communities that there were no bad incidents, even though one center, a former drugstore, had two sides of plate glass windows which almost invited rock throwers. The only show of opposition was a letter to the editor of one small town newspaper.

The writer complained that the program was taking away the fine ladies' maids and training them to work for the Government bureaucracy in Washington! However, a reply from the project's staff was also printed, and no further trouble ensued.

Townspeople came not only to accept the program but almost to resent the group's "quitting" when the training period ended. In one town, the head of the Chamber of Commerce became the program's staunchest supporter and hired one of the graduates as his personal secretary. People are already looking to the future. When one staff worker parked her car on the wrong side of the street, the local policeman spied her. "Lady," he said, "that'll be a fifty cent fine, and by the way, when is the next project going to start? My wife is interested."

The trainees got along quite well among themselves and formed strong friendships. The men formed on their own a club which met every 2 weeks to work out problems such as sinking morale. Even though school is over, the club is still going strong.

A superior staff was certainly a major reason for the program's success. In addition to center supervisors and teachers, each center had

counselors and counselor aides, who ironed out individual and group problems. Each trainee was scheduled for an individual counseling session about every 10 days, and group sessions were held frequently. Besides keeping up morale and instilling self-confidence, the counselors visited homes of trainees who threatened to drop out, acted as marriage counselors, and generally became trusted confessors. One "water-logged" counselor reports countless trips to the drinking fountain, so that trainees fearful of coming to her office could approach her on a more informal basis.

In the men's center, a woman counselor organized a group of the men's wives which met regularly for films and discussions on such things as early marriage, personal health, and sewing instruction.

The number of graduates placed in jobs is remarkable for an area where prejudice in hiring is still very real and where the Employment Service does not exist. The staff works tirelessly phoning and visiting employers and arranging job interviews. Some employers have become very personally caught up in the project and have devoted much time to interviewing and setting up contacts with other employers.

In some cases, secretaries who have been placed are the first Negroes in their offices. Generally, employers describe the graduates they have hired as "working beautifully." They are competent, self-assured, and highly motivated.

Placement is a mammoth task in some cases. For example, among 48 men graduates, only about 5 have phones and about 8 have cars that run. It is sometimes almost impossible to contact those who live in isolated areas up the Mississippi River about job possibilities.

However, an intensive followup program is helping the staff keep in

Safety precautions are stressed during the training course.

Robert Heite, instructor, explains a practical application.

touch with graduates. Those who have not been placed are asked to come in to the center about once a week for counseling. The girls can brush up on their typing. Also, for 3 months after a trainee starts working, the staff keeps in touch through phone calls, and personal visits, and group meetings.

The key to community acceptance of the new project was community involvement from the beginning. Two centers had formal Community Advisory Boards of 18 to 25 people who met to discuss the project and offer advice. The members represented a cross-section of the community—ministers, teachers, businessmen, laborers. In all three areas, the staff sought advice and help from the townspeople and won their confidence and support. Everyone from the sheriff to the shoeshine man became a local public relations worker.

Persons such as the local Negro minister were instrumental in spreading the word about the project among people for whom the written word represents a society which rejects them and promises of help are only made to be broken.

In numbers, Project SEESAW made only a small dent among the rural disadvantaged of four Louisiana parishes. But, it was a *success*. An integrated, federally funded training project was a success.

In several Louisiana towns, the most common comment these days is "When does the next project start?" Momentum has picked up. People are aroused. A man who owns half of one town has generously offered one of his vacant buildings for the next project, and the exterminating man wants to know why everybody "quit" after only 6 months. Friends and relatives are marveling over Joe's and Mabel's success after they enrolled in "that program." An impression has been made. The ball is rolling.

By Phyllis M. Estep
Office of Information,
Publications and Reports
U.S. Department of Labor

Reprinted from
EMPLOYMENT SERVICE REVIEW
March-April 1967
U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration
Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Employment Service

WHERE TO GET MORE INFORMATION

Copies of this publication or additional information on manpower programs and activities may be obtained from the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration in Washington, D.C. Publications on manpower are also available from the Department's Regional Information Offices at the addresses listed below.

John F. Kennedy Building, Boston, Massachusetts 02203
341 Ninth Avenue, New York, New York 10001
Wolf Avenue and Commerce Street, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania 17201
Ninth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107
1371 Peachtree Street, NE., Atlanta, Georgia 30309
51 SW. First Avenue, Miami, Florida 33130
801 Broad Street, Nashville Tennessee 37203
1365 Ontario Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44114
219 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60604
911 Walnut Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64106
411 North Akard Street, Dallas, Texas 75201
730 17th Street, Denver, Colorado 80202
300 North Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, California 90012
450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California 94102
506 Second Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98104

See - Natl. Sharecroppers Fund

ES — lets discuss

jac wasserman 39 EAST DRIVE, N.E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30305
TELEPHONE 404/237-1968

file

July 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

After serving almost five years first as Project Director and more recently as Field Director of the National Sharecroppers Fund, I have resigned my job in order to have greater freedom to work on specific projects.

On and after August 1st, 1967, I will be available to work as an independent consultant to foundations, agencies, and local groups on projects involving community organization and development, and on all types of economic and related programs: cooperatives and credit unions; farm programs; housing; social welfare services; consumer education and action; etc.

For some fifteen years prior to my association with NSF, I worked as a marketing consultant specializing in market research and analysis, feasibility studies, and new product development. During the past 25 years, I have also been active as an advisor and volunteer worker to various organizations concerned with improving the social and economic conditions of the poor.

I have appreciated my association with you during the years that I have been with NSF. The friendship and cooperation of all the dedicated people with whom I have worked have weighed heavily in my decision to remain and work in the South, and I look forward to the opportunity of working with you again in the future.

Please note my new address on your records and continue to send me news of your activities, publications, and any other information which may be helpful to me in my new endeavor.

Sincerely,

Jac

JW:ls

Jac Wasserman

525-7975 file

Natl. Shippers/Growers Assn. Inc.

jac wasserman 39 EAST DRIVE, N.E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30305
TELEPHONE 404/237-1968

call as soon as you have read this

July 20, 1967

Memorandum

To: Merlin Miller

From: Jac Wasserman

I regret that prior commitments prevent me from giving you any kind of detailed outline of what I think can be accomplished in a short-term (maximum 3 months) marketing survey with the deadline you gave me. I worked until 3 A.M. last night in an effort to finish off some work that had to be ready this morning and only have an hour or so to dictate this memorandum in time for you to take it with you to the meeting in Jackson.

Following are some very tentative thoughts of areas that I think can be profitably explored during a three-month period.

Problem:

a. To find reliable outlets that would be willingto enter into contracts with member cooperatives of the Federation (such factors as transportation costs, packaging, refrigeration, etc. will be considered in each case).

b. To determine which of the vegetables for which contracts can be obtained offer the farmer-producer the highest financial yield per acre.

c. To determine which of the higher yielding crops are best suited to the particular farmer cooperative and to then have each cooperative decide which crops they choose to grow. The information that I hope to develop would enable each cooperative to decide, depending on its resources (farm equipment and machinery, packing sheds, storage facilities, etc.), whether they would be better off concentrating on one, two or more crops. Their experience with growing particular crops and the technical assistance they will need will also have to be weighed in making their decision.

d. I also hope to be able to provide complete information on the market for feeder pigs and to look into the possibility of the cooperative leasing grazing land for cattle,

as well as the economic feasibility for such a project.

e. To the extent possible, I will also try to evaluate the present operation of the farmer cooperatives and to make recommendations for strengthening their organizations .

I would be able to devote up to twelve weeks to this project between August 15 - December 15. I am leaving about one month free during this period for consultation on other projects. Following is what I estimate the budget would be for this project:

Consultant fee - 12 weeks x $300.00	$3600.00
Per Diem - 40 days x $16	640.00 (maximum)
Travel	1360.00
Secretarial and misc.	400.00
	$5000.00

See Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund

November 21, 1967

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

Vera Rony has shared with us your recent letter to her concerning reprints of her NEW SOUTH article. We are pleased to send you under separate cover 50 copies. If you have need of others we will strain on the best price possible.

Hope all is going well.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

November 21, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mailroom

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send 50 copies of the reprint from NEW SOUTH of Miss Vera Rony's article to:

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Label is attached.

PA/km
Enc.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary
LEONARD SMITH
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

November 14, 1967

Miss Vera Rony
18 Avery Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Vera:

I have been out of the office more than in it during the last month, and I am way over my head. We are just swamped in this office. That is one reason your letter to the Board on Blue Ridge has not gone out, norethe minutes of the last Board meeting.

Frankly, because we are short-handed here with all kinds of action "musts" you might want to go ahead and circulate the corrected copy of your article from New South to your personal friends on the Board. On the other hand if you will send us copies of your New South article, we can send it to our Board and I think we can get it out some time during the next week. Let me know whether you want us to do this, and if so do send along copies of the reprint.

We really would like to order a supply of your article to send to students and friends who ask for this kind of background material. Are the reprints available in quantity from New South, and if so what is the cost?

We have seen the November Esquire! That is quite a story by Bill Worthy. Since he mentioned us I am glad it was in the middle and not at the top or bottom of his list.

Do you have any plans for coming to New York over the holidays? If so, let me know, and I will be glad to turn over the keys to our little apartment on East 18th Street to you.

Best,

Fay

file

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

See

December 7, 1967

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary
LEONARD SMITH
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for sending us 50 copies of the Vera Rony article which appeared in New South. These have arrived and we shall send a copy to each Board member as well as to students and others who write to us for such information. I appreciate your making these copies available to us without cost and also appreciate your offer to send us others at a reasonable price. What would we do without you!

Did you happen to see the series of articles which appeared in the New York Daily News recently on some of the co-ops and other developments in the South? We met with the writer, Phil Santora, and provided him with a great deal of information before he started the series. Enclosed is a copy. If you want more, let us know and we will send them gratis. One favor deserves another.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett,
Executive Secretary

FB:w
Encl.

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Executive Secretary

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RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND
OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 GRamercy 3-0284

File Nat'l. Sharecroppers Fund

May 2, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Fellow Participants in the Migration Symposium

FROM: Fay Bennett, Executive Director

Enclosed is a summary of figures we have on Agriculture Department payments to corporate farmers in excess of $500,000 each. We have a much longer list of agri-businessmen receiving in excess of $100,000, and an even longer list of those receiving between $50,000 and $100,000. Together, these total $121,835,441. You will note that four huge enterprises in California received in excess of a million dollars, as well as one in Hawaii.

I have written to Senator John J. Williams asking for figures showing payments to small farmers by way of contrast, and also to learn whether figures for 1967 are available. Several years ago, Senator John J. Williams gave us data on farm payments showing that while a number of corporate growers received in excess of $100,000 apiece, the vast majority of family farmers received an average of only $60.00 apiece. We hope to get comparable figures which are more up to date. When these come in, I will send you a summary.

I think you will also be interested in the enclosed statement I presented to the National Commission on Food and Fiber. This statement enunciates some of the basic problems and outlines what we consider to be a total program for eliminating rural poverty and its relation to the national welfare.

FB:w
Encl.

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE DEDUCTIBLE FOR U.S. INCOME TAX PURPOSES

For release upon delivery
in the United States Senate

JUN 29 1967

Statement of
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, U.S.S.

Mr. President, for the past several years the Administration has been giving lip service to a revision of our farm program whereby it would curtail the large subsidy payments which are being made to the corporate type of farmers.

Notwithstanding these fine phrases, however, each time that the proposal has been before the Congress to limit these subsidy payments not only was the Administration silent but it actually opposed the amendment which would place a limitation on the amount which could be paid to any one individual and which would therefore limit these programs to the benefit of the bona fide farmers.

As a result the size of the cash payments for land diversion has continuously expanded.

These subsidy payments to which we are referring represent payments under the soil bank and acreage diversion programs, etc.; that is, they are direct cash payments and are in addition to and not a part of any subsidy which the government may be making under the price support program to these same individuals.

In 1966 there were 5 farming operations which received a direct government subsidy in excess of $1 million each.

In 1966 there were 11 farming operations which received direct cash subsidies in excess of $500,000 but less than $1 million.

In 1966 there were 258 individuals or corporations operating as farmers who received direct cash payments of between $100,000 and $500,000.

In 1966 there were 936 so-called farming operations which received direct cash subsidies of between $50,000 and $100,000.

In 1966 there were 3939 individuals who received between $25,000 and $50,000 each.

A complete listing of all those who received in excess of $50,000 will be incorporated in the Record as a part of my remarks; however, I call attention to just a few of the more interesting situations.

The Department of Agriculture has classified two state penitentiaries as farmers, thereby making them eligible for direct subsidy payments. The Louisiana State Penitentiary collected a cash subsidy of $92,135 while the Arkansas State Penitentiary collected $122,090 as incentives to curtail their farming operations.

The State of Montana is classified as a farmer, and it collected $337,345 to curtail its farming operations.

The Texas Department of Correction is classified as a farmer needing government assistance, and it was declared eligible for direct cash payments totaling $288,911.

The State of Washington is another "western farmer" which collected $125,552 to curtail its farming operations.

Based upon these large payments it is obvious that the small family-type farmer is not the real beneficiary of our present farm program, but rather the Government through these large payments is in reality subsidizing an expansion of the corporate-type of farming operation.

The time is long past due when this program should be curtailed and these payments restricted to an amount not to exceed $10,000 for any one farming operation.

At this point I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Record a list of the 1966 payments of $50,000 and over under the various farm programs.

INSERTION

INSERTION

1966 PAYMENTS OF $1,000,000 AND OVER UNDER ASCS PROGRAMS
(excluding price support loans)

CALIFORNIA:			
Griffen, Inc.	Box 7, Huron	(Fresno Co.)	$2,397,073
South Lake Farms	P.O. Box 307, Five Points	(")	1,468,696
J. G. Boswell Co.	P.O. Box 877 Corcoran	(Kings Co.)	2,807,633
Salyer Land Co.	P.O. Box 488 Corcoran	(")	1,014,860
			7,688,262
HAWAII:			
Haw'n Commercial & Sugar Co.	Box 3440, Honolulu	(State Off.)	1,236,355
			1,236.55 *

7,8 11,917.

1966 PAYMENTS OF $500,000 to $999,999 UNDER ASCS PROGRAMS
(excluding price support loans)

ARIZONA			
Farmers Inv. Co.	Box 128, Agoila	(Maricopa Co.)	$747,547
Youngker Farms	Box 398, Buckeye	(")	508,988
			1,256,535
CALIFORNIA:			
Vista Del Lland	37423 W.Belmont, Firebaugh	(Fresno Co.)	622,840
Boston Ranch Co.	Star Rt.2, Box 100, Lemoore	(")	506,061
Kern Co. Land Co.	Box 380, Bakersfield	(Kern Co.)	652,057
Westlake Farms	23311 Newton Ave., Stratford	(Kings Co.)	622,569
			2,403,527
FLORIDA:			
South Puerto Rico Sugar Co.	Box 86, So. Bay	(Palm Beach Co.)	576,433
			576,433
HAWAII:			
Lihue Plantation Co., Ltd.	Box 3230, Honolulu	(State Off.)	577,426
Oahu Sugar Co.	Box 3230, Honolulu	(")	526,171
Waialua Agricultural Co.,Ltd.	Box 2990, Honolulu	(")	516,520
			1,620,117
PUERTO RICO:			
Luce & Company	Box 1972, Aguirre	(Mayaquez Co.)	518,224
			518,224

11,291,433

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

Statement Presented to
National Commission on Food and Fiber
Atlanta, Georgia, November 9, 1966
by Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund

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executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

In the recent past, food and fiber policy of the United States has been determined, for the most part, by a desire to control past and potential surpluses, and to keep farm income from the kind of decline that uncontrolled production appeared to involve.

But within the past two years, that kind of outlook (with which the National Sharecroppers Fund has always had some basic disagreement) has become untenable and a different objective must be substituted. The change has been caused largely by the discovery of two long-standing but unrecognized factors--world and domestic need for greater, rather than lesser, production.

The depletion of the huge granaries of both the United States and Canada to meet crucial food shortages in India and other underdeveloped areas as well as in Communist bloc countries focused public attention on the situation. A New York Times editorial of October 14 summarized the annual report of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the UN:

"Population is now outstripping food production, particularly in the developing areas. In the 1965-66 harvest year, the world's population jumped by seventy million while total food production was at a standstill. And in Latin America and Asia, per capita production actually fell back by 4 or 5 per cent, which means that millions are now living on the very edge of starvation." The United States and other exporting countries cannot forever make up the deficit in the face of rising population, but they must bear a very large share in the years during which production is being modernized elsewhere.

The second new insight which has come forth recently is an indirect result of the war on poverty, which has spurred the realization that underconsumption, rather than overproduction, is a problem in the United States as well. In both cases, need obviously encompasses more than grain for bare survival.

There is thus a real interrelationship between food and fiber policy and the problems of rural poverty. Past policy of planned scarcity was a powerful factor in driving hundreds of thousands of farmers out of farming and reducing others to marginal existence; and the poverty (and underconsumption) of farmers and other rural people was a major contributing cause for the belief that we had an overproduction problem.

Domestic and World Needs are Growing

Needs in the United States are, of course, limited by consumer capacity to buy. It is assumed that we are seriously committed to the war against poverty, and that therefore the income levels of the poor will be rising continuously. The 35 million of our people who live in poverty do not have adequate diets. About a third of them are children, and their need for clothing and other basically farm products, as well as food, is not only great but spiraling. Thus even if these percentages or estimates are faulted, their direction is surely correct:

> It has been estimated in studies by the Conference on Economic Progress that, taking into account both needed improvement in diet and population growth, comparing 1975 with 1964, domestic requirements for increased farm products require that
>
> meat utilization should rise 27 per cent
> dairy products, 25 per cent
> fruits, 53 per cent
> vegetables, 37 per cent
> potatoes, 20 per cent
> wheat, 8 per cent
> cotton, 21 per cent.
>
> When desirable* export goals are combined with these domestic needs, the production goals for 1975 are suggested, in contrast with 1964, as:
>
> red meat, 35 per cent higher
> dairy products, 46 per cent higher
> fruits, 51 per cent higher
> vegetables, 37 per cent higher
> food fats and oils, 49 per cent higher
> wheat, 31 per cent higher
> corn, 56 per cent higher
> cotton, 85 per cent higher.

Our problem is to so organize food and fiber policy that this essential expansion does not simply mean that the giants grow larger and the corporation profits fatter, but that the small farmers share in the production, attaining viability and an ever increasing portion of the American abundance they have done so much to create.

The Rural Poor

Half of all the poverty in the United States is in rural areas. The rural poor include an estimated 17.4 million people, 16 million of them living in families. Of these, some 10 million are nonfarm residents and 6 million live on farms. Of the 1.6 million unrelated individuals, 1.4 million are nonfarm residents and 200,000 live on farms. (Nonfarm people are included because many of them have been farm people and would like to be farm people again; and because their destitution contributes to the problems of the farming area as well.)

---

*Not including the Communist bloc, and not assuming that the whole burden of world shortages can be made up by the United States.

Four general groups can be distinguished among the rural poor, although they overlap:

1) The aged. More than one million poor rural families are headed by persons 65 years of age or older; in the South, one out of every four low-income families is headed by such an older person. For them, the need is for a guaranteed annual income, so that they may live out their lives in comfort and dignity. Raising their income level will, of course, also help to improve the economic level of the community.

2) The four million poor Negroes in rural areas. Although some of them belong equally in other categories, they have as a group, young and old alike, commercial and noncommercial farmers, suffered from the discriminatory policies of the Department of Agriculture. While white farmers were aided by federal loans and technical assistance to survive, become self-sufficient, and expand, their Negro neighbors were not.

3) The twelve million poor whites in rural areas. Many of these are in states outside the specialized knowledge of the National Sharecroppers Fund. Some are still sharecroppers and tenants in circumstances and deprivation quite close to that of the Negro rural poor. Positive initiative on the part of federal agencies to see that they know about the help which is available, but which has gone disproportionately to the larger farmers, is needed. To a greater extent than the Negro rural poor, however, they live in areas which must be redeveloped as a whole, rather than simply in terms of individual farmers. Farming may still be an economic alternative, but it will probably be specialized farming, such as timber.

4) Farm workers, including migrants, are chronically poor, but are the subject of a later session of this Commission and therefore will not be dealt with in detail here. It should, however, be noted that since this discussion does include the harvesting of labor intensive crops, such as citrus, which still require seasonal hired labor, both the supply and the condition of farm workers -- logically a part of the discussion.

The rural poor are poor not only in terms of the fact that their incomes fall below $3,000 a year (many, of course, below $1,000).

Rural people are poorer than urban people in living standards and in community services. They have worse housing; one third of it is dilapidated, in need of repair. There are fewer hospitals and doctors, less access to any medical services. Educational facilities are fewer, and their quality is lower than elsewhere. The educational level of the family head is often low. An illustrative breakdown of rural residents with 8 years of schooling or less is:

rural nonfarm white, 44.5%; nonwhite, 75.5%;
rural farm white, 52.4%; nonwhite, 83.6%.

With the decline of the small farmer, small communities have declined too, with stores and banks going out of business, so that depressed areas result, and, in turn, have less to offer the remaining residents.

But, despite the fact that poverty is more prevalent and more likely to be self-perpetuating in the rural areas, these areas, and their people, actually receive

less federal assistance--even from the antipoverty programs--than do the urban areas. Efforts are now being made to redress the balance, but as of January 1, 1966, South Carolina had requested only 9 per cent of its authorized quota for fiscal 1966; North Carolina, 33 per cent; Alabama, 39 per cent; Arkansas, 44 per cent; Louisiana, 48 per cent; whereas an urban city like Washington, D.C., had applied for more than 461 per cent and received 300 per cent of its quota.

There is a double reason for this appalling discrepancy. The first reason is that poor communities--particularly in the rural areas--don't have the resources to draw up and follow through on the proposals needed to gain approval and funds for programs. They don't have the trained people; they don't have social institutions. Often they don't know what is available. Literally, they are too poor to get help. The second reason, unfortunately, is that local power structures have a vested interest in the status quo and very often they don't want federal programs which will advance the interests of the poorer members of the community.

Marginal Farmers and Federal Policies

National food and fiber policy should be examined to discover to what extent past policies may have contributed to this poverty, and to what extent future policies may aid in restoring prosperity to rural areas.

Food and fiber policy must be based largely on anticipated needs for agricultural products. So large a poverty group, if its members secured the purchasing power of average American consumers, would have considerable effect on the demand for agricultural products; conversely, prolongation of the poverty cycle and the exodus from the land would continue a depressing effect on the economy as a whole.

If expansion, and not contraction, is to be the future direction of food and fiber policy, then marginal farmers can make a real contribution, at the same time that they are enabled to move into the mainstream of the economy and cease being "marginal."

Experimental projects have already proved that marginal farmers given training in farm management and in crop diversification have been able to raise their incomes 60 per cent and more over a three-year period. Many more of these programs are needed, but first, small farmers must be kept in farming, so that they can profit by training.

In two of the crop areas with which this hearing is concerned, cotton and tobacco, federal allotment and subsidy policies have worked to the benefit of the large landholder and against the interest of the tenant, sharecropper, and small farmer. The mechanization and introduction of scientific techniques which have revolutionized cotton production in the last two decades are now being extended to tobacco, and the dispossession of hundreds of thousands of small cotton farmers will be duplicated in the tobacco areas unless action is taken in time. The large farmer can more easily afford to set aside a portion of his acreage and benefit from government subsidies, while the small farmer needs to keep all the land he can in what is his only cash crop. (This year's drop in cotton price, made to discourage production, hits the marginal farmer much harder than the large one.) The large farmer serves on and controls, for the most part, the county committees which determine acreage allotment and has the knowledge, as well as the power, to profit from its decisions, about which the small farmer,

and especially the small Negro farmer, may know nothing at all. The large farmer can afford better to diversify his production, and he can more easily obtain loans and technical assistance from government agencies to do so, whereas the small farmer not only lacks the resources but may not know what is available and how to get the help to which he is entitled.

The whole effect is cumulative: the ability to secure the capital to mechanize in the first place; to secure greater government support through subsidies; to secure credit and technical assistance; to diversify. The large farmer starts in a favorable position which grows steadily stronger, while his poorer neighbor is unable to compete and drops behind, and his tenant or cropper is dispossessed as uneconomic. The differential is still greater between white and Negro farmers, who usually start poorer, who have even more difficulty securing help from federal agencies, and who often find local power structures specifically blocking their advancement.

Rural Poverty and the National Welfare

The impact of poverty on consumption has been mentioned already. It remains only to examine briefly the other side of the farm-population-shift story. Rural areas have declined as small business has followed small farmers into bankruptcy. But city poverty also is rooted in rural poverty. The direction of migration, both white and nonwhite, is to the cities, and above all to the largest metropolitan areas where they usually wind up in the slum and ghetto areas.

Between one third and one half of current unemployment has been attributed to the number of workers forced out of agriculture since 1953. Employment opportunities increasingly require specialized skills. Rural people are unfortunately unskilled, and usually less educated than their city counterparts. They cannot compete successfully for the diminishing number of low-skilled job opportunities.

Set against the rising costs of welfare, urban redevelopment, tax losses from people with no income, and the ameliorative programs aimed at reducing poverty, the costs of revitalizing the rural areas and striking poverty at its roots should be willingly undertaken. Food and fiber policies can help, or they can hinder. The following program is suggested:

1) Food and fiber policy must be planned in terms of an expansion to meet growing needs: increased consumption by the poor; increased consumption because of rising population; and greater attention to the needs of the large part of the world with which we trade.

2) Rural people should be offered a real alternative of staying or leaving farms and rural areas, with appropriate aid in either case.

3) The key to this assistance in either case (going or staying) is a vastly expanded program of education in the rural areas (which will, itself, provide many jobs and help in the restoration of blighted areas). This must start with adult literacy and include farm management and co-op management--the kind of training which will enable small farmers to contribute their share to an expanding agriculture--as well as technical and industrial skills needed alike for the building up of rural areas and for successful migration to urban areas.

4) The survival of small farmers should be a policy goal. The continued expansion of corporate farms should be checked by a ceiling on subsidies, so that federal aid is not given to absentee-owned farms with gross sales beyond a certain figure. Anti-trust laws should be enforced against food marketing monopolists, and an investigation should be made of corporate-owned farms with nonfarm interests. If the Department of the Interior and the Department of Justice continue to fail to enforce the acreage limitation provisions of the Reclamation Act, new legislation should be sought from the Congress.

Rural residents should be helped to buy land, both through the establishment of nonprofit corporations such as that originally recommended under the Economic Opportunity Act, and through a more active initiative by the Farmers Home Administration and the Extension Service.

Loan policy should be determined by what is needed for the farm family to reach self-sufficiency rather than by present capacity for repayment; an experimental grant program should be instituted, at least for a ten-year period.

Aid to cooperatives should be increased (i.e., Farmer Cooperative Service (USDA) field men to work with new or potential co-ops; widespread availability of training through land-grant colleges and Extension Service, not merely money) so that small farmers can better compete against large mechanized farms.

5) Farm workers should obtain equality of treatment with other workers. They should have the same minimum wage as industrial workers, the same right to collective bargaining, the same unemployment compensation. They are as much entitled to subsidized housing, independent of employer ownership, as are city workers. Their children need the same protections as other children, and special educational aids like those some deprived city children are getting. In view of the great mobility of the American people, and not just farm migrants, residence requirements should be dropped as a barrier to full citizenship and social rights.

6) Enforcement of the Civil Rights Act, particularly in terms of nondiscriminatory policies by federal agencies or where federal funds are involved, should be tightened. Federal funds should be cut off without delay where this will secure enforcement.

7) A healthy agriculture with emphasis on the participation of independent farmers cannot exist in a depressed area. Following the decline in the number of farmers and the migration of "surplus" people, small towns have declined and with them their banks, businesses, and whatever there were of social and cultural institutions. Each evil fed upon the other, and the final result has been that in the antipoverty program itself, the poorer the area, the harder it is for it to secure assistance. There are not trained local people to survey needs and write and follow up proposals, or local institutions to undertake them.

But in the rebuilding, each will help the other. The need for education, and the jobs and building possibilities involved, has already been mentioned. Add to this that at least a third of all rural housing is in need of repair or replacement; that one-fourth of rural homes do not have running water and one-third lack telephones; and the amount of work available--and potential new incomes going into the rural economy--becomes apparent. Raising the farm standard of living in the most basic essentials means a demand for goods and services that will bring dead towns alive and provide a basis for amenities that will help people want to stay.

But even this is not enough. Public services such as roads, hospitals, schools, libraries, water supply must be publicly financed. Along with meeting human needs, these will mean more jobs, more income--and more demand for food and fiber (for instance, a local market for truck produce alone will enable some small farmers to survive without the problems of competing in the outside market). Thus, the framework of added public services will make possible areas of industrial development which may be outside the scope of interest of this Commission, but which are essential to bring back the rural economy to a fully participating place in the American economy and its abundance. Just as rural poverty and urban poverty are inseparable, agricultural policy and general economic policy must be consistent. A forward-looking agriculture will protect and use its small farmers, both because they can aid in reaching essential goals, and because the national welfare demands it.

SW ✓ fyi
MJ - files

August 13, 1968

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

I will reserve Saturday, September 7 for your meeting. Needless to say, our facilities are available should you wish to make use of them.

It does occur to me, however, would not it be better for Jim Wood to represent us, since he attended the first meeting and is very interested in this matter?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Room 704
112 East 19th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003
August 8, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We are writing to you on behalf of Lewis Black, Slater King, Charles Sherrod, Leonard Smith, Robert Swann and Albert Turner to invite you to a second meeting to discuss next steps in setting up a trust fund or landholding company as discussed at the July 27 meeting in Atlanta to which you ~~attended~~ were invited.

The next meeting will be in Atlanta on Saturday, September 7.

It has been agreed that in addition to those who attended the last meeting (and those who were invited but who could not make it) we would also invite several representatives of interested foundations and some of the people who will be recipients of this land program, including persons who presently own their own land and others who do not own land.

We will write to you again shortly telling you exactly where and when the meeting will take place and enclosing a report on the July 27 meeting.

Meanwhile, please circle September 7 on your calendar and plan to be with us for this very important meeting.

Sincerely,

Marion T. King

Marion T. King

Fay

Fay Bennett

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

August 17, 1968

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vice-chairman

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ROWLAND WATTS
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

•

FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

SRC's Special Report on HUNGRY CHILDREN is superb! Were that it were not so.

May we have a half dozen or so more copies? We will put them to good use.

This report is so special that I do hope you have sent a copy to every member of the House and Senate with a personal covering letter (the kind that letter shops do with a one-line fill in). I am sure that you have sent it to all of the government officials and other leaders of opinion who should be aware.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB/vmg

August 18, 1967

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

I am pleased you have use of the report, HUNGRY CHILDREN.

Under separate cover we are sending you 20 copies. More are available if you need them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

20 copies of
Hungry Children
Mailed
8/23/67
w/note & apology from
Inc (mj)

See
Share croppers Fund

August 18, 1967

TO: THE MAIL ROOM

Please package up 20 copies of SRC's statement! "On the National Crisis..." and mail to Miss Fay Bennett in New York. (Label attached.)

thanx

JL
JW
MJ - file

Room 208
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
October 31, 1968

Dear Friend:

Enclosed are the minutes of our last meeting. I hope you will read them, especially if you were not there, since there was discussion and action on a number of important matters.

The date for the next meeting has not yet been set since a number of postcards were not returned expressing preference of dates. If you are one of those who has not yet replied, I hope you will return your postcard, addressed to Leonard Smith, Room 208, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303. The dates being considered are November 9, 16 and 23. Let us know if you can make one or all of the dates so that a date can be selected when most can come. The time will be from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

At the next meeting there will be reports from the various committees on legal procedures, land acquisition, by-laws, fund raising, etc. We need your thinking in this program.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Temporary Secretary

FB/lm
Enc.

MINUTES
Land Program Meeting
at Atlantan Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia
Saturday, October 10, 1968

The meeting opened at 10:30 a.m. Charles Sherrod acted as Chairman and Fay Bennett as Secretary. The following persons were present: Charles Sherrod, Constance Curry, William Peace, Mary Moss, Frank Lapeyrolerie, Slater King, Marion King, Shimon Gottschalk, Leonard Smith, Fay Bennett.

Leonard Smith reported that a conflict of dates prevented Father McKnight, Lewis Black and Albert Turner from attending. Father McKnight expressed his special regret at being unable to attend and his 100 per cent support for the decisions made re the leasehold concept.

An agenda was adopted and the meeting proceeded to hear reports from committees set up at the previous meeting.

Report of Legal Committee

Mary Moss and Fay Bennett reported on the meeting of the Legal Committee held at Max Delson's office October 9. Present were Max Delson, C.B. King, Mary Moss, attorneys, (and attorneys Louis Lauer and Donald Biederman associated with Max Delson's firm). Bob Swann was unable to attend and asked Shimon Gottschalk to attend in his place.

The Committee reviewed the four principles for the land association adopted at the September 7 meeting. These are to be incorporated into the legal structure. The Committee discussed whether to set up a land trust or a non-profit corporation. It was agreed that the non-profit corporation would be less restrictive than a trust which might necessitate getting Court approval on every transaction. It was agreed that six or seven Southern states would be checked out to determine where it would be best to file the incorporation papers. Donald Biederman and Mary Moss agreed to do this. It was further agreed that leases should be made directly from the landholding corporation to the individual farmers or settlers who will be living on the land. Any land held and used cooperatively would be leased to the cooperative. Discussion next centered on drawing up the necessary legal documents to file for incorporation and with the Internal Revenue Service to apply for tax exemption. Needed for this are a name for the corporation, a list of incorporators made up of individuals who have been with the planning of the group from the very beginning, by-laws, and a determination as to which state to incorporate in.

In explaining the advantages of a non-profit corporation as against a trust, it was pointed out that the corporation would be legally empowered to borrow money, and pay interest to acquire capital to buy land. Individual families would lease the land and pay a modest rent, which would be used to pay off the loans plus interest. It was suggested that the national board's function would be to develop the overall basic principles and set limits for the local group to provide a framework within which they would act; i.e., the community must be democratically controlled, etc. The Board would set up committees for specific jobs and employ staff. In discussing the make-up of the national board, it was agreed that the board should not be made up of representatives of organizations, but of individuals who would be selected for who they are regardless of whether or not they were with an organization. This corporation is not an umbrella organization, but has just one interest which it will promote on a strictly businesslike basis. In line with this, the Legal Committee recommends

that the board and legal structure be developed as a sound, businesslike entity. Local people would be members of all local committees and consulted and involved in all levels of planning.

It was suggested that all leaseholders would be members of the corporation, pay a minimal dues, and vote for the national board. It was suggested that the first board might be chosen by the founding group in the absence of local membership. It was further suggested that the board should be geographically and otherwise representative of a cross section of concerned people.

A discussion of the Legal Committee report followed. Mary Moss explained in detail why a non-profit corporation would serve our purposes better than a land trust. She said a trust is more circumscribed by law and that it is in a fiduciary relationship with the beneficiaries. As such, the trustees of a trust often cannot take any action without permission from the Court. A trust would be set up solely to hold land or property for another stated purpose. A non-profit corporation would also be able to hold land but would have other advantages as well, such as being able to borrow money, purchase land, sell undesirable land, etc. Furthermore, she stated that it is easier to get tax exemption for a non-profit corporation.

> It was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that we set up a non-profit corporation and apply for tax exemption for our purposes.

Name of Company

Mary Moss pointed out that it was necessary to select a name and a group of incorporators before drawing up the incorporation papers. The following names were suggested: People's Landholding Trust Co.; Southern Land Trust; Land Development Trust; Diversified Land Trust, Inc.; Communities, Inc.; Community Landholding Association, Inc.; New Communities, Inc.; National Land Development Association, Inc. In the discussion of a name it was agreed that the name should be short, not duplicate any other organization, and tell something about our purpose.

> It was finally moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that our first choice of names would be New Communities, Inc. and that a second choice would be New Rural Communities, Inc. (The second choice would be used in the event an organization already named New Communities, Inc. is in existence.)

> Following further discussion, it was moved, seconded and voted that a sub-title explaining the concept of the corporation would be used with the name. An exact wording for the sub-title was not adopted, but it was agreed that in concept it would incorporate the idea of "a non-profit association to hold land in perpetual trust for the permanent use of rural communities."

> After discussion of board make-up, it was moved, seconded and voted unanimously that all board members would be selected for their individual qualifications and not as representatives of organizations.

The By-laws Committee was urged to meet as soon as possible to draft appropriate by-laws to be used in incorporating New Communities, Inc. In response to a question, Mary Moss said that a de facto corporation is approved by the Court as soon as the Court determines that it does not duplicate another corporation

and is approved. At that time, our organization is in business and can go ahead and operate. This process might take six weeks. Applying for tax exemption takes longer and might be accomplished in six months.

Miss Moss said that five incorporators are the usual number and that two must reside in the state where the incorporation papers are filed.

> After discussion it was moved, seconded and unanimously voted that all of the active participants in this organization be invited to become incorporators. At this point the names of all persons who have been invited to participate and/or who have attended meetings of the group were read. Of this group, the following seventeen persons were deemed to be active participants in the organization and to be invited to become incorporators of New Communities, Inc.: Godwin, Slater* and Marion* King, McKnight, Sherrod, Mays, Smith*, Swann, Turner, Ulmer, Peace*, C.B. King*, Max Delson, Mary Moss, Frank Lapeyrolerie*, Schimon Gottschalk, Bennett*. Starred names were present and accept. The other are to be contacted for their acceptances.
>
> Following discussion, it was agreed for the present to continue to send minutes to all those who have indicated an interest or have been on the mailing list.

Report of By-Laws Committee

Father McKnight, Chairman of the By-Laws Committee was not present and Charles Sherrod reported for the Committee that it has not met. It was agreed that Charles Prejean should be removed from the Committee since he is not interested and that William Peace be added in his place.

Report of Land Acquisition Committee

Leonard Smith, Chairman of the Committee, reported that he was present for a meeting but that no one else on the committee was able to attend. He said that three members of the committee were present at today's meeting and that he would meet with them today to catalog available land and make plans to go and look at available parcels.

Report of Fund Raising Committee

Fay Bennett, Chairman, reported that several members of the Fund Raising Committee had made preliminary approaches to foundations and individuals. Within the next few weeks several members of the committee expected to have further meetings with some of the foundations which have expressed interest. It was pointed out that in addition to seeking funds to acquire land, some expense funds would be needed immediately to carry on the work of this organization. (At this point Lamond Godwin and Ray Marshall came into the meeting as observers for the Ford Foundation.)

Committee on Permanent Organizational Structure

Charles Sherrod, Chairman, reported that some ideas on structure have been submitted to the Committee, but the Committee as a whole has not yet met. He said that the Committee would meet soon to make recommendations for the permanent structure and welcomes further ideas.

Letters

A mimeod letter from Charles Prejean dated September 17 and a memo from Bob Swann dated October 7 were mentioned but no action was taken because they were not addressed to the group.

Communications and Agenda

It was agreed that items for the agenda and communications for the interim board should be circulated to all members in advance of meetings.

Officers

Mary Moss said that it would be necessary to have officers and board members for the incorporation papers.

> Following discussion, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that Charles Sherrod act as temporary chairman, Slater King as temporary treasurer, and Fay Bennett as temporary secretary, and that the temporary executive committee be made up of these officers plus the chairman of all standing committees, which include Father McKnight, Leonard Smith, and Bob Swann.

Operating Budget

> It was moved, seconded, and unanimously voted to request the temporary treasurer to prepare a six-month operating budget for which funds would be sought as soon as possible; and that in the meantime, we should attempt to raise approximately $2,000.00 for immediate operating expenses.

Board Members and Officers

> It was moved, seconded and unanimously voted that the board should consist of not less than seven or more than twenty-five persons. It was further moved, seconded, and unanimously voted that permanent officers should be a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, and that the number of officers and exact titles would be left up to the attorneys to decide, depending on the legal needs of the organization.

Local Participation

A lengthy discussion ensued on when local people should attend and participate in meetings and decision making. It was agreed that Charles Sherrod, Al Turner, and others should invite and bring with them to the next meeting some of the grass roots people who are interested in this program.

Next Meeting

Possible dates for the next meeting are November 9, 16, or 23. A mail poll by the temporary secretary will be made to determine which date is most convenient.

It was decided that in line with policy adopted at this meeting there should be no identification by organizations of temporary board members. It was further agreed that all persons who have been on the mailing list to date would be invited to the next meeting and would be sent a copy of the minutes of this meeting to keep them apprised of decisions made.

October 6, 1969

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Fay:

Thank you very much for sharing with me your latest report, which is extremely well done.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

rural advancement fund
of the national sharecroppers fund, inc. 112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
(212) GR 3-0284

FRANK P. GRAHAM, *president*
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, *vice-president*
FRANK McCALLISTER, *vice-president*
ELIOT D. PRATT, *secretary-treasurer*
FAY BENNETT, *executive director*

October 2, 1969

Dear Paul:

I think you will be interested in our latest report "Breaking New Ground" which is enclosed. As you will note it was prepared by Paul Good.

Also enclosed is a reprint of a couple of newspaper stories dealing with our last annual report on "The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1968" which we sent you earlier. I will be glad to send you more copies of the latter if you can use them.

All the best!

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

FB:fm
enc

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE.

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President

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
FRANK McCALLISTER
Vice-Presidents

ELIOT D. PRATT
Secretary-Treasurer

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CLARENCE SENIOR
ROWLAND WATTS

FAY BENNETT
Executive Director

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Those listed above and the following

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NORMAN THOMAS†

† – deceased

rural advancement fund
of the national sharecroppers fund, inc. 112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
(212) GR 3-0284

December 10, 1969

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is our receipt for your contribution earmarked for the Perry, Georgia day care center. Your gift is very much appreciated. There is a photograph of the children in the day care center marked on the enclosed report.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB:fm
enc

Phone (212) GR 3-0284

rural advancement fund
of the national sharecroppers fund, inc. 112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

14234

We gratefully acknowledge receipt of your contribution of $ 200.00 for the work of the Rural Advancement Fund of the NSF.

12/10/69
DATE

ELIOT D. PRATT, Treasurer

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Contributions are deductible for U.S. Income Tax purposes.

For Special Project - The Houston County Child Development Corporation.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE.

79

April 20, 1970

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Dear Fay:

Thanks for the interesting brochure on the Halifax County Program.

The requested thirty-five copies of the Chickenbone Special will be sent separately.

It's been far too long since we got together, I would welcome the opportunity.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

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chairman emeritus
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chairman
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52 Fairlie St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JOHN A. WILSON
washington representative
1316 New Hampshire Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

April 15, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul: C

I have just read The Chickenbone Special and was much moved by Dwayne Walls' sensitive and penetrating story.

He tells the whole story, not only what happens to people, who become very alive human beings in his story, but the economics and all the rest. The only thing missing is why the tobacco allotments keep getting cut back to the point of no return.

Our board is presently making long range plans for our work. And thinking through what our focus should be, I think it would contribute to their understanding if they all read The Chickenbone Special and I would, therefore, like to order 35 copies.

One of these days I would like to talk with you to get your views on where we should concentrate our efforts in the next few years.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB/ij

Enclosure

I'll enclose report on Co-op of 300 former small tobacco farmers in Halifax County, Virginia.

July 8, 1970

Mr. James M. Pierce
1947 Lansdale Drive
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Mr. Pierce:

Personally, and on behalf of the Council, this is to offer our congratulations on your appointment as Director of the National Sharecroppers Fund. We have long enjoyed a close working relationship with the Fund, and I feel sure we can benefit mutually from continuing this tradition under your leadership.

If we can be of any possible assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

P.A. ~~E.B.~~ I.W. R.C. FXI B.A

NEWS FROM:

National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003
Alan Swenson, Administrative Director
(212) GR 3-0284

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SOUTHERN UNIONIST TO DIRECT SHARECROPPERS FUND

Appointment of James M. Pierce of Charlotte, N.C., long-time union leader in the South, as executive director of the National Sharecroppers Fund has been announced by Frank McCallister, chairman of the 33-year old organization to aid the rural poor. Mr. Pierce succeeds Fay Bennett, executive director since 1951, who has resigned from the administrative post in order to devote full time to the Fund's educational and promotional programs.

A native of Oklahoma, Mr. Pierce has been a union organizer and international representative since 1949. He was one of the first to bring Southern whites and blacks into the same unions. Recently, as Southeastern coordinator for the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, he supervised the combined activities of 25 national unions throughout the South and directed major campaigns to organize textile workers and migrant farm laborers.

He has also served as Southern director for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. Long active in civil rights and anti-poverty work, he helped form liberal-labor-black coalitions in several Southern states and campaigned vigorously for the first black candidates to seek top public offices in North Carolina.

In announcing the appointment, Mr. McCallister said, "Jim Pierce's background makes him ideally suited to the challenging job ahead. His passion for justice, his empathy for the poor and oppressed, his energy and initiative, and his realistic grasp of what it takes to deal constructively with community problems have won him friends and supporters among all elements of the population."

Mr. McCallister also stated that it was "gratifying to know that Fay Bennett, our executive director for eighteen years, will continue to give us the benefit of her many talents."

Mr. Pierce stated his conviction that the Fund "has a major role in revitalizing rural America." He cited the need for greatly increased federal expenditures on programs for rural areas, as well as for fuller use of existing government programs. "But our main job is to help the people to organize," he added. "Only through their own efforts can they gain the power and self-confidence they need to effect the changes they and their communities must have."

The National Sharecroppers Fund, with offices in New York, Washington, and Atlanta, promotes rural self-help and organizing efforts and works for legislation to aid the rural poor. Its field program, operating mainly in the Southeast, is carried on by the Rural Advancement Fund, which Mr. Pierce will also direct. The primary emphasis of the program is to provide technical assistance to enable people in deprived rural areas to better their own lives through cooperative community development programs.

# # #

NOTE: Photographs of Mr. Pierce are available from AP, UPI, AFL-CIO, and other sources. Mr. Pierce can be reached at 1947 Lansdale Drive, Charlotte, N.C. (704) 537-1745.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

national board

FRANK P. GRAHAM
chairman emeritus

FRANK McCALLISTER
chairman

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
vice-chairman

BENJAMIN E. MAYS
secretary-treasurer

JULIAN BOND
ROBERT S. BROWNE
ROBERT COLES
MAX DELSON
EVELYN DUBROW
MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN
L. H. FOSTER
MANET FOWLER
LAMOND GODWIN
I. CYRUS GORDON
SHIRLEY E. GREENE
ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON
JOHN L. S. HOLLOMAN, JR.
WILLIAM H. JOHNSON
LEWIS W. JONES
JAMES W. LEWIS
JAMES LIPSIG
JENNIFER L. LOWENSTEIN
REV. A. J. McKNIGHT
ROBERT J. MILES
MORRIS MILGRAM
JAMES PIERCE
DANIEL H. POLLITT
ARTHUR F. RAPER
VERA RONY
LEON B. SCHACHTER
PATRICIA CAYO SEXTON
ROWLAND WATTS
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

•

Founding Members
ELIOT D. PRATT
IRA DeA. REID
NORMAN THOMAS

•

FAY BENNETT
executive director

LEONARD SMITH
southern director
52 Fairlie St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

JOHN A. WILSON
washington representative
1316 New Hampshire Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

September, 1970

PLEASE NOTE THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONS AND CHANGES FOR YOUR MAILING LIST:

ADD: National Sharecroppers Fund (new headquarters address)
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

ADD: James M. Pierce, Ex. Dir. (new executive director)
National Sharecroppers Fund
1947 Lansdale Dr.
Charlotte, N.C. 28205

CHG: Fay Bennett, Dir. of Development (new post)
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th St.
New York, N.Y. 10003

9-21-70 DJS

As amended
June 18, 1971

BYLAWS of

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

ARTICLE 1
Organization and Objectives

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be National Sharecroppers Fund, Incorporated.

Section 2. This organization is incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as a nonprofit membership corporation, with its princiapl offices being in the City of New York and in Washington, D.C. Other offices of this organization may be established from time to time within or without the State of New York, and the organization may qualify to do business without the State of New York, by resolution of the National Board.

Section 3. The objectives of this organization shall be to furnish technical and other assistance toward the amelioration of economic, social, and educational conditions among sharecroppers, tenant and independent farmers, migrant farm workers, and other rural poor, based on their self-expressed needs.

ARTICLE II
National Board

Section 1. The National Board shall be the governing body of the corporation. It shall consist of not less than five members and not more than 35 members. The members of the corporation shall consist of all the members of the National Board.

Section 2. Members of the National Board shall be elected for terms of three years each, one-third of the members to be elected each year. In the event of a vacancy in the National Board, the same may be filled for the unexpired term by the remaining members. Persons elected to the National Board in 1969 shall draw lots at the time of their election to determine which of them shall serve for one-year, which for two-year, and which for three-year terms. Thereafter, as the term of each individual member expires, he shall be re-elected, or a successor shall be elected, for a full three-year term.

Section 3. Not less than eight members of the National Board shall constitute a quorum, and any action taken by a majority at which such a quorum is present shall be the action of the Board. A mail vote of the Board shall be taken on any motion if requested by a member.

Section 4. The National Board shall have the power to appoint whatever committees it may deem appropriate for the implementation of corporate purposes, including an Executive Committee.

Section 5. A member of the National Board who has been absent from three consecutive Board meetings without a valid excuse may be removed from the Board by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE III
Responsibilities of National Board

In conducting the business of the corporation, the National Board shall, subject to the Certificate of Incorporation and these Bylaws:

a. Elect officers;

b. Appoint standing committees;

c. Establish policy guidelines;

d. Issue notes, bonds, debentures, or other evidences of indebtedness, including mortgages of or security interests in property of the corporation, as required in order to carry out the objectives of the corporation and as may be permitted by law;

e. Enter into leases, licenses, or other agreements for the use or occupancy of corporate real or personal property;

f. Purchase, sell, lease, exchange, mortgage, issue security interests in, or otherwise acquire and dispose of real or personal property or any interest therein;

g. Raise funds by loan, gift, or otherwise for corporate purposes;

h. Make grants and loans to other organizations when such grants and loans are deemed to further the objectives of the organization;

i. Employ and compensate necessary personnel to carry out the above functions; and

j. Exercise all other powers necessary and proper to the exercise of the foregoing functions.

ARTICLE IV
Executive Committee

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall consist of such number of persons, not more than nine, as may be elected thereto by the National Board at the Annual Meeting. Vacancies occurring between elections shall be filled by the Chairman of the National Board. Officers shall not serve on the Executive Committee unless elected to that Committee. The Executive Committee shall meet as often as necessary but at least every two months.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall, subject to the Certificate of Incorporation and these Bylaws:

a. Be responsible for carrying on all business of the organization between meetings of the National Board.

b. Report all Executive Committee actions to the National Board in the form of minutes of meetings of the Executive Committee. Such minutes shall be mailed to each member of the National Board as soon as possible after the conclusion of each meeting of the Executive Committee.

c. Elect temporary officers of the organization, in case a vacancy occurs, to serve until the vacancy is filled by the National Board.

d. Serve as a nominating committee to the National Board for the purpose of nominating officers and Board members for consideration by the National Board.

e. Exercise all other powers necessary and proper to the exercise of the foregoing functions.

Section 3. Not less than four members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE V
Voting

At all meetings, all votes shall be viva voce, except for the election of officers and directors where ballots shall be provided. There shall not appear at any place on such ballot any mark or marking that might tend to indicate the person who cast such ballot.

At any regular or special meeting, if a majority so requires, any question may be voted upon in the manner and style provided for election of officers and directors.

At all votes by ballot, the chairman of such meeting shall, immediately prior to the commencement of balloting, appoint a committee of three who shall act as "inspectors of election" and who shall at the conclusion of such balloting certify in writing to the chairman the results, and the certified copy shall be physically affixed in the minute book to the minutes of that meeting. No inspector of election shall be a candidate for office or shall be personally interested in the question voted upon.

ARTICLE VI
Procedure of National Board

Section 1. The annual meeting of the National Board shall take place in April, May, or June, and notice of such meeting shall be given to the members at least ten days prior to the holding thereof; a continuation thereof may be held at any other date determined by the Board. Meetings may be held within or without the State of New York. Absence of one or more Board members subsequent to the roll call shall not result in the loss of a quorum.

Section 2. Special Board meetings can be called as necessary by the Chairman or by petition of twenty-five percent of the members of the Board. The National Board may make such rules and regulations covering its meetings as it may in its discretion determine necessary.

Section 3. A Board member may be removed after hearing upon not less than ten days' notice to all Board members when sufficient cause exists for such removal. The Board may entertain charges against any member. The nature and proponent of such charges shall be set forth in the notice of hearing. A member may be represented by counsel upon any removal hearing. The Board shall adopt such evidentiary and procedural rules for this hearing as it may in its discretion consider necessary for the best interests of the organization. Cause for removal may include, but shall not be limited to, consistent and wilful failure to attend meetings of the Board. If a member duly charged and notified shall fail to appear at the hearing, without having presented a valid reason for his absence, the Board may proceed to hear evidence and make decision in the same manner as if the charged member had been present.

ARTICLE VII
Officers

Section 1. The officers of the organization shall be a Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary, and Treasurer; however, the offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be combined. Other officers may be provided from time to time at the discretion of the Board. All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, or any continuation thereof, for a term of one year or until their respective successors are elected and qualified. In the event of a vacancy in any office, such vacancy shall be filled by the National Board for the remainder of the term thereof and until a successor has been elected and qualified.

Section 2. The officers shall perform such duties as are customarily incident to their offices and such other duties as shall be directed by the National Board.

ARTICLE VIII
Amendments

These Bylaws may be altered, amended, repealed, or added to by an affirmative vote of not less than two-thirds of the members at an annual meeting. No alteration, amendment, repeal of, or addition to these Bylaws shall be adopted unless previously summarized in the notice of the annual meeting at which the proposal is to be considered.

ARTICLE IX
Termination

In the event the existence of this organization is terminated, all its remaining assets shall be transferred to one or more organizations which have been ruled to be exempt from federal income taxation under either Section 501(c)(3) or Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, to be used by them exclusively for the purposes for which their exempt status was granted and for purposes similar to those for which this organization was established.

ARTICLE X
Rules of Order

Except as provided herein, Robert's Rules of Order (revised) shall apply to meetings of the organization.

June 18, 1971

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

(AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS)

AUDIT REPORT

DECEMBER 31, 1971

GEORGE STEPHEN BRODY
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT
MEMBER AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

ORCHARD BROOK DRIVE
PLEASANTVILLE, N.Y. 10570
914 RO 9-1477

475 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
212 MU 3-3421

March 3, 1972

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
and Affiliated Organization
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Gentlemen:

I have examined the combined and individual Statement of Assets, Liabilities and Fund Balances of

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
(AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATION)

as of December 31, 1971 and the related combined and individual Statement of Revenue and Expenses for the year then ended.

Revenue of all funds is recorded as received (on the cash basis, except for certain bequest receipts). Expenses are recorded as incurred (on the accrual basis.) My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances. It was impracticable for me to extend my examination of contributions, bequests, and other receipts beyond tests of amounts so recorded in the accounts of the organization.

The Rural Advancement Fund of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc. was established by the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., effective February 16, 1966, as a tax-exempt charitable and educational fund pursuant to Internal Revenue Code Section 501 (c)(3). I have been informed that although the Rural Advancement Fund of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc. is considered as a separate entity for Federal tax purposes, it is nevertheless still a part of National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

In my opinion, the accompanying combined and individual Statements of Assets, Liabilities and Fund Balances and related combined and individual Statements of Revenues and Expenses, present fairly on the bases indicated the assets, liabilities, and funds of National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc. and Affiliated Organization, as of December 31, 1971, and the recorded revenues and expenses for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

Respectfully submitted,

George Stephen Brody

GEORGE STEPHEN BRODY,
Certified Public Accountant

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

(AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATION)

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Statement 1 - Statement of Assets, Liabilities and Fund Balances (NSF), December 31, 1971 and 1970

" 2 - Statement of Revenue and Expenses - General Fund (NSF), for the Year Ended December 31, 1971

" 3 - Statement of Assets, Liabilities and Fund Balances (RAF), December 31, 1971 and 1970

" 4 - Statement of Revenue and Expenses - General Fund (RAF), for the Year Ended December 31, 1971

" 5 - Details of Deferred Bequest and Restricted Reserves - Estate of Chester F. Carlson and Unexpended Fund Balances, December 31, 1971

" 6 - Details of Asset and Program Expenditures from Restricted Reserves - Estate of Chester F. Carlson, December 31, 1971 (Two Pages)

" 7 - Details of Special Project program Expenses - Funded and Non-Funded (RAF), for the Year Ended December 31, 1971

" 8 - Statement of Assets, Liabilities and Fund Balances (NSF and RAF, Individually and Combined), December 31, 1971 and 1970

" 9 - Comparison of Budget With Recorded Revenue and Expenses (NSF and RAF, Individually and Combined), for the Year Ended December 31, 1971

" 10 - Statement of Revenue and Expenses (NSF General Fund and Special Federal OEO Project, and RAF, Individually and Combined), for the Year Ended December 31, 1971

" 11 - Details of Recorded Revenue and Certain Expenses (NSF General Fund and Special Federal OEO Project, and RAF, Individually and Combined) for the Year Ended December 31, 1971

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

DECEMBER 31, 1971 AND 1970

GENERAL FUND	December 31, 1971		December 31, 1970
ASSETS			
Cash in bank, checking account	$8,109.41		$ 1,829.63
Cash in savings bank	2,576.77		2,451.15
Petty cash fund	-		30.02
Total cash in banks and on hand		$10,686.18	4,310.80
Due from affiliated organization - RAF		15,343.44	21,003.52
Due from others (Refund claim, tax overpayment)		159.98	-
Furniture and equipment		2,411.26	2,835.36
Security deposit		166.67	191.67
Unused postage in meter		-	200.00
Travel advance fund		300.00	300.00
Total assets		$29,067.53	$28,841.35
LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES			
Accounts payable		$ 600.00	$ 600.00
Payroll taxes withheld and payable		-	977.83
Total liabilities		600.00	1,577.83
Fund Balances			
Restricted for emergencies		5,000.00	5,000.00
Unrestricted General Fund			
Balance, December 31, 1970	$22,263.52		
Addition, excess of recorded revenue for year ended December 31, 1971, Statement 2	1,204.01		
Balance, December 31, 1971		23,467.53	22,263.52
		$29,067.53	$28,841.35

STATEMENT 2

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES - GENERAL FUND

(Revenue Recorded on Cash Receipts Basis, Expenses Recorded on Accrual Basis)

FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1971

	1971 Budget	1971 Recorded - Per Books	
Recorded Revenue			
Contribution receipts from individuals, etc.			
$100.00 and over		$11,025.49	
Under $100.00		18,203.78	
		29,229.27	
Bequest receipts		18,363.55	
Receipts for literature, pamphlets, etc.		279.20	
Interest income		125.62	
Total recorded revenue	$67,560		$47,997.64
Expenses			
Payroll costs of staff personnel:			
Washington National Office salaries		18,999.76	
Executive Director (Apportioned amount)		1,000.00	
	$30,800	19,999,76	
Payroll taxes and employee benefits	6,200	1,983.46	
	37,000	21,983.22	
Printing material	3,000	2,515.86	
Postage	3,000	2,265.68	
Mailing services	1,000	473.06	
Washington National Office expenses:			
Rent	3,760	8,123.69	
Telephone and communications	1,500	3,220.96	
Stationery, furniture and other office expenses	3,000	1,336.97	
Travel, conferences, meetings, etc.	5,600	4,015.53	
Travel and meeting expenses, National Board	2,000	1,389.23	
Books, reference services, etc.	500	550.93	
Accounting services	300	768.50	
Moving and sundry expenses, New York Office	-	150.00	
Special project program expenses	6,900	-	
	$67,560		
Total expenses			46,793.63
Excess of recorded revenue over expenses, addition to General Fund Balance, to Statement 1			$ 1,204.01

Note: This financial statement does not include the receipts and expenditures of a Federal approved OEO Grant transacted during this period (January 1, 1971 to June 30, 1971, end of Grant period), details of which are included in Statement 10.

Receipts $85,398.30 Expenditures $96,419.56

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

STATEMENT 3

STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

DECEMBER 31, 1971 AND 1970

GENERAL FUND ASSETS	December 31, 1971		1970
Unrestricted Assets:			
Cash in bank, checking account	$ 4,315.50		$ 9,383.22
Cash in savings bank (Total $115,488.62, portion unrestricted)	64,284.50		3,336.19
		$ 68,600.00	12,719.41
Travel and other advance funds		950.00	450.00
Due from other organizations (Directly related and to implement own organization programs), Statement 6		10,575.00	3,368.30
Investment in property in conjunction with program, Halifax County		9,096.00	9,096.00
Total unrestricted assets		89,221.00	25,633.71
Restricted or Partially Restricted Assets (Statements 5 and 6), Note (1)			
Cash in banks, checking accounts (Halifax County and Burke County Projects)	8,954.59		4,438.37
Cash in savings bank (Total $115,488.62, portion restricted)	51,204.12		-
Participation in Farmers Home Administration Notes	-		314,000.00
	60,158.71		318,438.37
Investment in Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Debentures and Note (Restricted to Reserve for Investment - See contra A)	50,000.00		50,000.00
Loan, New Communities Special Project (See contra B)	50,000.00		50,000.00
Loans, Loan and Special Projects Fund (See contra C)	33,500.00		33,500.00
Advances, Halifax County Special Project (See contra D)	-		1,315.00
Loan and advances, Burke County Special Project (See contra E)	17,120.00		7,371.89
Total restricted or partially restricted assets		210,778.71	460,625.26
Total assets		$299,999.71	$486,258.97

GENERAL FUND LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES	December 31, 1971		1970
Accounts Payable		$ 1,250.00	$ 1,770.76
Due to affiliated organization - NSF		15,343.44	21,003.52
Payroll taxes withheld and payable		-	1,890.36
Total liabilities		16,593.44	24,664.64
Fund Balances:			
Restricted Reserves and Deferred Bequest Reserve - Estate of Chester F. Carlson, Statement 5, Note (1)			
Reserve for Loan and Special Projects Fund (See loan assets, contra C)	$33,500.00		84,590.56
Reserve for Investment in Southern Cooperative Development Fund (See assets, contra A)	50,000.00		50,000.00
Reserve for New Communities Special Project Loan Fund (See asset, contra B)	50,000.00		50,000.00
Reserve for Parker Educational and Training Film Fund	38,000.00		43,000.00
Reserve for Halifax County Special Project Fund (See asset, contra D)	-		93,522.48
Reserve for Burke County Special Project Fund (See asset, contra E)- Note (2)	31,477.27		99,825.61
Reserve for Migrant Program Fund	250.00		-
Reserve for Sea Island, S. C. Program Fund	4,500.00		-
	207,727.27		420,938.65
Deferred Bequest Reserve	3,051.44		26,381.72
Total restricted reserves and deferred bequest		210,778.71	447,320.37
Unrestricted General Fund			
Balance, December 31, 1970	14,273.96		
Addition, excess of recorded revenue for year ended December 31, 1971, Statement 4	58,353.60		
Balance, December 31, 1971		72,627.56	14,273.96
		$299,999.71	$486,258.97

Notes: (1) - I have been informed by the Executive Director of the organization that the Restricted or Partially Restricted Assets, and the related Restricted Reserves and Deferred Bequest Reserve are pursuant to the organization's Board of Directors resolutions in connection with a bequest received in 1969 of approximately $700,000.00 in which the Directors restricted these funds to various Special Project Programs.

(2) - At December 31, 1971 the organization was contingently liable as guarantor on a bank loan in the amount of $20,161.00 made by a bank to Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative, Inc. (Burke County Special Project Fund). Provision for this contingency has not been given effect in the unexpended Reserve Fund Balance at December 31, 1971.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

STATEMENT 4

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSE - GENERAL FUND

(Revenue Recorded on Cash Receipts Basis, Expenses Recorded on Accrual Basis)

FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1971

	1971 Budget	1971 Recorded - Per Books	
Recorded Revenue, Statements 9 and 11			
Contribution receipts from individuals, etc.		$209,241.06	
Grant receipts for general organization purposes (Rockefeller Brothers, Norman Foundation and Julian Price II)		95,000.00	
Special grants and project receipts, funded programs, Statement 7		49,985.29	
Receipts for literature and pamphlets		148.93	
Interest income		17,226.40	
Total recorded revenue	$207,380		$371,601.68
Expenses			
Payroll costs of staff personnel:			
Salaries	75,900	72,363.16	
Payroll taxes and employee benefits	12,800	11,448.48	
Pension program	4,000	-	
	92,700	83,811.64	
Printing material	32,000	45,308.18	
Postage	14,000	18,914.46	
Mailing services	6,000	41,827.26	
Rent (New York Office)	9,380	5,270.00	
Telephone and communications	4,500	2,833.96	
Electric (New York Office)	1,000	388.12	
Office expenses (Cleaning, insurance, office supplies, furniture, etc.)	8,700	5,356.70	
Travel, conferences, meetings, etc. (Includes $7,579.52 for Executive Director)	12,100	11,108.28	
Travel and meeting expenses, National Board	6,000	3,393.98	
Special surveys and consultant research expenses	8,000	9,153.18	
Books, reference services, etc.	500	739.43	
Accounting services	900	1,909.87	
Special Project Programs, Statement 7			
Funded through others from direct receipts	-	66,845.76	
Non-funded	11,600	16,387.26	
	$207,380		
Total expenses			313,248.08
Excess of recorded revenue over expenses - Before expenses for special programs provided from deferred bequest reserve, to Statement 3			58,353.60
Special Project Program Expenses Provided from Deferred Bequest Reserve, Statements 5 and 7			(236,541.66)
Excess of (Expenses over recorded revenue)			($178,188.06)

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

DETAILS OF DEFERRED BEQUEST AND RESTRICTED RESERVES - ESTATE OF CHESTER F. CARLSON

STATEMENT 5

AND UNEXPENDED FUND BALANCES

DECEMBER 31, 1971

			RESTRICTED RESERVES							
		Deferred Bequest Reserve	Loan and Special Projects Fund	Investment in Southern Cooperative Development Fund	New Communities Special Project Loan Fund	Parker Educational and Training Film Fund	Halifax County Special Project Fund	Burke County Special Project Fund	Migrant Program Fund	Sea Island, S. C. Program Film
Balances, December 31, 1970		$26,381.72	$84,590.56	$50,000.00	$50,000.00	$43,000.00	$ 93,522.48	$99,825.61	$ -	$ -
Re-allocation Provisions Within Restricted Reserves:										
From Loan and Special Projects Fund to Migrant Program Fund			(5,000.00)						5,000.00	
From Parker Educational and Training Film Fund to Sea Island, S. C. Program Fund						(5,000.00)				5,000.00
		26,381.72	79,590.56	50,000.00	50,000.00	38,000.00	93,522.48	99,825.61	5,000.00	5,000.00
Expenditures in 1971 from Restricted Reserves for Program Expenses, Statement 6:										
Halifax County Special Project Program Expenses (Total expenses $175,595.62, less $12,652.30 receipts from crops, etc.)	$162,943.32						(162,943.32)			
Burke County Special Project Program Expenses	68,348.34							(68,348.34)		
Migrant Special Project Program Expenses	4,750.00								(4,750.00)	
Sea Island, S. C. Special Project Program Expenses	500.00									(500.00)
Total special project program expenses from restricted reserves, to Statement 4	$236,541.66									
			79,590.56	50,000.00	50,000.00	38,000.00	(69,420.84)	31,477.27	250.00	4,500.00
Transfer Remaining Uncommitted Balance in Reserve for Loan and Special Projects Fund to Reserve for Halifax County Special Project Fund re: Apply to (overexpended fund)			(46,090.56)				46,090.56			
Transfer from Deferred Bequest Reserve to Reserve for Halifax County Special Project Fund re: Apply to (overexpended fund)		(23,330.28)					(23,330.28			
Balances, December 31, 1971, to Statement 3		3,051.44	33,500.00	50,000.00	50,000.00	38,000.00	-	31,477.27	250.00	4,500.00
Asset Expenditures from Restricted Reserves (Contra, deduct) Details in Statement 6:										
Loan and Special Projects Fund, various loan assets			(33,500.00)							
Investment in Southern Cooperative Development Fund, asset				(50,000.00)						
New Communities Special Project Loan Asset					(50,000.00)					
Burke County Special Project, loan assets								(17,120.00)		
Unexpended Fund Balances, December 31, 1971 (Total)		$60,158.71	$ 3,051.44	$ -	$ -	$ -	$38,000.00	$ -	(1) $14,357.27	$ 250.00	$4,500.00
Restricted or Partially Restricted Assets, Statement 3:										
Cash in banks (Halifax and Burke Counties)	$ 8,954.59									
Cash in savings bank (Total $115,483.62, portion restricted)	51,204.12									
		$60,158.71								

Note: (1) - At December 31, 1971 the organization was contingently liable as guarantor on a bank loan in the amount of $20,161.00 made by a bank to Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative, Inc. for the purchase of a pea picker. Provision for this contingency has not been given effect in the unexpended fund balance at December 31, 1971, as shown above.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

DETAILS OF ASSET AND PROGRAM EXPENDITURES FROM RESTRICTED RESERVES - ESTATE OF CHESTER F. CARLSON

DECEMBER 31, 1971

		Totals	Loan and Special Projects Fund	Investment in Southern Cooperative Development Fund	New Communities Special Project Loan Fund	Parker Educational and Training Film Fund	Halifax County Special Project Program Expense	Burke County Special Project Fund: Loans and Advances	Burke County Special Project Fund: Program Expense	Migrant Program Expense	Sea Island, S. C. Program Expense	Loans Due from Other Organizations
Grow Food Cooperative:												
1969 loan until Federation of Southern Cooperatives is able to make funds available	$5,000.00		$ 5,000.00									
1969 various loans for inventory, etc.	775.00											$ 775.00
		$ 5,775.00										
1969 Houston County Child Development (To help start day care center food program)		1,000.00										1,000.00
New Communities:												
1969 loan for special project loan fund (Secured by note)		50,000.00			$50,000.00							
1969 loan to Franklin Hope Haven, Inc. (To purchase land for a 60 unit dwelling for elderly - Secured by note payable on receipt of funds insured thru HUD)		1,300.00										1,300.00
1970 loan to Southeast Alabama Self Help Association (Secured by note)		5,000.00	5,000.00									
1970 loan to Coastal Earthmoving, Inc., Florida		5,000.00	5,000.00									
1970 Loan to Fayette County Coop Stamp & Mfg. Co.		5,000.00	5,000.00									
1970 loan to South Carolina Council on Human Relations (Portion of approved $10,000.00 3 months loan for Research Study Land Tenure Program, if not repaid to be considered program expense)		5,000.00	5,000.00									
1970 loan to Georgia Mountain Art Properties, Inc. (To purchase craft of inventory from local craftsmen - Secured by note)		4,500.00	4,500.00									
1970 loan to New Burke Housing Corp. (To purchase land from United Presbyterian Church for self-help housing)		4,000.00	4,000.00									
1970 investment in Southern Cooperative Development Fund, 6% debentures and note		50,000.00		50,000.00								
1971 advance to 21st Century Foundation for 1972 funded special project thru DJB Foundation		7,500.00										7,500.00
Totals carried forward to Page 2		144,075.00	33,500.00	50,000.00	50,000.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,575.00

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

DETAILS OF ASSET AND PROGRAM EXPENDITURES FROM RESTRICTED RESERVES - ESTATE OF CHESTER F. CARLSON

DECEMBER 31, 1971

		Totals	Loan and Special Projects Fund	Investment in Southern Cooperative Development Fund	New Communities Special Project Loan Fund	Parker Educational and Training Film Fund	Halifax County Special Project Program Expense	Burke County Special Project Fund: Loans and Advances	Burke County Special Project Fund: Program Expense	Migrant Program Expense	Sea Island, S. C. Program Expense	Loans Due from Other Organizations
Totals brought forward from Page 1		$144,075.00	$33,500.00	$50,000.00	$50,000.00	$ -	$ -	$ -	$ -	$ -	$ -	$10,575.00
1971 expenditures re: Halifax County Special Project Program expenses		162,943.32					162,943.32					
Burke County Special Project Fund:												
1970 loan to Eastern Georgia Farmers Coop (Secured by note dated 11-4-70, due 1 year)	$ 7,120.00							7,120.00				
1971 loan to Eastern Georgia Farmers Coop (Secured by note dated 2-26-71, due 1 year)	10,000.00							10,000.00				
		17,120.00										
1971 expenditures re: Burke County Special Project Program expenses		68,348.34							68,348.34			
1971 expenditures re: Migrant Program expense		4,750.00								4,750.00		
1971 expenditures re: Sea Island, S. C. Program expense		500.00									500.00	
Totals		$397,736.66	$33,500.00	$50,000.00	$50,000.00	$ -	$162,943.32	$17,120.00	$68,348.34	$4,750.00	$500.00	$10,575.00
			To Statements 3 and 5	To Statements 3 and 5	To Statements 3 and 5		To Statement 5	To Statements 3 and 5	To Statement 5	To Statement 5	To Statement 5	To Statement 3

STATEMENT 7

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

DETAILS OF SPECIAL PROJECT PROGRAM EXPENSES - FUNDED AND NON-FUNDED

FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1971

	Funded Through Others from Direct Receipts (Receipts)	(E	Non-Funded x p e	Special Project Programs Provided from Deferred Bequest Reserve n s e s)
Normandie Foundation (For Louisiana Students Project)	$ 6,000.00	$ 6,000.00		
DSB Foundation (For New Communities)	10,000.00	10,000.00		
F.E.C.D. (For New Communities)	10,000.00	7,000.00		
Rockefeller Family (For New Communities)	14,985.29	14,985.29		
Cummings Engine Foundation (For Ceramic Project)	1,000.00	860.47		
Faigel Leah Foundation (For Louisiana Students Project)	1,000.00	1,000.00		
DSB Foundation (For W. Batesville, Mississippi Project)	7,000.00	7,000.00		
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (For Gulf Coast and Mississippi Craft Projects)	-	20,000.00		
Louisiana Students Summer Project (Sister Anne Brazilion)			$12,293.96	
Rural Edication and Welfare Fund			3,600.00	
Miscellaneous Others			493.30	
Halifax County Special Project Program Expenses				$162,943.32
Burke County Special Project Program Expenses				68,348.34
Migrant Special Project Program Expenses				4,750.00
Sea Island, S. C. Special Project Program Expenses				500.00
Totals, to Statement 4	$49,985.29	$66,845.76	$16,387.26	$236,541.66

STATEMENT 8

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

AND

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES (INDIVIDUALLY AND COMBINED)

DECEMBER 31, 1971 AND 1970

GENERAL FUND	December 31, 1971				December 31, 1970
ASSETS	National Sharecroppers Fund	Rural Advancement Fund (1)	Elimination	Combined	Combined
Unrestricted Assets:					
Cash in banks and on hand	$10,686.18	$ 68,600.00		$ 79,286.18	$ 17,030.21
Due from affiliated organization - RAF	15,343.44	-	$15,343.44	-	-
Due from other organizations (Directly related and to implement own programs)	-	10,575.00		10,575.00	3,368.30
Investment in property in conjunction with program, Halifax County	-	9,096.00		9,096.00	9,096.00
Travel advances, deposit and sundry	3,037.91	950.00		3,987.91	3,977.03
Total unrestricted assets	29,067.53	89,221.00		102,945.09	33,471.54
Restricted or Partially Restricted Assets:					
Cash in banks (Halifax and Burke Counties)	-	8,954.59		8,954.59	4,438.37
Cash in savings bank (Total $115,488.62, portion restricted)	-	51,204.12		51,204.12	-
Participation in Farmers Home Administration Notes	-	-		-	314,000.00
Investment in Southern Cooperative Development Fund	-	50,000.00		50,000.00	50,000.00
Loan, New Communities Special Project	-	50,000.00		50,000.00	50,000.00
Loans, Loan and Special Project Fund	-	33,500.00		33,500.00	33,500.00
Loans and advances, Halifax County and Burke County Special Projects	-	17,120.00		17,120.00	8,686.89
Total restricted or partially restricted assets	-	210,778.71		210,778.71	460,625.26
Total assets	$29,067.53	$299,999.71		$313,723.80	$494,096.80
LIABILITIES					
Accounts payable	$ 600.00	$ 1,250.00		$ 1,850.00	$ 2,370.76
Due to affiliated organization - NSF	-	15,343.44	$15,343.44	-	-
Payroll taxes withheld and payable	-	-		-	2,868.19
Total liabilities	600.00	16,593.44		1,850.00	5,238.95
FUND BALANCES					
Restricted Reserves and Deferred Bequest Reserve - Estate of Chester F. Carlson, details in Statement 3	-	210,778.71		210,778.71	447,320.37
Restricted for emergencies	5,000.00	-		5,000.00	5,000.00
Unrestricted General Fund	23,467.53	72,627.56		96,095.09	36,537.48
	$29,067.53	$299,999.71		$313,723.80	$494,096.80

Note: (1) - At December 31, 1971, Rural Advancement Fund was contingently liable as guarantor on a bank loan in the amount of $20,161.00 made by a bank to Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative, Inc. (Burke County Special Project Fund). Provision for this contingency has not been given effect in the unexpended Restricted Reserves and Deferred Bequest Reserve Fund Balance at December 31, 1971.

STATEMENT 9

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
AND
RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

COMPARISON OF BUDGET WITH RECORDED REVENUE AND EXPENSES - GENERAL FUND (INDIVIDUALLY AND COMBINED)

(Revenue Recorded on Cash Receipts Basis, Expenses Recorded on Accrual Basis)

FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1971

	1971 - BUDGET			1971 - RECORDED PER BOOKS		
	NSF	RAF	Combined	Combined	NSF	RAF
Recorded Revenue						
Total recorded revenue, Statement 11	$67,560	$207,380	$274,940	$419,599.32	$47,997.64	$371,601.68
Expenses						
Payroll costs of staff personnel:						
Salaries, Statement 11	30,800	75,900	106,700	$ 92,362.92	$19,999.76	$72,363.16
Payroll taxes and employee benefits	6,200	12,800	19,000	13,431.94	1,983.46	11,448.48
Pension program	-	4,000	4,000	-	-	-
Total payroll costs of staff personnel	37,000	92,700	129,700	105,794.86	21,983.22	83,811.64
Printing material	3,000	32,000	35,000	47,824.04	2,515.86	45,308.18
Postage	3,000	14,000	17,000	21,180.14	2,265.68	18,914.46
Mailing services	1,000	6,000	7,000	42,300.32	473.06	41,827.26
Rent (New York and Washington offices)	3,760	9,380	13,140	13,393.69	8,123.69	5,260.00
Telephone and communications	1,500	4,500	6,000	6,054.92	3,220.96	2,833.96
Electric	-	1,000	1,000	388.12	-	388.12
Office expenses (Cleaning, insurance, office supplies, furniture, etc.)	3,000	8,700	11,700	6,693.67	1,336.97	5,356.70
Travel, conferences, meetings, etc.	5,600	12,100	17,700	15,123.81	4,015.53	11,108.28
Travel and meeting expenses, National Board	2,000	6,000	8,000	4,783.21	1,389.23	3,393.98
Special surveys and consultant research expenses	-	8,000	8,000	9,153.18	-	9,153.18
Books, reference services, etc.	500	500	1,000	1,290.36	550.93	739.43
Accounting services	300	900	1,200	2,678.37	768.50	1,909.87
Moving and sundry expenses, New York Office	-	-	-	150.00	150.00	-
Special Project Programs, Statement 7						
Funded through others from direct receipts	-	-	-	66,845.76	-	66,845.76
Non-funded	6,900	11,600	18,500	16,387.26	-	16,387.26
	67,560	207,380	274,940			
Total expenses				360,041.71	46,793.63	313,248.08
Excess of recorded revenue over expenses - Before expenses for Special Programs Provided from Deferred Bequest Reserve				59,557.61	1,204.01	58,353.60
Special Project Program Expenses Provided from Deferred Bequest Reserve, Statement 7				(236,541.66)	-	(236,541.66)
Excess of recorded revenue over expenses, or (expenses over recorded revenue)				($176,984.05)	$ 1,204.01	($178,188.06)

STATEMENT 10

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC. (GENERAL FUND AND FEDERAL OEO SPECIAL PROJECT #3)

AND

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES (INDIVIDUALLY AND COMBINED)

(Revenue Recorded on Cash Receipts Basis, Expenses Recorded on Accrual Basis)

FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1971

	National Sharecroppers Fund			Rural Advancement Fund	Combined Total
	General Fund	Federal OEO Special Project #3	Total		
Recorded Revenue					
Total recorded revenue, Statement 11	$47,997.64	(1) $85,398.30	$133,395.94	$371,601.68	$504,997.62
Expenses					
Payroll costs of staff personnel, Statement 11	21,983.22	50,896.46	72,879.68	83,811.64	156,691.32
Printing material	2,515.86	99.72	2,615.58	45,308.18	47,923.76
Postage	2,265.68	600.00	2,865.68	18,914.46	21,780.14
Mailing services	473.06	-	473.06	41,827.26	42,300.32
Rent	8,123.69	1,960.00	10,083.69	5,270.00	15,353.69
Telephone and communications	3,220.96	6,408.36	9,629.32	2,833.96	12,463.28
Electric	-	-	-	388.12	388.12
Office expenses (Cleaning, insurance, office supplies, furniture, etc.)	1,336.97	1,239.39	2,576.36	5,356.70	7,933.06
Travel, conferences, meetings, etc.	4,015.53	21,789.97	25,805.50	11,108.28	36,913.78
Travel and meeting expenses, National Board	1,389.23	-	1,389.23	3,393.98	4,783.21
Trainee stipends	-	9,678.00	9,678.00	-	9,678.00
Special surveys and consultant research expenses	-	487.50	487.50	9,153.18	9,640.68
Books, reference services, etc.	550.93	-	550.93	739.43	1,290.36
Accounting services	768.50	804.00	1,572.50	1,909.87	3,482.37
Miscellaneous expenses	150.00	-	150.00	-	150.00
Special Project Programs, Statement 7					
Federal OEO Special Project, Housing Services	-	2,456.16	2,456.16	-	2,456.16
Funded through others from direct receipts	-	-	-	66,845.76	66,845.76
Non-funded	-	-	-	16,387.26	16,387.26
Total expenses	46,793.63	96,419.56	143,213.19	313,248.08	456,461.27
Excess of recorded revenue over expenses, or (expenses over recorded revenue) - Before expenses for Special Project Programs Provided from Deferred Bequest Reserve	1,204.01	(11,021.26)	(9,817.25)	58,353.60	48,536.35
Special Project Program Expenses Provided from Deferred Bequest Reserve, Statement 7	-	-	-	(236,541.66)	(236,541.66)
(Excess of expenses over recorded revenue)	$ 1,204.01	($11,021.26)	($ 9,817.25)	($178,188.06)	($188,005.31)

Note: (1) - National Sharecroppers Fund Federal OEO Special Project #3 Grant for one year period ending December 31, 1970, had been extended to June 30, 1971 with total amended approved Grant of $322,916.00. The recorded revenue for 1971, as shown above, is net of $17,517.70 refund remittance to OEO for the unexpired Grant Fund Balance.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC. (GENERAL FUND AND FEDERAL OEO SPECIAL PROJECT #3)

AND

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

STATEMENT 11

DETAILS OF RECORDED REVENUE AND CERTAIN EXPENSES (INDIVIDUALLY AND COMBINED)

FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1971

	National Sharecroppers Fund			Rural Advancement Fund	Combined Total
	General Fund	Special OEO Special Project #3	Total		
Recorded Revenue					
Contribution receipts from individuals, etc.:					
$100.00 and over	$11,025.49	$ -	$ 11,025.49	$ 75,847.67	$ 86,873.16
Under $100.00	18,203.78	-	18,203.78	133,393.39	151,597.17
	29,229.27	-	29,229.27	209,241.06	238,470.33
Grant receipts for general organization purposes (Rockefeller Brothers Fund $65,000, Norman Foundation $10,000, and Julian Price II $20,000)	-	-	-	95,000.00	95,000.00
Special Grants and Project Receipts:					
Federal share of Grant, OEO Project #3	-	85,398.30	85,398.30	-	85,398.30
Louisiana Students Project (Normandie and Faigel Leah Foundations)	-	-	-	7,000.00	7,000.00
New Communities Self-help Housing Project (DJB, F.E.C.D., and Rockefeller family)	-	-	-	34,985.29	34,985.29
W. Batesville, Mississippi Project (DJB Foundation)	-	-	-	7,000.00	7,000.00
Ceramics Project (Cummings Engine Foundation)	-	-	-	1,000.00	1,000.00
Bequest receipts	18,363.55	-	18,363.55	-	18,363.55
Receipts for literature, pamphlets and sundry	279.20	-	279.20	148.93	428.13
Interest income	125.62	-	125.62	17,226.40	17,352.02
Total recorded revenue, to Statement 10	$47,997.64	$85,398.30	$133,395.94	$371,601.68	$504,997.62
* * *	*	*	*	*	
Payroll Costs of Staff Personnel					
New York Office salaries	$ -	$ -	$ -	(1)$53,163.14	$ 53,163.14
Executive Director salary	1,000.00	-	1,000.00	18,000.02	19,000.02
Secretary, Executive Director	-	-	-	1,200.00	1,200.00
Washington Office salaries	18,999.76	-	18,999.76	-	18,999.76
Field salaries, OEO Project #3	-	44,925.12	44,925.12	-	44,925.12
	19,999.76	44,925.12	64,924.88	72,363.16	137,288.04
Payroll taxes and employee benefits	1,983.46	5,971.34	7,954.80	11,448.48	19,403.28
Total payroll costs of staff personnel, to Statement 10	$21,983.22	$50,896.46	$72,879.68	$83,811.64	$156,691.32

Note: (1) - RAF New York Office Salaries is for New York office personnel only. The salaries of personnel applicable to Special Project Programs (Louisiana Students, Halifax County, and Burke County) are included in the respective Special Project Program expenses.

opportunity programs and social science lecturer at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, is secretary-treasurer.

IN THE DAYS AHEAD

At the Washington conference, one staff member articulated her concept of NSF's role.

"We have to bring back the American Dream of the good life to rural people, especially to minority people but essentially to all."

To fulfill this role, NSF will continue to plant and nurture the co-op seed throughout 1972. Through the innovation of a legislative newsletter and frequent appearances by the rural poor themselves in Washington, it will try to focus a national spotlight not only on the problems of these neglected Americans but on the solutions. NSF will work closely with a coalition of other concerned groups as it plans to step up its participation on the political level, stirring interest in issues at the grass roots and supporting those legislators who are ready to participate in the renaissance of rural America. As director Jim Pierce puts it:

"We will work with Cesar Chavez, Ralph Nader, church groups, labor unions, down-home politicians, or any other group — as long as their efforts reflect the needs and desires of the Alabama tenant farmer trying to scratch out a future for his kids, or the Louisiana plantation worker who wants to do something better with his life than cut another man's cane for $1.65 an hour. We think there's a new wind rising in rural America and we want it to blow its message right through the halls of Congress. That's what NSF has been all about since it started. With the help of our supporters, that concern is going to produce real change in the demanding days ahead."

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND | **RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND**

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1971 REPORT

on the work of

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR

NSF

SINCE 1937

. . . and its

RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND

"In this America
of our struggles and our hopes,
the least of these our
brethren has the freedom to
struggle for freedom; where the
answer to error is not terror
and the respect for the past
is not reaction; where the
integrity of simple people is
beyond price and
the daily toil of millions
is above pomp and power;
where the majority is without
tyranny, and the minority
without fear,
and all people have hope."

—Frank Porter Graham
(1886-1972)
chairman emeritus, NSF

1971

The National Sharecroppers Fund, like the rural poor with whom it works, has learned over the decades to keep a tight rein on optimism. When you must live in a shack, work for a pittance, and skimp on your children's meals while the rest of the country is buying color TV and dieting, optimism is a luxury. So NSF and its Rural Advancement Fund have adopted the life style of millions of small farmers and migrants — work hard with the resources available, hope for the best, prepare for the worst, and endure.

Yet looking back on 1971 and planning for 1972, some optimistic reactions seem justified. Of course, it is still rough for the politically powerless black or Chicano tossed like a leaf in the migrant stream, still rough for the tenant farmer contracted to misery. Rich landowners fattening on exploitation get richer through federal subsidies, Congress only grudgingly legislates progress, and the urban public reacts fitfully to evidence of shameful rural reality far from well-filled city tables.

But NSF saw almost 35 years of labor bring an encouraging harvest in 1971, with another good crop possible in 1972. The yield was counted at a year-end assembly in the NSF Washington office. Men and women working both on rural projects and on national legislation gathered for a meeting that epitomized NSF's burgeoning presence — one foot in the fields, the other on the doorstep of Congress.

Workers who knew what it meant to nurture a farming cooperative through painful early years exchanged ideas with those who knew how to lobby, how to translate the needs of poor blacks in Louisiana into programs that might win the vote of a Maine or California legislator. They swapped experiences while sitting under "now" posters that proclaimed: "We are all passengers on Spaceship Earth."

As executive director Jim Pierce led discussions, the 1971 NSF pattern emerged: the coming-of-age of NSF-assisted cooperatives in Georgia and Virginia where massive point-of-impact help flowered in organic farming; growing involvement in farm labor organizing in the Florida citrus groves and community organizing in the pulpwood forests of Mississippi and Alabama; significant contributions to a variety of self-help projects in the sugarcane country of Louisiana; and, overall, an increasing demonstration that NSF was a force for rural reform to be reckoned with from the grass roots to the highest national policy-making levels.

WASHINGTON

NSF's legislative director John Wilson told the meeting:

"The rural poor are not going to survive alone. Co-ops have to be the economics of the future. So we must do two things: pull together the constituency of the rural poor and move reluctant politicians to a new plateau of thinking."

While field programs were pulling together those constituencies, the NSF Washington office emerged as the only organization lobbying full-time for every bill affecting America's impoverished rural millions. It brought cane workers up from Louisiana to testify on the Sugar Act which controls their substandard wages. NSF officials pleaded the case for co-ops before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor and lobbied for the National Health Security Act and for legislation to ban child labor on farms. But its biggest effort supported the OEO bill which would have created widespread child care facilities and through its Title VII would have provided vitally needed federal support for rural co-ops.

But occasional showers of Congressional approval became, in the long run, a legislative drought. The hardest blow was President Nixon's veto of the OEO bill (this was being resubmitted in altered form as this report went to press). Even in defeat, however, the effect of NSF's efforts was apparent. In the past, legislation like Title VII would have died in committee. This time, the Congress approved our cooperative ideal, and next time the White House may get in step with the times.

BURKE-HALIFAX

Three years ago in Burke County, Ga., and Halifax County, Va., there was little except privation and despair. Today, there are two growing cooperatives that may become models for future development throughout the South.

Stout buildings housing the machinery of modern agriculture have risen from fields where economically dead-end crops like cotton and tobacco left small farmers shackled to debt as their children fled a hopeless environment for an uncertain future in cities. Now, diversified vegetable farming with growing emphasis on profitable organic production encourages family stability, preparing a future where a farmer can get ahead instead of spending a lifetime trying futilely to catch up. The transformation was achieved through major transfusions of RAF/NSF funds and know-how to local people with the will to work out their destinies cooperatively. After soul-testing years when balky weather, variable management, and severe marketing problems tried everyone's resolve, these co-ops are now beginning to stand on their own feet.

In Halifax, one of the nation's poorest and agriculturally most backward counties, members of the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia are enthusiastically following the organic trend in food production. Forty acres of prime quality organic squash and cucumbers went to market in 1971, and 100 acres of a wide variety of organic vegetables are planned for the coming year.

NSF and its field representative Charles Dixon worked hard to provide SAAV members with the right fertilizers and techniques for growing natural crops. Then, when the farmers showed they could do it, NSF made the all-important link-up with markets, learning in the process through trial and error that co-ops must look to marketing before the first seed is planted. Many natural food stores along the Eastern Seaboard eventually stocked the co-op's products and are clamoring for more.

In a heartening display of what cooperation is all about regionally, SAAV's success has encouraged its fellow-co-op, the Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative, to try organic crops in 1972. Its members, once yoked to cotton, have already demonstrated their ability to produce abundantly. Last year, over 2,000 acres of squash, cucumbers, and peas were marketed through the co-op, which now boasts tractors and irrigation equipment acquired with NSF assistance.

In an area where shacks and outdoor toilets are the rule, NSF field representative Don Blood has worked energetically to advance local plans to build Newburke Community. Newburke is the kind of "possible" dream that develops from the co-op experience after the crops are in. Some 270 acres of land were purchased with an NSF loan, to be used for a planned settlement where low-income rural people can live in harmony with both nature and the local economy. Technical experts from Georgia Tech have helped to map a community with decent homes, an industrial park, lakes, and recreation areas. Disheartening bureaucratic delays have held up construction, but now a loan from the newly established Housing Assistance Council will make it possible to develop the land by putting in a water system, paved roads, and fire protection and laying the groundwork for a central sewage system. The first houses can then start going up, with loans assured by the Farmers Home Administration.

Both co-ops aim for total community improvement through health programs, day care facilities, sewing and clothing centers, and counseling services. And they share their new-found blessings. Last summer, Burke loaned Halifax some badly needed irrigation equipment. Halifax supplies Burke with its hard-won organic farming knowledge.

And last fall, NSF arranged for representatives from both communities to visit the Walnut Acres organic farm in Penns Creek, Pa. There they picked up ideas, developed over a quarter of a century, for new food products that can be grown and marketed

cooperatively. The Halifax community is also moving ahead with its own health council, organized with the assistance of development director Fay Bennett.

SOUTHERN LOUISIANA

The Southern Mutual Help Association, directed by Sister Anne Catherine, is an interracial group which works with rural poor people in eight Louisiana parishes (counties). For generations, sugarcane growers with potent political connections have exploited and controlled the lives of 5,000 black plantation workers, institutionalizing the nation's worst concentration of illiteracy (50% in some parishes) while holding average family income to $2,600 a year.

Two years ago, SMHA was formed to help these victims of exploitation to help themselves. Its "umbrella" of services, which depend on NSF for support, include a new health clinic, adult education programs, day care centers, a credit union for those the banks turn away, and all the myriad assistance that is needed in an area where families of four eat on $4.76 a week.

An important aspect of SMHA's work has revolved around the student-worker teams which have gone onto plantations, sought out people who need help, and drafted proposals to bring needed services. Federal grants that enable the sick to be treated without charge at the clinic and to bring the light of learning into bayou shacks are channeled through SMHA. NSF, whose vital support underpins all this activity, believes the plantation workers are on the threshold of new and productive lives, and that

cooperative lessons learned in Burke and Halifax can be taught here.

TRAINING AND ORGANIZING

While NSF concentrated its resources on a few primary projects in 1971, it also assisted other important ventures. NSF cooperation and counsel is aiding Cesar Chavez and his United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in the demanding task of banding Florida migrants and seasonal farm workers into a union that can bring dignity and decency into the lives of the nation's most abused and neglected working class.

It also contributes to the Education and Training for Cooperatives group in Jackson, Miss., which is spreading the new gospel of co-op salvation all over the South. And NSF has given significant help to the dramatic struggle of the Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association to bring black and white woodcutters into union against mighty paper mill interests. The woodcutters, oppressed over the years by take-it-or-leave-it pay practices, joined hands across racial lines last year. They started from scratch by contributing nickels and dimes to build an organization that defies both segregationist tradition and economic exploitation by the mill interests. When the call for help went out from the woodcutters, NSF responded. It will remain a firm and dependable ally.

NSF has also assisted in special projects of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, the South Carolina Human Development Coordinating

Abbreviated Statement of I

(A certified audit is available at our Washington and New Yo

	NSF
INCOME: Contributions, Bequests, Interest, Foundation and Government Grants	$ 47,7
EXPENDITURES:	
Field, Education, and Public Information Programs	$ 29,8
Special Project Programs	–
Development and Promotion	3,6
General Services Department	11,1
Total Expenditures	$ 44,5
Excess Income over Expenditures	$ 3,1

*The Southern Rural Project was NSF's federal OEO project, which

**Includes funds from bequest reserve and grants received for specifi

Contributions to RAF

Suggested For

"I give and bequeath to the National Sharecroppers F York), in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Rural Adva

Council, New Communities, Inc., of Southwest Georgia, and a Florida farm worker co-op.

EDUCATION

NSF continues to distribute its publications throughout the 50 states and to some foreign countries. For the 25th straight year, its annual report on *The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers* was sent to members of Congress, key government administrators, libraries, schools, organizations, and thousands of individuals.

ADMINISTRATION

Four new National Board members were elected in 1971: Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr., organizer of the Hilton Head Fishing Cooperative and now director of a county-wide rural health program in Beaufort County, S.C.; D. Marshall Barry, economics professor at New College, Sarasota, Fla., and director of a student project to alleviate the problems of migrant and seasonal agricultural labor; Ivanhoe Donaldson, field representative for the Cummins Foundation and fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.; and Raymond C. Wheeler, M.D., president of the Southern Regional Council and chief internist at the Charlotte, N.C., Medical Clinic.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College and president of the Atlanta Board of Education, continues as NSF chairman. Rev. A. J. McKnight of Lafayette, La., director of the Southern Cooperative Development Fund, is vice chairman, and Vera Rony, coordinator of equal

f Income and Expenditures

York offices for inspection by NSF and RAF contributors.)

SF	RAF	SRP*	COMBINED TOTAL
,722	$505,351**	$ 85,398	$638,471
,808	$360,780	$ 85,398	$475,986
–	74,146	–	74,146
,613	84,610	–	88,223
,169	33,110	–	44,279
,590	$552,646	$ 85,398	$682,634
,132	($ 47,295)	–	($ 44,163)

ch terminated June 30, 1971.

ific projects.

AF are tax-deductible.

orm of Bequest

Fund, Inc. (incorporated under the laws of the State of New
lvancement Fund of NSF, Inc., the sum of $ . . . . . ."

opportunity programs and social science lecturer at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, is secretary-treasurer.

IN THE DAYS AHEAD

At the Washington conference, one staff member articulated her concept of NSF's role.

"We have to bring back the American Dream of the good life to rural people, especially to minority people but essentially to all."

To fulfill this role, NSF will continue to plant and nurture the co-op seed throughout 1972. Through the innovation of a legislative newsletter and frequent appearances by the rural poor themselves in Washington, it will try to focus a national spotlight not only on the problems of these neglected Americans but on the solutions. NSF will work closely with a coalition of other concerned groups as it plans to step up its participation on the political level, stirring interest in issues at the grass roots and supporting those legislators who are ready to participate in the renaissance of rural America. As director Jim Pierce puts it:

"We will work with Cesar Chavez, Ralph Nader, church groups, labor unions, down-home politicians, or any other group — as long as their efforts reflect the needs and desires of the Alabama tenant farmer trying to scratch out a future for his kids, or the Louisiana plantation worker who wants to do something better with his life than cut another man's cane for $1.65 an hour. We think there's a new wind rising in rural America and we want it to blow its message right through the halls of Congress. That's what NSF has been all about since it started. With the help of our supporters, that concern is going to produce real change in the demanding days ahead."

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND | **RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND**

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the condition of farm workers and small farmers in 1971

REPORT TO THE NATIONAL BOARD OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

by James M. Pierce, Executive Director

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

Other RAF/NSF programs include:

- Self-Help Housing
- Leadership Training
- Student Interns

- Day Care Centers
- Community Improvement
- Craft Cooperatives

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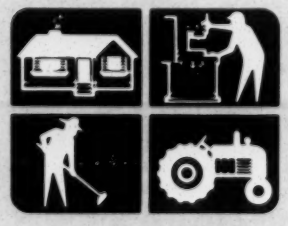

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"We ain't no big thing... but we're growing"

The sign outside the co-op echoes the belief of the members inside.

"We Ain't No Big Thing But We're Growing."

The farmers were gathered at the headquarters of their co-op, the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia (commonly called SAAV) in rural Halifax County. They met to consider participating in the most dynamic grass-roots program in the history of the National Sharecroppers Fund and its Rural Advancement Fund.

TURNING A CORNER

If SAAV approved the program, the cooperative and RAF/NSF would turn a critical corner. The two organizations had struggled side by side for three years in Halifax, one of the poorest counties in the nation. Out of their combined experience a new concept evolved that in 1971 would be tested in the fields of Halifax County, Virginia, and Burke County, Georgia.

The keystone of the concept was concentration of RAF/NSF's efforts in a small number of

key areas. Major emphasis would be placed on communities where people of vision and determination had already started co-ops, where intensive development could bring about permanent change, where the struggle to save people bypassed by progress could be won.

ARCHITECT OF CHANGE

Jim Pierce, NSF executive director, came to the co-op meeting, bearing new ideas and some of the money to implement them. NSF could make available to SAAV not only guidance and technical assistance but also the capital it required in interest-free loans, to be repaid as conditions permitted.

"But money alone is never the answer," Pierce said. "People have to believe in their co-op, and they need a total approach that rehabilitates a whole community. That means jobs, housing, and health services that can give the farmer and his family a new lease on life and clear him from being mortgaged perpetually to second-class citizenship."

FROM ALL OVER HALIFAX

Fifty farmers were there early, sitting on folding chairs under a galvanized roof in the walled grading and loading shed of SAAV headquarters. Virtually all the faces were black, and there was not one that did not reflect the lifelong struggle to make a good life from the dwindling tobacco crop. Farewells to children fleeing what their parents endured showed in those faces, too. Eighty percent of their homes had no running water or indoor toilets. The co-op was their one hope for the future.

For the past two years, some of the farmers had grown good crops of cucumbers and sweet potatoes in fields that for centuries had known only tobacco. A few had made more money per acre with less effort than tobacco ever required. But too few acres were planted with the new crops, planning and supervision were inadequate, and marketing was handled through a jobber whose excessive profit-taking reduced the farmers' profits to almost nothing.

SOMETHING FROM NOTHING

Still, they could see signs of progress all around. The co-op's headquarters—a combination office, grading shed, and loading platform—had doubled in size in a year and now could handle heavy volume. There was a $20,000 credit union, vital for small loans in an area where banks couldn't see past tobacco loans. With RAF/NSF help, land had been purchased for future development. There was talk of sewing cooperatives, youth programs, feeder pig projects. Three years before, there had been nothing but hard times.

Pierce chalked plans and figures on a big blackboard. To grow the volume of vegetables that would induce buyers (like supermarkets)

to back their big trailer trucks up to the SAAV loading shed, a larger acreage must be planted. In 1970, they had planted fewer than 100 acres. Now, he said, a minimum of 500—and preferably a thousand—should be in production. A murmur of surprise rose from the group. How?

TEN POINTS, THREE OPTIONS

Step by step, Pierce outlined a carefully worked out ten-point program for Halifax and Burke counties. Ultimately, the marketing program will include a chain of low-income farming co-operatives, ranging all the way from Virginia through the deep South, to extend the growing season and increase the volume of production.

Checkpoints would occur all along the way—all closely supervised by the co-op. The most important would develop an assured market by guaranteeing enough quality produce at the right time. The plan calls for a task force for training (Virginia Polytechnic Institute is supplying technical experts), locating and preparing the land, planting, cultivating, harvesting, processing, packing, and shipping. Every last detail is covered.

FIGURES ON A BLACKBOARD

Figures filled the blackboard as Pierce pointed out various options open to cautious farmers who wanted to choose how far they would go in the new program. Some could farm their own land, marketing through the co-op. Others could lease their land to the co-op, which would hire the labor and keep the profits.

The co-op itself would operate a demonstration farm beside the headquarters where lucrative specialty crops like strawberries and tomatoes could be tested in the rich Virginia soil. It also planned to use organic methods, to make

the use of harmful pesticides, herbicides, and chemical fertilizers unnecessary.

The farmers considered. Could it work when so much they had bent their backs to and put their hearts in hadn't worked too well in the past? Hands rose with questions. Could the co-op keep machinery purchased by NSF? *Yes, but SAAV would repay the purchase price from profits as it could.* How would we know some jobber wasn't tricking us on market prices like before? *SAAV would monitor the market, and the farmers would have contracts assuring them the going rate for their produce.* Where can we find a thousand or so harvest workers?

DID IT SOUND TOO GOOD?

"I've been wondering about that too," Pierce conceded, and there was laughter over a problem mutually acknowledged. "Much of it can be local, from right here in Halifax. SAAV will pay decent field wages, and the money can stay right here in the county. Your teen-age children can earn clothing money for fall and winter, tuition money for school. **Maybe if they see that farming and related enterprises can pay, some will leave off going away and set their roots here. That's what the co-op is all about—total community effort for total community gain."**

Well, it sounded good. Maybe too good.

"Mr. Pierce," an older man said. "We know what tobacco can bring us, bad as it is. But has this new plan ever been tried?"

"I'm not going to try to talk you out of planting your cash crop of tobacco now," Pierce said. "After a year or two with the new program, I think you'll be talking yourselves out of it. And no, this plan never has been tried by a co-op like SAAV, because there never was enough capital to try it. Now we have some of the money to start with and faith that we can raise

enough to keep going till SAAV can stand on its own feet. Then NSF can move on to another community with proof that what happened here can happen anywhere."

A DECISION IN HALIFAX

Do the farmers want to try? This is the crucial moment. The question is put to the membership, and **every hand is raised.**

"What I heard today changed my thinkin' right much," one man says. "I'm gonna be in there, pluggin' and pitchin'."

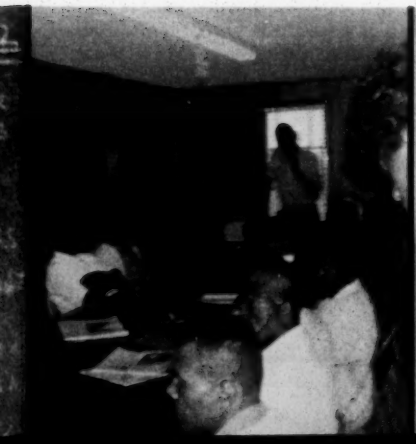
"I think we've turned a corner," Jim Pierce said after the meeting. "Here and in Burke County, too. The Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative, down there in cotton country, produced a small cucumber crop this past year, and now they'll be starting an expanded program same as here. Their co-op service station is paying its way, and the Newburke Housing Corporation is all set to begin building. But it all takes time and faith and hard work—and money."

Yes, money is needed. Money for machinery, for portable irrigation equipment, for trucks. Money to hire men with skills to manage, coordinate, and market this complex effort. Money that will be used over and over as the program expands and multiplies.

The men and women of Halifax and Burke are struggling, in a real sense, for their lives and the lives of their children. The people of the fifty states who have supported RAF/NSF over the years are in a position to share with them in a humanitarian vision that is on the verge of becoming reality. And in that sharing, they will become brothers under the banner planted firmly in the earth of Halifax.

"We Ain't No Big Thing But We're Growing."

Photographs by Burton Cohen



THE SHARECROPPER

WASHINGTON NEWS OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

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Volume 1, Number 1 March, 1972

HOUSE APPROVES OEO BILL— REPUBLICANS PREDICT SECOND VETO

The bill to extend the life of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) for two more years was approved by the House on February 17, by a vote of 234 to 127. The bill is expected to come to a vote in the Senate sometime in late March. A conference committee made up of Senators and Congressmen will then meet to resolve differences between the House and Senate bills and decide upon a final form for the bill. The bill will then be sent back to the House and Senate for final approval, and on to the White House for the President's signature. Republicans threaten that if the bill goes to the President in its present form, he will veto it for a second time.

In terms of rural programs, the bill just passed by the House is not as good as the OEO bill vetoed by President Nixon in December. That bill extended present OEO Programs for two more years and also contained a comprehensive child care program, a new National Legal Services Corporation, and -- most important to small farmers -- a Community Economic Development Title (Title VII) that would have provided broad financial and technical assistance for rural cooperatives.

The bill vetoed by President Nixon in December stated that a cooperative with at least fifteen members and a majority of low-income persons would be eligible for financial assistance from OEO. This assistance would include all or part of the costs for establishing and operating cooperative farming, purchasing, marketing, and processing programs.

The costs which OEO would assist with would include, but not be limited to:

(1) administrative costs of staff and overhead;
(2) costs of planning and developing new enterprises;
(3) costs of acquiring technical assistance;
(4) initial capital where it is determined that the poverty of the families participating in the program and the social conditions of the rural area require such assistance.

It is essential that this assistance for rural cooperatives (Title VII) be included in the new OEO bill. Title VII is not in the House bill now, but it is in the Senate bill. When the OEO bill is considered by the House-Senate conference committee and the final form of the bill is decided upon, Title VII must be included.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN AND URGE HIM TO SUPPORT THE OEO BILL AND INCREASED ASSISTANCE TO RURAL COOPERATIVES IN THE FORM OF TITLE VII. EVEN IF YOUR CONGRESSMAN VOTED FOR THE BILL, HE MUST APPROVE THE BILL AGAIN AFTER THE HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE. DO NOT TAKE HIS VOTE FOR GRANTED. WRITE HIM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND URGE YOUR FRIENDS TO DO THE SAME.

Letters can be addressed to:

Congressman _____
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

On page 3 you will find a list of Congressmen and how they voted on the OEO bill. You will note that only 44 out of 132 Congressmen in the sixteen southern states voted for the OEO bill. During the 1960's 1.4 million black people left the South largely because of lack of job opportunities. This bill, if passed and signed by the President, could provide these job opportunities through increased assistance to cooperatives, funds for rural housing, Head Start services, and other programs. But in the South, where poverty is more severe than in any other part of the country, only 34 per cent of the southern Congressmen voted for this bill. Let your Congressman know where you stand on this issue.

NSF has formed a coalition with 95 other social action organizations to push for approval of the OEO bill. An information clearinghouse has been set up in the NSF Washington office for groups or individuals who would like information on the bill or who would like to assist with the lobbying effort.

HEARINGS SCHEDULED FOR FAMILY FARM ACT

The House Judiciary Committee has scheduled hearings on the Family Farm Act (H.R. 11654) for the last week in March. NSF will testify at these hearings in support of the bill.

The bill is aimed at preserving the family farm and the small rural business. It would do this by preventing vertical integration -- the method used by large corporations to control the entire agricultural process. Many large corporations control smaller companies that provide all the components needed in agriculture -- production of seed, fertilizer, and insecticides; manufacture of machinery, processing and marketing of produce, and even supermarkets and restaurants where the produce can be sold.

This situation creates unfair competition for the family farmer. The Family Farm Act would not allow this to continue. The bill would classify any person, partnership or corporation engaged directly or indirectly in farming, and having more than $3 million in assets in a nonfarming business as a monopoly. This person, partnership or corporation would then have to release its holdings in agriculture or face prosecution as a monopoly.

NSF fully supports this bill. Large corporations are continuing to drive the small farmer out of rural America in large numbers every year. The Family Farm Act would help to reverse this trend and thereby revitalize rural America. The bill would not apply to charitable institutions engaging in agriculture for other than income purposes, or educational and non-profit organizations engaged in research.

The bill was introduced in the House by Congressman Abourezk of South Dakota. A similar bill has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Nelson of Wisconsin, but no hearings are scheduled there as yet.

HELP HIRED FARM WORKERS GET DECENT HOUSING

The President has frozen $3 million in funds which Congress appropriated last year for construction of farm labor housing. Write, wire or call the President, your Congressmen and Senators and urge them to work for three things: (1) to release $3 million in grant funds for farm labor housing being held by the Office of Management and Budget; (2) seek an additional appropriation of $30 million for farm labor housing grants for Fiscal Year 1972; (3) seek appropriations of $50 million for Fiscal Year 1973.

The Farm Labor Housing program administered by the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) was greatly liberalized in 1970 by legislation introduced by Senators Mondale and Hart and Congressman Tunney. Now grants can be given to public bodies, broad-based nonprofit organizations, or nonprofit organizations of farm workers for up to 90 per cent of the costs. The remaining 10 per cent can be borrowed at an interest rate of 1 per cent for 33 years. This liberalization has greatly increased the demand on program funds. After six months of operation, there is already a backlog of over $18 million in grant requests, with only $3.7 million available. Incredibly, the President has frozen $3 million in additional funds which could help with some of the demand. More funds are needed for this Fiscal Year and far more are needed than are budgeted for next year.

Migrants are the most poorly-housed group of people in this country. There is no justification for freezing $3 million that could help to improve their housing situation. Senator Cranston and thirteen other Senators from both parties have already requested President Nixon to take the three steps mentioned above in paragraph one. Won't you join in this effort?

HOUSE VOTE ON THE OEO BILL (H.R. 12350)—FEB. 17, 1972

ALABAMA
Bevill(D) N
Buchanan(R) N
Dickinson(R) N
Edwards(R) N
Flowers(D) N
Jones(D) Y
Nichols(D) PA

ALASKA
Begich(D) Y

ARIZONA
Rhodes(R) N
Steiger(R) N
Udall(D) Y

ARKANSAS
Alexander(D) Y
Hammerschmidt(R) Y
Mills(D) Y
Pryor(D) PF

CALIFORNIA
Anderson(D) Y
Bell(R) PF
Burton(D) Y
Clausen(R) X
Clawson(R) N
Corman(D) Y
Danielson(D) Y
Dellums(D) Y
Edwards(D) PF
Goldwater(R) N
Gubser(R) X
Hanna(D) Y
Hawkins(D) Y
Holifield(D) PF
Hosmer(R) N
Johnson(D) Y
Leggett(D) Y
Mailliard(R) Y
Mathias(R) X
McCloskey(R) PF
McFall(D) Y
Miller(D) Y
Moss(D) Y
Pettis(R) Y
Rees(D) Y
Rousselot(R) N
Roybal(D) Y
Schmitz(R) N
Sisk(D) Y
Smith(R) N
Talcott(R) PA
Teague(R) N
Waldie(D) Y
Wiggins(R) N
Wilson, C.(D) PF
Wison, B.(R) N
VanDeerlin(D) Y
Veysey(R) PA

COLORADO
Aspinall(D) Y
Brotzman(R) N
Evans Y
McKevitt(R) N

CONNECTICUT
Cotter(D) Y
Giaimo(D) N
Grasso(D) Y
McKinney(R) Y
Monagan(D) Y
Steele(R) Y

DELAWARE
DuPont(R) Y

FLORIDA
Bennett(D) Y
Burke(R) N
Chappell(D) N
Fascell(D) Y
Frey(R) N
Fuqua(D) N
Gibbons(D) Y
Haley(D) N
Pepper(D) Y
Rogers(D) N
Sikes(D) N
Young(R) N

GEORGIA
Blackburn(R) N
Brinkley(D) N
Davis(D) Y
Flynt(D) N
Hagan(D) N
Landrum(D) PA
Mathis(D) N
Stephens(D) Y
Stuckey(D) Y
Thompson(R) X

HAWAII
Matsunaga(D) Y
Mink(D) Y

IDAHO
Hansen(R) N
McClure(R) X

ILLINOIS
Anderson(R) PF
Annunizio(D) Y
Arends(R) N
Collins(D) Y
Collier(R) X
Crane(R) N
Derwinski(R) N
Erlenborn(R) N
Findley(R) N
Gray(D) Y
Kluczynski(D) Y
McClory(R) N
Metcalfe(D) Y
Michel(R) PA
Mikva(D) Y
Murphy(D) Y
Price(D) Y
Pucinski(D) PF
Railsback(R) Y
Rostenkowski(D) Y
Shipley(D) Y
Springer(R) N
Yates(D) Y

INDIANA
Brademas(D) Y
Bray(R) X
Dennis(R) N
Hamilton(D) Y
Hillis(R) Y
Jacobs(D) Y
Landgrebe(R) N
Madden(D) Y
Myers(R) PA
Roush(D) Y
Zion(R) PA

IOWA
Culver(D) Y
Gross(R) N
Kyl(R) N
Mayne(R) N
Scherle(R) PA
Schwengel(R) Y
Smith(D) Y

KANSAS
Roy(D) Y
Sebelius(R) N
Shriver(R) Y
Skubitz(R) Y
Winn(R) Y

KENTUCKY
Carter(R) Y
Curlin(D) Y
Mazzoli(D) Y
Natcher(D) Y
Perkins(D) Y
Snyder(R) N
Stubblefield(D) PF

LOUISIANA
Boggs(D) Y
Caffery(D) PA
Edwards(D) PF
Hebert(D) N
Long(D) PA
Passman(D) N
Rarick(D) N
Waggonner(D) N

MAINE
Hathaway(D) Y
Kyros(D) Y

MARYLAND
Byron(D) Y
Garmatz(D) Y
Gude(R) Y
Hogan(R) X
Long(D) Y
Mills(R) N
Mitchell(D) Y
Sarbanes(D) Y

MASSACHUSETTS
Boland(D) Y
Burke(D) Y
Conte(R) Y
Donohue(D) Y
Drinan(D) Y
Harrington(D) Y
Heckler(R) Y
Hicks(D) Y
Keith(R) PF
Macdonald(D) PF
Morse(R) Y
O'Neill(D) Y

MICHIGAN
Broomfield(R) N
Brown(R) X
Cederberg(R) N
Chamberlain(R) Y
Conyers(D) Y
Diggs(D) PF
Dingell(D) PF
Esch(R) Y
Ford,G.(R) N
Ford,Wm.(D) Y
Griffiths(D) PF
Harvey(R) Y
Hutchinson(R) N
McDonald(R) N
Nedzi(D) Y
O'Hara(D) Y
Riegle(R) Y
Ruppe(R) Y
Vander Jagt(R) X

MINNESOTA
Bergland(D) Y
Blatnik(D) PF
Fraser(D) Y
Frenzel(R) Y
Karth(D) Y
Nelsen(R) N
Quie(R) N
Zwach(R) X

MISSISSIPPI
Abernethy(D) N
Colmer(D) N
Griffin(D) N
Montgomery(D) N
Whitten(D) N

MISSOURI
Bolling(D) Y
Burlison(D) Y
Clay(D) Y
Hall(R) N
Hull(D) N
Hungate(D) Y
Ichord(D) X
Randall(D) Y
Sullivan(D) Y
Symington(D) Y

MONTANA
Melcher(D) Y
Shoup(R) N

NEBRASKA
Martin(R) N
McCollister(R) N
Thone(R) N

NEVADA
Baring(R) PA

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Cleveland(R) Y
Wyman(R) Y

NEW JERSEY
Daniels(D) Y
Dwyer(R) PF
Forsythe(R) Y
Frelinghuysen(R) N
Gallagher(D) PF
Helstoski(D) Y
Howard(D) Y
Hunt(R) N
Minish(D) Y
Patten(D) Y
Rodino(D) Y
Roe(D) Y
Sandman(R) N
Thompson(D) Y

NEW MEXICO
Lujan(R) PA
Runnels(D) Y

NEW YORK
Abzug(D) Y
Addabbo(D) Y
Badillo(D) Y
Biaggi(D) Y
Bingham(D) Y
Brasco(D) Y
Carey(D) Y
Celler(D) Y
Chisholm(D) Y
Conable(R) N
Delaney(D) PF
Dow(D) Y
Dulski(D) Y
Fish(R) Y
Grover(R) N
Halpern(R) Y
Hanley(D) Y
Hastings(R) PA
Horton(R) Y
Kemp PA
King(R) N
Koch(D) Y
Lent(R) N
McEwen(R) PA
Murphy(D) Y
Peyser(R) Y
Pike(D) N
Pirnie(R) N
Podell(D) Y
Rangel(D) Y
Reid(R) Y
Robison(R) N
Rooney(D) Y
Rosenthal(D) Y
Ryan(D) Y
Scheuer(D) Y
Smith(R) PA
Stratton(D) Y
Terry(D) N
Wolff(D) Y
Wydler(R) Y

NORTH CAROLINA
Broyhill(R) N
Fountain(D) N
Galifianakis(D) Y
Henderson(D) N
Jonas(R) N
Jones(D) N
Lennon(D) N
Mizell(R) PA
Preyer(D) Y
Ruth(R) N
Taylor(D) Y

NORTH DAKOTA
Andrews(D) Y
Link(D) PF

OHIO
Ashbrook(R) N
Ashley(D) Y
Betts(R) PA
Bow(R) X
Brown(R) Y
Carney(D) Y
Clancy(R) PA
Devine(R) PA
Harsha(R) Y
Hays(D) Y
Keating(R) Y
Latta(R) N
McCulloch(R) Y
Miller(R) N
Minshall(R) X
Mosher(R) Y
Powell(R) Y
Seiberling(D) Y
Stanton, J.V.(D) Y
Stanton, J.W.(R) PA
Stokes(D) Y
Vanik(D) Y
Whalen(R) Y
Wylie(R) Y

OKLAHOMA
Albert (Sp.)(D)
Belcher(R) N
Camp(R) N
Edmondson(D) Y
Jarman(D) PA
Steed(D) PF

OREGON
Dellenback (R) N
Green(D) PA
Ullman(D) Y
Wyatt(R) Y

PENNSYLVANIA
Barrett(D) Y
Biester(R) Y
Byrne(D) Y
Clark(D) PF
Coughlin(R) Y
Dent(D) Y
Eilberg(D) Y
Eshleman(R) N
Flood(D) Y
Gaydos(D) Y
Green(D) Y
Goodling(R) N
Heinz(R) Y
Johnson(R) Y
McDade(R) Y
Morgan(D) Y
Moorhead(D) Y
Nix(D) Y
Rooney(D) Y
Saylor(R) N
Schneebeli(R) N
Ware(R) N
Whalley(R) X
Williams(R) N
Vigorito(D) PF
Yatron(D) Y

RHODE ISLAND
St. Germain(D) Y
Tiernan(D) Y

SOUTH CAROLINA
Davis(D) Y
Dorn(D) Y
Gettys(D) PA
Mann(D) N
McMillan(D) Y
Spence(R) N

SOUTH DAKOTA
Abourezk(D) Y
Denholm(D) Y

TENNESSEE
Anderson(D) Y
Baker(R) N
Blanton(D) Y
Duncan(R) N
Evins(D) Y
Fulton(D) PF
Jones(D) PF
Kuykendall(R) N
Quillen(R) N

TEXAS
Archer(R) N
Brooks(D) Y
Burleson(D) PA
Cabell(D) N
Casey(D) N
Collins(R) N
DeLaGarza(D) Y
Dowdy(D) N
Eckhardt(D) Y
Fisher(D) PA
Gonzalez(D) Y
Kazen(D) PF
Mahon(D) N
Patman(D) PF
Pickle(D) Y
Poage(D) N
Price(R) PA
Purcell(D) Y
Roberts(D) N
Teague(D) N
White(D) Y
Wright(D) Y
Young(D) Y

UTAH
Lloyd(R) Y
McKay(D) Y

VERMONT
Mallary(R) Y

VIRGINIA
Abbitt(D) N
Broyhill(R) N
Daniel(D) N
Downing(D) N
Poff(R) N
Robinson(R) N
Satterfield(D) N
Scott(R) N
Wampler(R) Y
Whitehurst(R) N

WASHINGTON
Adams(D) Y
Foley(D) Y
Hansen(D) Y
Hicks(D) Y
McCormack(D) Y
Meeds(D) Y
Pelly(R) N

WEST VIRGINIA
Hechler(D) Y
Kee(D) Y
Mollohan(D) Y
Slack(D) Y
Staggers(D) Y

WISCONSIN
Aspin(D) Y
Byrnes(R) N
Davis(R) N
Kastenmeier(D) Y
Obey(D) Y
O'Konski(R) X
Reuss(D) Y
Steiger(R) Y
Thomson(R) Y
Zablocki(D) Y

WYOMING
Roncalio(D) Y

SYMBOLS

Y	–	Voted For
N	–	Voted Against
X	–	Not Voting
PF	–	Paired For
PA	–	Paired Against

A paired vote is an agreement between two congressmen on opposite sides of an issue to withhold their votes so their absence from Congress will not affect the outcome of a vote.

THE SHARECROPPER

* **THE SHARECROPPER** is a new publication of the National Sharecroppers Fund. It will focus on legislative developments that affect rural America -- with special emphasis on the small farmer, migrant and seasonal farm worker.

* **THE SHARECROPPER** will be an ACTION newsletter -- it is not intended to be a "one-way" publication. We will do our part by supplying the information on various issues concerning rural America. You can do your part by writing your Congressmen, Senators, or government officials and telling them that you support or oppose these issues.

* **THE SHARECROPPER** will not be an unbiased publication. We are biased in favor of the small farmer and farm worker and we feel that much more attention needs to be focused on rural America.

* **THE SHARECROPPER** will be published every two months and will be free of charge.

If you are interested in keeping informed about events concerning small farmers, farm workers and other rural residents, you will want to receive **THE SHARECROPPER.**

PRINT YOUR NAME, ADDRESS AND ZIP CODE BELOW, AND RETURN THIS FORM TO US. NO ENVELOPE IS NECESSARY, ONLY AN 8¢ STAMP. FOLD THIS FORM SO THAT THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND ADDRESS APPEARS ON THE REVERSE SIDE.

If you do not return this form, you will not receive further issues of **THE SHARECROPPER**

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CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

FARM LABOR SUMMARY

The House Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor, headed by Congressman James O'Hara, reports on action that has taken place on the following bills:

ELIMINATION OF CHILD LABOR IN AGRICULTURE (H.R. 10499) -- This bill would attempt to eliminate child labor by banning any child under the age of fourteen from performing farm labor except when the farm is owned by the child's parents. Children aged 14-16 would be allowed to perform farm labor only if it did not interfere with their schooling and if performed under safe conditions.

Hearings have been completed on this bill by the Subcommittee. It has been reported to the full House Committee on Education and Labor, but no action has been taken there as yet. NSF testified in support of this bill in September, 1971.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION FOR FARM WORKERS (H.R. 11007) -- This bill would provide workmen's compensation benefits to farm workers for partial or total disability or death due to any accident occurring in the course of their employment. It would also provide benefits for farm workers suffering disability due to pesticides. At present, farm workers are not covered by any workmen's compensation program. Hearings have been completed on this bill also.

CREW LEADER ACT (H.R. 13400) -- The House Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor will hold hearings on this bill soon. It amends the Crew Leader Registration Act of 1964 by making it apply not only to crew leaders who employ farm labor in two or more states, but to those who operate in just a single state as well.

Under the new bill, a crew leader who violates wage and hour laws, the Fair Labor Standards Act, or the Occupational Health and Safety Act could lose his crew leader license and be fined up to $2,500 or face two years of imprisonment. A crew leader is defined as any person other than a farmer, processor, or canner who, for himself or another, recruits, furnishes, hires, or transports ten or more farm workers for a fee in any calendar year.

Action has been taken on the following bill by both the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

INCREASE IN MINIMUM WAGE (H.R. 7130 & S. 1861) -- This bill would raise the minimum wage for farm workers from its present $1.30 per hour to $1.70 per hour, effective January 1, 1973. Non-agricultural workers would be raised from their present $1.60 per hour to $2.00 per hour.

The National Sharecroppers Fund fully supports all of the bills mentioned above. We will keep a close watch on their progress through Congress in future editions of THE SHARECROPPER.

THE SHARECROPPER
WASHINGTON NEWS OF THE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
(202) 659-5620

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

GEORGE H ESSER JR G
SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL
52 FAIRLIE ST N W
ATLANTA GA 30303

File

MINUTES
Meeting of National Board
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
followed by Meeting of Members of
RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND
May 24, 1972
Washington, D.C.

The meeting was called to order at 1:00 p.m. by Vice Chairman McKnight, in the absence of Chairman Mays. Those present were:

Board Members: Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr., D. Marshall Barry, Robert S. Browne, Manet Fowler, Lamond Godwin, Shirley E. Greene, James Lipsig, A.J. McKnight, Robert J. Miles, Morris Milgram, Daniel H. Pollitt, Arthur F. Raper.

Staff Members: James M. Pierce, Fay Bennett, Antoinette Sabelhaus, Sheila V. Williams, John A. Wilson, Alice D. Wolfson.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETINGS

Action: It was voted to approve the minutes of the November 22-23 meeting of the National Board as mailed to Board members, while noting that the foundation grant obtained for the West Batesville co-op, reported on page 7, was $7,000 rather than $6,000.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT

Executive Committee Chairman Greene summarized actions taken at the January and March meetings of the committee, as follows:

It was agreed that surplus funds should be deposited in minority-owned banks. (A further recommendation on this matter to be presented later in this meeting.)

Continuation of outside appeal mailings on the scale of last year, if results in the course of the year appear to warrant, was approved.

Certain salary changes were approved and a revised budget of $363,020 was adopted. (Copies of the budget were mailed to the Board with minutes.)

A proposal by the Foundation for Community Development for Bertie County, N.C., was endorsed.

Appropriations of $5,000 to the Southern Mutual Help Association and $30,000 to the programs in Burke and Halifax Counties were approved, with the Director of Development instructed to raise additional funds for these programs.

The Executive Director was authorized to develop a moderate program of organic peanut production, even though to do so might involve a challenge to the allotment program of the Department of Agriculture and possible fines. (However, sufficient funds were not raised in time to start such a program this year.)

A proposal to purchase land for an experimental farm and training center for co-op management was approved provided a satisfactory deal could be worked out. (This matter to be discussed in detail later in this meeting.)

An attempt to encourate voter registration among farm workers in South Florida was authorized, preferably in cooperation with Frontlash and COPE.

The Executive Committee also met as Nominating Committee and would present recommendations for Board members and officers later in today's meeting. Meantime it asked that the Board name a committee to select candidates for the Executive Committee for the coming year.

Following Mr. Greene's presentation, the Board took this action:

Action: It was voted to receive the Executive Committee report. A committee, consisting of Mr. Godwin, Mr. Milgram, and Dr. Raper, was named to choose candidates for the Executive Committee.

Action: It was voted to approve the minutes of the January 27 and March 27 meetings of the Executive Committee as mailed to all members of the Board.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Mr. Pierce presented a detailed written report on actions and activities since the last Board meeting, including a financial report. (A copy of the report is attached.)

Discussion of the report centered around the following specific topics:

Experimental Farm and Training Center: Mr. Pierce stated that RAF had been offered a contribution of $100,000 immediately, and more later if needed, to purchase a farm in North Carolina to be used as an experimental farm and training center for co-op management. The Department of Labor has indicated that it would finance the training. He felt that a North Carolina location would be convenient to both co-ops with which we are working, and that our program would supplement that of the Foundation for Community Development in that state.

Dr. Raper pointed out the need for efficient and skilled management and for a carefully worked out budget, calling attention to the large amount of work that would be necessary. He also proposed that a committee be asked to investigate various agricultural co-ops and communities such as Koinonia and to present recommendations based on their experience.

Dr. Fowler spoke of the need for a program design, as well as for staff and budget; she urged a clarification of the entire concept. Our purpose in acquiring land, she said, is not simply to run a plantation. We should base any program around the people involved; the emphasis should be on their sharing the crops. She recommended careful research on the feasibility of the whole plan, possibly financed with exploratory funds that might be sought for this purpose. Additional discussion centered around a motion made by Mr. Greene and amended by Mr. Lipsig. Mr. Pierce felt we should take advantage of the opportunity presented to us and buy land as soon as suitable land at the right price could be found.

Action: It was voted, in response to the Executive Director's report of the proposed contribution for an experimental farm and training center, to ask the staff to make provisions for a thorough feasibility study and a detailed project design for review by the Board as a basis for development of a farm-based experimental and training center, and to seek a developmental grant for this purpose. It was further voted to authorize the Executive Committee to act for the Board in this matter if the time element should make such action necessary.

Educational Film: Miss Bennett stated that the film being produced for us by Morten Parker had now reached the cutting stage. It is based on the experience of a family that has benefited from membership in the Halifax County co-op, contrasting this family with another that opposed the co-op. The question of how the film was to be credited was raised.

Action: It was voted to endorse the following credit line for the film: "Produced by Morten Parker with the cooperation of the Rural Advancement Fund."

Financial Report: The financial report for the first four months of 1972 (see page 6 of attached Executive Director's report) indicates that expenditures have been kept within the budget, but that the net balance on hand is very small. Actual income for these months was $15,000 less than the amount spent.

Mr. Pierce reported that the employee pension plan had not yet been launched; several plans are being considered in consultation with experts. The 1971 Audit is now completed. Several Board members proposed that a copy be sent to each member of the Board.

Action: It was voted to receive the 1971 Audit Report and to send a copy to each member of the Board.

Mr. Pierce stated that after the books for the second quarter year have been closed, a Washington auditor retained, and certain legal and technical matters settled, the financial operation would be moved from New York to Washington. Fundraising and publications would continue to be handled by the New York office, and contributions and other funds would be received there and forwarded as needed to the Washington office for payment of bills and other expenses. He requested passage of certain resolutions, already approved by the Executive Committee.

Action: It was voted to authorize the Executive Director to deposit a reasonable proportion of RAF-NSF funds in minority-owned and/or interracial banks or savings and loan associations.

Action: It was voted to authorize the Executive Director to proceed with bonding of all persons authorized to sign RAF-NSF checks. (A blanket position bond was suggested.)

Action: It was voted to authorize the opening of a checking account with the Union Trust Company of the District of Columbia in the name of National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., and a separate checking account in the name of Rural Advancement Fund of the National Sharecroppers Fund, with two signatures required on each check on each account from among the following persons: James M. Pierce, John A. Wilson, Antoinette Sabelhaus, and Sheila Williams, with all checks for $1,000 or over requiring the signature of James M. Pierce or John A. Wilson.

Action: It was voted that checks for $1,000 or over drawn on the NSF and RAF accounts with the Amalgamated Bank of New York must bear the signature of one of the following: James M. Pierce, Fay Bennett, Alice D. Wolfson.

Discussion of the balance of the Executive Director's report, dealing with field projects, was deferred until later in the meeting.

Action: It was voted to receive the Executive Director's report.

REPORT OF LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Wilson presented a 5-page written report, including an outline of NSF's legislative goals as adopted over a year ago and developments within that framework since the last Board meeting (A copy of the report is attached.)

He noted that we have never had a sympathetic Administration since NSF's legislative program was started. The only bill we were able to push through, with the help of a coalition initiated by NSF, was the OEO bill, but the President vetoed it. Now the Administration's government reorganization plan threatens OEO still further.

However, Mr. Wilson felt that progress was being made, though slowly. NSF is now much more prestigious and influential than at the last Board meeting and is beginning to become the advocate for the rural poor that it was intended to be. By the time of the next meeting, there should be a farm worker minimum wage, a child labor law, and passage of a community Economic Development Title (Title VII) in the OEO bill.

There was discussion of the impact of rural problems on the problems of the city, and of the value of coalitions dealing with the common needs of the rural and urban poor. There is a strong urban lobby, which sometimes tends to pit urban interests against rural.

Action: It was voted to receive the Legislative Director's report with appreciation.

REPORT OF DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT

Miss Bennett referred to her written report to the January 27 meeting of the Executive Committee, in which 1971 income from house mailings was reported as $99,650 and from outside mailings as $99,683. Income for 1972 was projected at $120,000 from house mailings and $100,000 from outside mailings, with an additional $90,000 projected from special contributions and bequests and $50,000 from foundations, making a total projected income of $360,000.

The special three-year development program outlined in that report has not yet been launched but hopefully will be after the film is completed and some model programs developed.

This year's edition of "The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers" is about to come off the press, and a new issue of "Rural Advance" is in preparation. Miss Bennett recommended that we prepare a publication on land reform. She also suggested that NSF hold a public hearing on farm labor, similar to those held in February, 1959, and May, 1964, by the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor; such a hearing would call attention to the issues involved and would provide the basis for another pamphlet.

Miss Bennett mentioned also her work with the Halifax County Health Council, which has conducted a sanitation survey and plans a nutrition program. It is hoped that the Reader's Digest Foundation will make a $25,000 grant for developing a health services model.

Mrs. Wolfson reported that, by the end of June, 484,000 appeals would have been mailed in 1972 to outside lists. (In 1971, 410,500 were mailed in the spring and 418,500 in the fall.) Returns are coming in well, but it is still too early for a definitive evaluation.

Action: It was voted to receive the report of the Director of Development.

ELECTION OF BOARD MEMBERS AND OFFICERS

The Nominating Committee recommended that the following National Board members, whose terms expire this year, be re-elected for a three-year term; expiring in May, 1975:

D. Marshall Barry	Marian Wright Edelman	Daniel H. Pollitt
Robert S. Browne	John L.S. Holloman, M.D.	Rowland Watts
	James Lipsig	

The committee further recommended that the following persons, each of whom has agreed to serve if elected, be elected to the National Board for a three-year term:

George H. Esser, Jr., Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
LaDonna Harris, President, Americans for Indian Opportunity

Action: It was voted unanimously to elect as members of the National Board each of the persons proposed by the Nominating Committee.

Mr. Greene indicated that there were still two vacancies on the Board which the Nominating Committee recommended not filling until suitable candidates could be found. He asked that Board members be on the lookout for additional candidates. Dr. Barry suggested Annie Mitchell, of Clewiston, Florida, a farm worker active in the Florida Migrant Ministry and a leader in the local tenants association.

Action: It was voted that the nomination of Ms. Mitchell be referred to the Executive Committee and that the Executive Committee be authorized to act as delegate agency of the Board and to elect her to the Board if advisable.

The question of criteria for Board membership was raised, and it was stated that there are no explicit or stated criteria; candidates are selected on the basis of interest in the field and the collective judgment of the Nominating Committee as to their suitability for Board membership.

The Nominating Committee then reported that Vera Rony had indicated her desire, for personal and family reasons, to be relieved of her duties as Secretary-Treasurer. The Committee therefore recommended election of the following officers:

Chairman: Benjamin E. Mays
Vice Chairman: Robert S. Browne
Secretary-Treasurer: A.J. McKnight

Action: It was voted unanimously to elect the officers recommended by the Nominating Committee. (Terms of officers are one year.)

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Godwin reported on behalf of the committee named earlier to select candidates for the Executive Committee. The committee recommended re-election of Robert S. Browne, Shirley E. Greene, William H. Johnson, James Lipsig, Benjamin E. Mays, A.J. McKnight, Vera Rony, and Rowland Watts, and election of Arthur F. Raper to replace James W. Lewis.

The Committee further recommended that the Executive Committee be enlarged from nine to eleven members and that an effort be made to add some younger people. It was

pointed out that size of the Executive Committee could not be changed without an amendment to the bylaws, which could not take place until a year from now.

Action: It was voted to elect to the Executive Committee the nine persons proposed by the special committee. It was further voted that an amendment to the bylaws, to increase membership on the Executive Committee from nine to eleven persons, be proposed at the proper time for action at the next Annual Meeting.

DISCUSSION OF FIELD PROJECTS

Following an intermission for dinner, the Board resumed its deliberations with a discussion of field activities, based on pages 3-5 of the Executive Director's report.

Burke County, Ga., and Halifax County, Va: Each co-op is in quite good shape, owns some land, has markets for its vegetable crops lined up, and has an OEO management grant--though finding managers is still a problem for all co-ops. Our co-ops could do even better if processing arrangements were available for all their produce, since the fresh vegetable market is precarious and therefore more difficult for co-ops.

A Board member asked if NSF did not tend to spend vast sums of money on co-ops and then abandon them. In reply, it was pointed out that we try to stay with them as long as they want us; the final decision rests with the co-ops themselves. Last year there were extra expenses because of the need to buy a lot of heavy machinery. Our major contributions to co-ops may well be in the areas of management training, establishing a network of marketing facilities, and financial help. Since our financial resources are limited, we must continue to push for government aid to co-ops.

Another Board member raised policy questions in two areas: (1) Do we have a long-range program? What specifically do we hope to accomplish in the long run? (2) How do we see NSF in relation to the people in the local organizations? Are we serving them adequately as counselors and resource people at the local management level? Do we prepare them to continue on their own after we are gone?

It was pointed out that we do have staff members living in each of our program areas who are available to counsel (but not to dictate) and that experts from many fields are consulted frequently or brought to local areas for advice. Suggestions were made that we might form an advisory council and that we might elect a management expert to the Board to advise on managerial questions.

It was agreed that many approaches are needed to solve the many and complicated problems involved, that we cannot expect instant success, that even a little progress is to the good. The fact that our co-ops are better off today than a year ago proves that we have accomplished something.

Newburke Housing, Inc., Burke County, Ga.: There have been many problems, and it has taken two years to get this project going. But now it is moving ahead, and eventually, step by step, a whole new community may be built.

Southern Mutual Help Association, Abbeville, La.: The health program, which has a HEW grant of $200,000 per year for five years, is definitely a success, in spite of opposition from local physicians. It provides something that that part of the country has never had before. It has one full-time doctor, a pediatric nurse, a visiting dentist, and outreach workers to sign up members. Mr. Barnwell wondered if full advantage of existing government programs were being taken and offered to discuss the matter with Sister Anne Catherine. Meantime funds are badly needed for other SMHA programs.

Housing Assistance Council: This new agency, which already has made loans to Newburke and other groups, emphasizes loans to projects that cannot get funds anywhere else, especially for "low-low-income" housing. Mr. Pierce is a member of the HAC Board.

Foundation for Community Development, Durham, N.C.: The joint FCD-RAF program is still looking for suitable land to buy. A for-profit organization is to be set up, with the profits to be used for nonprofit community development.

Southern Cooperative Development Fund: Despite some problems with OEO and the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, SCDF has now accepted $650,000 in OEO funds, bringing its total funding to a little over $1,000,000. Nearly $300,000 has been given out in loans to 15 co-ops, and another $200,000 in loans has been approved.

Sea Islands, S.C.: Mr. Pierce has been working closely here with Mr. Greene and the United Methodist Board of Missions. There is a tremendous need for technical help, funds, marketing assistance, and general planning and organizing. Mr. Pierce helped to locate an excellent technical consultant for the area. Mr. Greene reported organization of a promising new Coastal Plains Human Development Coordinating Council, with which NSF might wish to get involved.

Other Areas: Mr. Pierce reported that he had attended a recent meeting in Epes, Ala., called by the Field Foundation, where there was discussion similar to ours today on how a better job of helping rural co-ops might be done.

UFWOC: Dr. Barry reported at some length on efforts of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in Florida, taking issue with certain rumors to the effect that the movement there is made up of and controlled by Chicanos. "In fact," he said, "approximately 70 percent of the union members in Florida are black, 20 percent Chicano, and 5 percent white." While many of the organizers up to now have been Chicanos from California or white students, Dr. Barry said that the people who run the local union are black. Manuel Chavez (Cesar's brother) has left Florida, and the top man there is now Mac Lyons, a black farm worker from California.

Dr. Barry emphasized that a separate union of each ethnic group would result in no union, as each would be played against the other by the growers. Up to now there have been five separate farm worker organizations in Florida. What is needed is a national union, he declared, with research facilities, national publicity, and boycott committees all over the country to support it. A predominantly black union, such as the Farm Workers Union, would have none of UFWOC's advantages. This union, Dr. Barry stated, is now cooperating with UFWOC.

> Action: It was voted that, in view of NSF's deep concern about the unity and strength of the farm worker movement, we instruct the Executive Director to follow the Florida situation closely, to report to the Board any significant developments, to keep the lines of communication open with all groups, and to be prepared at their request to act in a mediating role.

NEXT MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL BOARD

It was decided that the National Board should hold its next meeting on Monday, November 20, at 10:00 a.m., and that the Executive Committee should meet on Monday, September 18, at 10:00 a.m.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 p.m.

MEETING OF MEMBERS OF RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND

A meeting of Members of the Rural Advancement Fund of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., was convened at 11:30 p.m. on May 24, 1972, with the following present:

Robert S. Browne, Shirley E. Greene, Robert J. Miles.

Action: It was voted to accept all reports presented to the NSF National Board at its meeting just concluded and to concur in all National Board actions relevant to RAF's purposes and program.

The meeting adjourned at 11:35 p.m.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT
TO THE NSF NATIONAL BOARD
May 24, 1972

At the November 22-23, 1971, meeting of the National Board you instructed us to give priority to the following:

1. Develop a broader and more comprehensive legislative program and develop coalitions with other groups.

2. Strengthen our research department and make its services available to low-income groups and other organizations engaged in low-income programs in rural America.

3. Expand NSF's services and sphere of influence to areas outside the South.

4. Support UFWOC's efforts to organize the farm workers of the eastern section of the U.S.

5. Develop a long-range development program and secure funding for it.

6. Continue support to the Halifax and Burke projects and assist other groups when funds are available or could be secured from other sources.

In addition, the Executive Committee subsequently directed the following:

1. That we appropriate $5,000 out of un-earmarked funds to SMHA and that the Director of Development be instructed to make every effort to raise additional funds for SMHA.

2. That the Executive Director develop a moderate program of production and marketing of organic peanuts and peanut butter.

3. That RAF proceed with the purchase of an experimental farm and training center if a satisfactory purchase could be made.

4. That the Executive Director follow through on an attempt to get the cooperation of Frontlash and COPE in a voter registration program in South Florida. The Executive Committee approved the expenditure of $1,500 from NSF funds for this purpose.

In order to implement the instructions of the National Board and Executive Committee we have made the following structural and policy changes:

1. Upgraded Mr. Wilson by increasing his responsibilities in the field and giving him the additional title of Assistant to the Executive Director. In the field he will work on community organization, assistance to co-ops, and development of a constituency for the NSF legislative program.

2. Upgraded Mrs. Sablehaus to the position of Research Associate with full-time research responsibilities.

3. Hired Ms. Sheila Williams as Bookkeeper-Clerk in the Washington office and finalized plans to move the financial operation from New York to Washington. The

actual move will be completed upon receipt of the 1971 CPA Audit and as soon as a new auditor can be hired in Washington. Bank resolutions, bonding procedures, and legal problems must also be solved prior to the move.

4. Expanded Mr. Blood's responsibilities to include marketing and technical assistance help to groups outside Burke County and changed his classification to that of Field Coordinator. His duties will include additional help to the Halifax County co-op and to other groups who may want it.

5. Hired a former VISTA in Burke County, Mr. Edward E. Frey, as a full-time field representative.

6. Negotiated a VISTA contract for Burke and surrounding counties, providing for 17 VISTA's. The cost to RAF is one-half of the VISTA Coordinator's salary plus some travel expenses. The VISTA Coordinator will be Mr. Bill Conner, who helped to develop the EGFC and Newburke Housing programs.

7. Authorized a bimonthly legislative report to be edited in the Washington office. It will be directed at the co-op members and a special "action" list. Special reports and calls for action will also be directed to our contributors.

8. Met with UFWOC, the Council for Community Action, National Coalition for Land Reform, and other groups for the purpose of developing a meaningful legislative coalition.

9. The $5,000 grant to SMHA made it possible for SMHA to continue regular operations into July, 1972, at which time negotiations with federal agencies for "administrative funds" should be favorably concluded.

10. A program for the production and marketing of organic peanuts and peanut butter was developed, and funding requests were forwarded to selected foundations. Unfortunately, because of delays in securing funds and identifying specific farmers and cooperatives to produce the peanuts, the actual implementation of this program will be delayed until the 1973 production period.

11. Negotiations for appropriate land for the experimental farm and training center were unsatisfactory owing to a shortage of funds and the withdrawal of a satisfactory site in Burke County, Ga., from the market. We will continue to seek appropriate land and funds for this essential project.

12. The voter registration program in South Florida is in progress with a $500.00 advance grant from NSF funds. National Board member Lipsig is negotiating with Frontlash and COPE for additional funds.

Financial Report

The Audit Report for 1971 is completed. Copies are available for inspection by members of the National Board. Attached to this report is a financial summary through April 30, 1972, including a report of funds on hand and earmarked funds not yet fully expended.

Fund Raising and Program Development

(Report to be presented by the Director of Development.)

Legislative Report

(Report to be presented by the Legislative Director.)

Other Activities

1. Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative (EGFC), Burke County, Ga.

Production and marketing plans are well under way in the EGFC. An organic program has been finalized and markets secured. As of May 20, 1972, 53 acres of land have been prepared and small acreages (1/2 to 5 acres) of approximately 20 different crops have been planted. Other crops will be planted later in the spring, and a fall planting is planned. Six local farmers, members of EGFC, are being trained in organic production methods and techniques. By the end of the year they will be prepared to produce organic crops on their own land or to assist other cooperatives who desire to enter the organic market.

The non-organic program instituted last year is continuing with more than 2,000 acres of beans, peas, cucumbers, squash, and other crops already planted. Participation in both programs will be expanded into four surrounding counties with the help of VISTA personnel.

2. Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia, Halifax County, Va.

In Halifax and Pittsylvania Counties, Va., RAF has set aside 100 acres for spring or fall crops of organic vegetables. Over 20 crops will be produced experimentally on this land. In addition, individual members of the cooperative are planting organic crops.

The cooperative has contracted to produce more than 100 acres of non-organic cucumbers for the pickle market.

3. Newburke Housing, Inc., Burke County, Ga.

With the assistance of the Housing Assistance Council, Newburke has extended its housing plans from 19 houses on 22 acres of land to 75 houses on 75 acres of land. A central water system is being developed under a HAC loan-grant program.

4. Southern Mutual Help Association, Abbeville, La.

With the $5,000 grant to SMHA from RAF approved by the last Executive Committee meeting, SMHA has been able to expand its efforts in support of its programs in lower Louisiana. While this will provide continuity for the next two to three months, additional funds are desperately needed. Fund raising for this project is one of our top priorities.

5. UFWOC

UFWOC made a dramatic and significant surge forward in the Southeast when it recently signed its first contract in Florida with Coca Cola. NSF resources and personnel are being made available to UFWOC upon request. To date UFWOC has needed little help from us.

6. Housing Assistance Council, Inc.

HAC is in full operation and has made a number of loans and grants for low-income rural housing. One of the first loans to be approved was to Newburke Housing. The $39,000 loan will provide a central water system for the 19 houses that are presently being built and water and planning studies for an additional 56 houses. HAC is also giving Newburke valuable technical assistance.

7. Foundation for Community Development, Durham, N.C.

The joint FCD-RAF program for the development of an agricultural community development corporation in Bertie County, N.C., is moving well. We are in the process of securing land at present. FCD is securing funding for the project, with RAF supplying technical assistance and planning and marketing information.

8. Southern Cooperative Development Fund

The SCDF has experienced some problems since the last meeting of the National Board but is apparently clearing them up and moving forward. Father McKnight, SCDF President, can give us additional information on the SCDF.

9. Sea Islands, S.C.

The Sea Islands projects are basically a joint church-federal-funded operation with technical assistance and advice provided by RAF. The programs are moving forward favorably.

On St. Helena Island we are assisting a farmers cooperative in the marketing of tomatoes.

On Johns Island a farmers cooperative is producing pickle cucumbers and moving into the fresh market with tomatoes, beans, and other vegetables.

On several islands HEW has funded health facilites and outreach clinics.

We are presently developing data for the organization of a seafood cooperative that will both harvest and process seafood for the commercial market.

Other programs (such as day care, tutorial) are being supported by other groups.

10. Other Areas

We are continuing our support of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, the South Carolina Human Development Coordinating Council, and other groups as they request our assistance. The Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association in Mississippi, won its fight with Masonite and as a result is expanding rapidly in both membership and influence.

We are participating in an OEO effort to study rural development problems so that a more comprehensive program can be developed by OEO. I have been asked to chair the Task Force on Rural Economic Development. We also participated in a Field Foundation-sponsored conference at Epes,Alabama, on May 22-23 to discuss the problems of cooperatives. A full report on this conference is forthcoming.

We continue consultations with various groups interested in land reform under the auspices of the National Committee on Land Reform. We plan to develop a position paper on land reform for general distribution.

The months since our last National Board meeting have been full ones, active and rewarding in many respects, frustrating in others, but the staff feels we are moving forward at a satisfactory pace.

NSF-RAF FINANCIAL REPORT
(as of April 30, 1972)

	1972 Budget (12 months)	1972 Budget (4 months)	Expenditures (4 months)
Salaries	$186,000	$ 62,000	
Payroll Taxes	12,690	4,230	
Fringe Benefits	12,690	4,230	
Employee Pension Program	4,000	1,333	
Total Personnel Costs	215,380	71,793	$ 57,637
Printing	33,000	11,000	11,892
Postage	15,000	5,000	9,526
Mailing	15,000	5,000	5,343
Rent	13,140	4,380	3,978
Telephone	8,000	2,667	2,370
Electricity	1,000	333	104
Office Expenses	7,500	2,500	1,732
Office Equipment	5,000	1,667	-
Staff Travel and Expenses	23,000	7,667	9,800
Board Meeting Expenses	8,000	2,667	1,898
Books, Ref. Materials, Org. Dues	2,000	667	1,201
Consultants	10,000	3,333	3,818
Accounting Services	1,500	500	62
Continuing Grants	4,000	1,333	1,200
Legal Services	1,500	500	-
	$363,020	$121,007	$110,561

Cash on Hand, April 30, 1972		
NSF Checking Account	14,490	
NSF Savings Account	2,577	
RAF Checking Account	44,950	
RAF Savings Account	105,489	
TOTAL		$167,506
Earmarked Funds Not Yet Spent		
Educational Film	38,000	
Sea Islands Program	4,500	
Migrant Program	250	
New Communities (FECD)	3,000	
Organic Farming (Burke & Halifax)	16,718	
Exp. Farm & Training Center	80,000	
Employees Pension Program	12,000	
Emergency Fund	2,500	
TOTAL		$156,968
Balance on Hand Not Earmarked		10,538

REPORT OF LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR
TO THE NSF NATIONAL BOARD
May 24, 1972

The legislative office of the National Sharecroppers Fund has been in operation for three years. The first year, we had only one individual in the office, John Wilson. We have since grown to three, including Antoinette Sabelhaus and Sheila Williams.

During the past year we have begun to gear our legislative efforts toward becoming a more effective advocate for our constituency. We are not at all pleased with our legislative record. However, I think we have done an extraordinary job with the limited resources and staff available.

We have worked on a variety of issues, with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Center for Community Change, Washington Research Project, and National Association for Community Development. In the last three years our tentacles have definitely expanded. The National Sharecroppers Fund is becoming an institution in Washington. It has become a guiding force in offering direction to interested parties who have some interest in the plight of farm workers and the rural poor. We have participated in press conferences concerning the United Farm Workers, the Agriculture Department's oppressive food stamp legislation, and nomination of Mr. Butz as Secretary of Agriculture.

I have also begun to assist the Executive Director in field programs, meeting with the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. for the purpose of expanding our field programs, with the Farmer Cooperative Service of the Department of Agriculture, and the State of Virginia Department of Agriculture for the purpose of developing regional marketing mechanisms.

I have participated in the Black Economic Development Conference, Sponsored by the Black Congressional Caucus, the National Association for Community Development convention, and the White House Conference on Aging. I have also met with the United Farm Workers Executive Director, Cesar Chavez.

When I came to Washington three years ago as Washington Representative for NSF, it was a learning experience for me, and I always will be grateful to NSF for the rare opportunity afforded so few Black people in this country. After the length of time I have spent as Legislative Director, I no longer feel that I am in a learning situation. I feel that my education has been complete and that I am much more competent and aware of the legislative procedure and the tools that are essential for a prosperous legislative program. We have implemented a Washington legislative newsletter and are beginning to compose an action list, now consisting of 2,200 names. The action list has to reach 50,000 before I would consider it an adequate list, and we are working toward that. My confidence in the program has increased.

While looking at our legislative record, we must take into consideration the Republican Administration and the conservative nature of the House of Representatives at present. Given the opportunity, the House has continuously taken a non-progressive position. The Senate has been bogged down with the War issue. The only piece of legislation we have been able to push through was the OEO bill, which was vetoed by the President in December, 1971.

We have also been in the process of establishing new coalitions. Development of new legislative coalitions is very difficult, basically because every legislative

director has to make the same report that I am making today. An organization's funds and prestige are based upon its ability to produce. None of the organizations representing rural areas or farm workers has been productive legislation-wise in the last three years. Most of the organizations' legislative arms are bankrupt. The problem has been the wish to receive the credit without the obligation of helping to foot the bills. We are still working to bring about a powerful coalition around farm workers and the rural poor.

I hope to be able to report at our next Board meeting that we have a new Title VII in OEO, and that we have increased farm worker coverage under the minimum wage law. I also hope that we will have a child labor law and a more responsive Administration to work with.

The following outline of legislative goals was adopted by the NSF Executive Committee over a year ago. We are still working toward those goals. The summary which follows the outline capsulizes legislative developments which have occurred within that framework since the last NSF Board Meeting.

1. Hunger
   a. Removal of forced work requirement from Food Stamp Act.
   b. National eligibility standards for food stamps.
   c. Free food stamps for the needy.
   d. Food stamp programs (not commodity programs) in all counties.
   e. Continuation of Emergency Food and Medical Program (OEO).

2. Welfare
   a. Federalization of welfare at adequate levels.

3. Health
   a. Support for Senator Kennedy's approach to national health care.
   b. Close study of Nixon health plan as specifics are revealed.
   c. Adequate provision for rural people, especially the poor, in any health plan.

4. Farm Workers
   a. Urge Senator Stevenson to hold hearings of Subcommittee on Migratory Labor in rural areas and to introduce farm labor legislation.
   b. Urge Senator Humphrey to activate Agriculture Subcommittee on Rural Development on behalf of the rural poor.
   c. Support legislation to assure the right of farm workers to organize.
   d. Work for legislation for minimum wage, unemployment compensation, and safety standards for agricultural workers.
   e. Work with Senator Nelson's Subcommittee on Poverty.
   f. Work with Representative O'Hara and his Subcommittee on Farm Labor and Education in support of his "Farm Workers' Bill of Rights".

5. Housing
   a. Work for a comprehensive rural housing program, readily accessible to the poorest people. (NSF should cooperate with the Rural Housing Coalition in development of specific goals.)

6. Economis Development
   a. Support for rural economic development title in Economic Opportunity Act.

1. Hunger

There has been little improvement in the Food Stamp Act since November, 1971. A forced work requirement is still part of the Act, and only a family of four with an income of less than $30 per month can receive food stamps. Commodity Programs still exist in almost 1,000 counties, particularly in the South. Senator Percy has just introduced a bill (S. 3599) that would greatly improve the Commodities Programs.

A USDA Food and Nutrition service official recently testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, stating that he could no longer work for FNS "in good conscience" because of its deliberate attempts to undermine the school lunch and breakfast programs.

2. Welfare

The welfare reform program is still pending in the Senate Finance Committee. Welfare reform is tied to a social security increase, and demands are now being made to drop welfare reform so that a bill can be passed to increase social security up to 20 percent. The total bill cannot be debated on the Senate floor until August, at the earliest.

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long has been successful in pushing his "workfare" proposals through the Committee. It is his plan that welfare families with children ages 6-18 be disqualified from welfare but offered guaranteed federal jobs at $1.20 per hour. The Administration's $2,400 guaranteed annual income plan appears scrapped, along with Senator Ribicoff's more liberal proposals. Any improvements in Senator Long's "workfare" program will have to come on the Senate floor.

3. Health

Both the Kennedy and Nixon health plans are still under consideration. We still believe the Kennedy plan to be the more comprehensive and the one that would provide the best benefits to the rural poor. It is doubtful that either will be voted on this year.

4. Farm Workers

Minimum Wage -- A minimum wage bill will be reported out of committee soon in the Senate and has already been passed by the House. The House adopted the Administration bill over the more liberal committee bill by a close vote. Farm workers now covered by minimum wage would be increased from their present $1.30 per hour rate to $1.70 per hour by the end of 1973.

The Senate bill is much better in all respects and contains the following provisions for farm workers:

a) Increases farm worker minimum wage from present $1.30 rate to $1.70 60 days after passage to $2.00 one year later and $2.20 one year after that.

b) Extends coverage to as many as 150,000 additional farm workers including seasonal farm workers, by eliminating the loopholes in the present minimum wage law that now exclude many farm workers from being covered.

c) Bans any child under the age of 12 from performing farm labor unless the farm is owned by the child's parents. Children between the ages of 12 and 16 can work, but not during school hours.

NSF fully supports the Senate minimum wage bill and is lobbying members of the Senate Labor Committee to be certain that the farm worker provisions remain in the bill. The lobby effort will be stepped up when the bill comes to the House-Senate conference committee, where attempts will certainly be made by conservatives to strike the farm worker provisions.

Sugar Workers -- On March 27, NSF arranged for Sr. Anne Catherine, Fr. Vincent O'Connell, and sugar worker Gustav Rhodes to testify in Washington before Congressman O'Hara's Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor. The Subcommittee was looking into the fact that sugar workers did not receive their wage raise until January, 1972, rather than in September, 1971, the beginning of harvest and the usual time for an increase. In addition, they only received a 5 percent increase, which the Department of Agriculture said was caused by the wage-price freeze. However, growers received more than a 5 percent increase in prices. A lawsuit against USDA will be filed soon by an associate of Ralph Nader's.

Family Farm Act -- The Legislative Director testified on March 23 in support of this bill. A summary of that testimony was sent to all NSF Board members. There is no chance for passage this year.

Rural Development -- Senator Humphrey's Rural Development Act has been passed. It remains to be seen whether or not this bill, which opens up more credit sources to rural America, will actually benefit the rural poor, although the additional water and sewer funds will be very helpful.

Child Labor -- Although House hearings have been completed, this bill has yet to be reported out by the full House Labor Committee.

5. Housing

Senator McGovern's Emergency Rural Housing Administration bill, a program that would provide a comprehensive rural housing program for all, will probably not have hearings this year. It was felt that the bill, which has the full support of the National Rural Housing Coalition, would be subject to too many amendments in this election year.

The White House recently released $3 million in farm labor housing funds which it had frozen earlier. Release of the funds was accompanied by a statement praising the President for providing "additional" monies for farm labor housing.

6. Economic Development

The Community Economic Development Title, Title VII, of the OEO bill might be on its way to passage. The House passed the OEO bill in February without Title VII, but it is contained in the Senate version which is expected to pass with no trouble. The comprehensive child development program, once a part of the OEO bill, is now a separate piece of legislation. Thus, OEO stands a much better chance of passing and being signed by the President. The House should accept Title VII in the conference version of the bill, as it did the previous time, before the President vetoed the OEO bill. Title VII would provide a great deal of financial and technical assistance to co-ops.

However, OEO is threatened by a different piece of legislation, H.R. 6962, the Department of Community Development bill. This bill, part of the Administration's government reorganization plan, would transfer existing programs from HUD, Commerce, Transportation, and OEO into a new Department of Community Development. OEO would lose

its Community Action Program and Special Impact Economic Development Program to this new Department. These two programs represent the bulk of OEO's constituency and funding; without them OEO would have even less strength than it now has.

NSF has written to all House members on this matter and is working to oppose it in conjuction with the Urban Coalition, NACD, and the leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

JUN 16 1972

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

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executive director

national board

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vice chairmen

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PATRICIA CAYO SEXTON
ROWLAND WATTS*
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

**executive committee*

•

Founding Members
FRANK McCALLISTER
ELIOT D. PRATT
IRA DeA. REID
NORMAN THOMAS

June 14, 1972

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
c/o Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Esser:

The New York State Social Welfare Law requires that all Board members sign statements authorizing use of their names on letterheads and other material used for fundraising. Will you please, therefore, sign and return the enclosed statement?

Sincerely,

Verna M. Gardener

Verna M. Gardener

Encl: Statement and return envelope. — returned 6-22-72 jh

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

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ROWLAND WATTS*
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

*executive committee

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Founding Members
FRANK McCALLISTER
ELIOT D. PRATT
IRA DeA. REID
NORMAN THOMAS

JUN 21 1972

June 19, 1972

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
c/o Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Esser:

I think you are already pretty familiar with the work of the National Sharecroppers Fund and its Rural Advancement Fund. Even so, Dr. Mays asked me to send you, as a new member of the National Board, a copy of the bylaws and a few pieces of literature about our work.

We are very pleased that you have accepted membership on the Board and look forward to seeing you at our meetings.

Sincerely yours,

Alice D. Wolfson

Alice D. Wolfson (Mrs.)
Staff Associate

Enclosures

File

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

JOHN A. WILSON
washington representative
1316 New Hampshire Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

June 23, 1972

JUL 10 1972

TO: Members of the National Board

FROM: James M. Pierce, Executive Director

Enclosed for your information are several items which I believe will interest you.

1. A reprint of an editorial in last Monday's NEW YORK TIMES, inspired by our report on "The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1971", of which we recently sent you a copy.

2. Copies of the brochures we have been using in our recent fund appeals--one based on our work with the farm co-ops and the other on our program in Louisiana.

3. A list of current members of the National Board with their affiliations.

Next week you will be sent the minutes of the May 24th meeting of the National Board and a copy of the 1971 Audit Report.

The New York Times

EDITORIAL

MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1972

'Giantism on the Farm'

Three decades before Cesar Chavez began his uphill struggle to bring unionism to farm workers, the National Sharecroppers Fund launched a low-keyed but never-relaxed effort to alert the nation to the needs of this most exploited segment of America's labor force.

In its annual report, just released, the fund sums up the record for last year as "a harvest of hardship" aggravated by an intensified invasion of agriculture by giant business conglomerates. It estimates that more than 100,000 small farmers are forced off the land each year while business empires expand their farm holdings with the aid of tax advantages and Federal subsidies—a trend unchecked by Congressional passage in 1970 of easily evaded crop subsidy limitations.

By way of illustration, the report cites Tenneco, the country's 34th largest corporation, "which owns or leases more than a million acres in the West, plows its land with tractors manufactured by one of its subsidiaries, sprays its crops with pesticides from another and processes, packages and sells its produce through still other companies within the same corporate structure."

In a few instances the corporate intrusion has made a trifle easier the Chavez unionization drive, not necessarily out of humanitarianism but rather a desire to avoid the impact on over-all company profits of nationwide consumer boycotts backed by organized labor. However, the fund report makes plain how little real progress has yet been made in bringing farm workers anywhere close to a living wage. Two-thirds remain still outside the protection of the special Federal farm minimum wage of $1.30 an hour. The average annual wage for all the 1.4-million hired farm laborers who worked 25 days or more last year came to only $1,576. That doesn't put much food on their table, but then not too many have a table they can call their own.

June 1972

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
112 East 19th Street, New York, New York 10003

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Professor, School of Law, University of North Carolina

*ARTHUR F. RAPER, Ph.D., Oakton, Va.
Formerly with Agency for International Development, East Pakistan, and Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University; author of "Rural Development in Action"

*VERA RONY, Stony Brook, N.Y.
University Coordinator of Equal Opportunity and Lecturer in Social Sciences, State University of New York at Stony Brook

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Professor of Educational Sociology, School of Education, New York University

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Attorney; Partner, Youngdahl, Brewer, Forster, Huckabay & Uhlig

*Member of Executive Committee

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of the national sharecroppers fund, inc.

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JAMES M. PIERCE
Executive Director

JUL 10 1972

July 5, 1972

TO: All NSF/RAF National Board Members and all staff

FROM: James M. Pierce, Executive Director

RE: Experimental Farm and Training Center

At our May 24 National Board meeting you authorized the staff to secure funding and buy land to be used as an experimental organic farm and technical training center for low-income farmers and co-operative managers and staff.

One of our contributors has made funds available to us to purchase a 508-acre tract of land in Anson County, N.C. He is also going to provide funds for developmental purposes; that is, for primary facilities, land preparation, and initial equipment needs.

Anson County, N.C., is located in south central North Carolina on the South Carolina line. The largest town, Wadesboro, the county seat, has a population of 3,977 (1970 census figures). See Exhibit 1.

Other 1970 census figures are as follows:

Size	533 Square Miles	
Population	23,488	
Urban	3,977	(16.9%)
Rural	19,511	(83.1%)
White	12,853	(54.7%)
Non-white	10,635	(45.3%)

NOTE: Indian population (mostly Lumbee) may be listed as "white".

Male	11,267	(48%)
Female	12,221	(52%)

Other towns in the county: Ansonville (694), Lilesville (641), McFarland (140), Morven (562), Peachland (556), Polkton (845), and South Wadesboro (109).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE.

Other information:

Declining population. 27,000 plus in 1910, 24,962 in 1960.
High unemployment. Light, rural-oriented industry only.
A complete country profile has been requested from OEO.

ABOUT THE LAND:

The land is 8 miles south of Wadesboro on N.C. Hwy. 742, a paved, well-traveled state highway. It is 8 miles from U.S. 74 and equidistant from I-85 (67 miles) and I-95 (73 miles). It is approximately 200 miles from the Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative in Burke County, Ga., and approximately 175 miles from the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia in Halifax County, Va. About 20 other low-income, mostly minority, agricultural cooperatives are located in North and South Carolina between the two listed above and at shorter distances from Wadesboro. More are being organized at the present time.

The farm is in two parts. The Edwards farm is divided by N.C. 742 and contains approximately 415 acres. The Hightower tract contains 92.7 acres. They are 3½ miles apart, thereby posing no staff or equipment problems. (See Exhibit II).

Each tract is unimproved, is ecologically clean and contains ideal water sources, both surface and underground. The ponds presently on the property are spring fed. Other pond sites are available. Jones Creek can be dammed at a number of locations if needed. Electric power lines and telephone lines cross the land on N.C. 742 right-of-way. Equipment repair services are available in Wadesboro, and labor is available in the immediate vicinity.

Soil samples indicate the land is ideal for our purposes and nearly identical to land available to low-income farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers in the states from Virginia through Georgia. Four distinct types of soil are found on the two pieces of property. In addition to vegetable production, it will support livestock, poultry, horticultural, fruit, berry, and nut production. Present wooded land can, in part, be converted into open land for increased vegetable production or for pasture, without adversely affecting the ecological balance.

National Board Member Arthur Raper has viewed the land and is satisfied we can reasonably expect a successful operation. It will, of course, take a lot of work and planning. Local agricultural personnel assure me it is ideally suited for our proposed operation.

North Carolina State University and North Carolina A&T specialists have offered their assistance, as has the local offices of U.S.D.A. Local residents are quite interested in the possibility of local participation in the project.

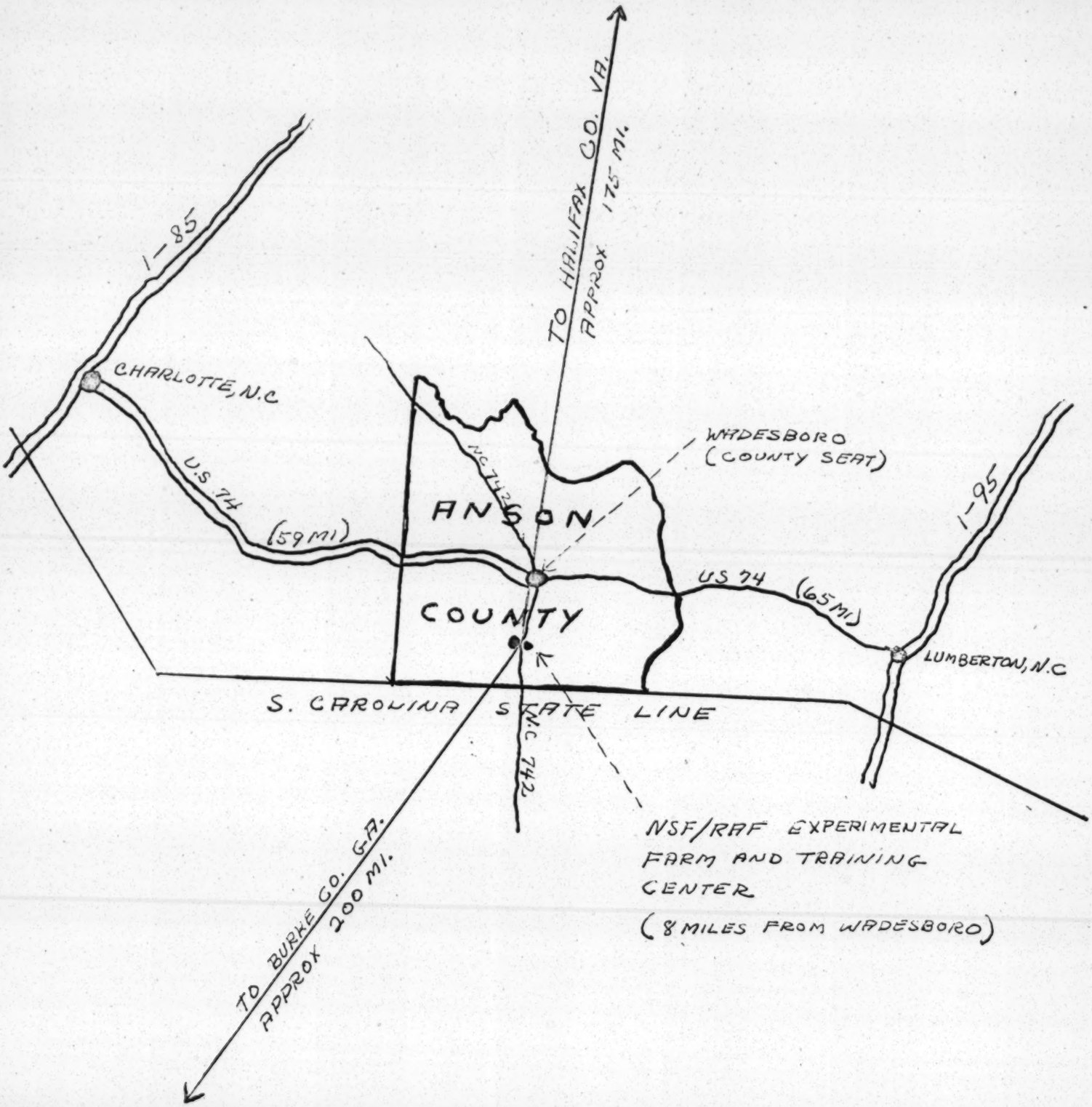
Facility construction, fencing, drilling, and land preparation can start immediately upon receipt of the developmental funds from our contributor and completion of the feasibility study recommended by the National Board. The farm should be ready for limited production in the spring of 1973 and has a reasonable chance of being self-sustaining within two years. No funds are required from the NSF/RAF operating budget except for staff so it should not interfere in any way with other programs of NSF/RAF.

If training grants can be arranged with foundations or government agencies within the next nine months, we will be able to start limited training operations at the same time we start production operations; that is, in early spring of 1973.

Aerial photographs, pictures, and feasibility reports will be forwarded to you as soon as they are available. Further reports will follow periodically.

Needless to say, I am excited, enthusiastic, and encouraged. We will have the only organic farm in America whose prime purpose is to restore rural America and assist low-income rural residents (and urban residents who want to return to the land) in organic methods. It will be a national showplace -- proof positive that we need not destroy our country in order to survive. I am sure the staff shares my feelings. We may well be on our way to helping farm cooperatives become the viable, successful alternative to rural migration and decay.

Thanks for your help and support in making this project possible.



GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF NSF/RAF EXPERIMENTAL FARM AND TRAINING CENTER, WADESBORO, N.C.

EXHIBIT I

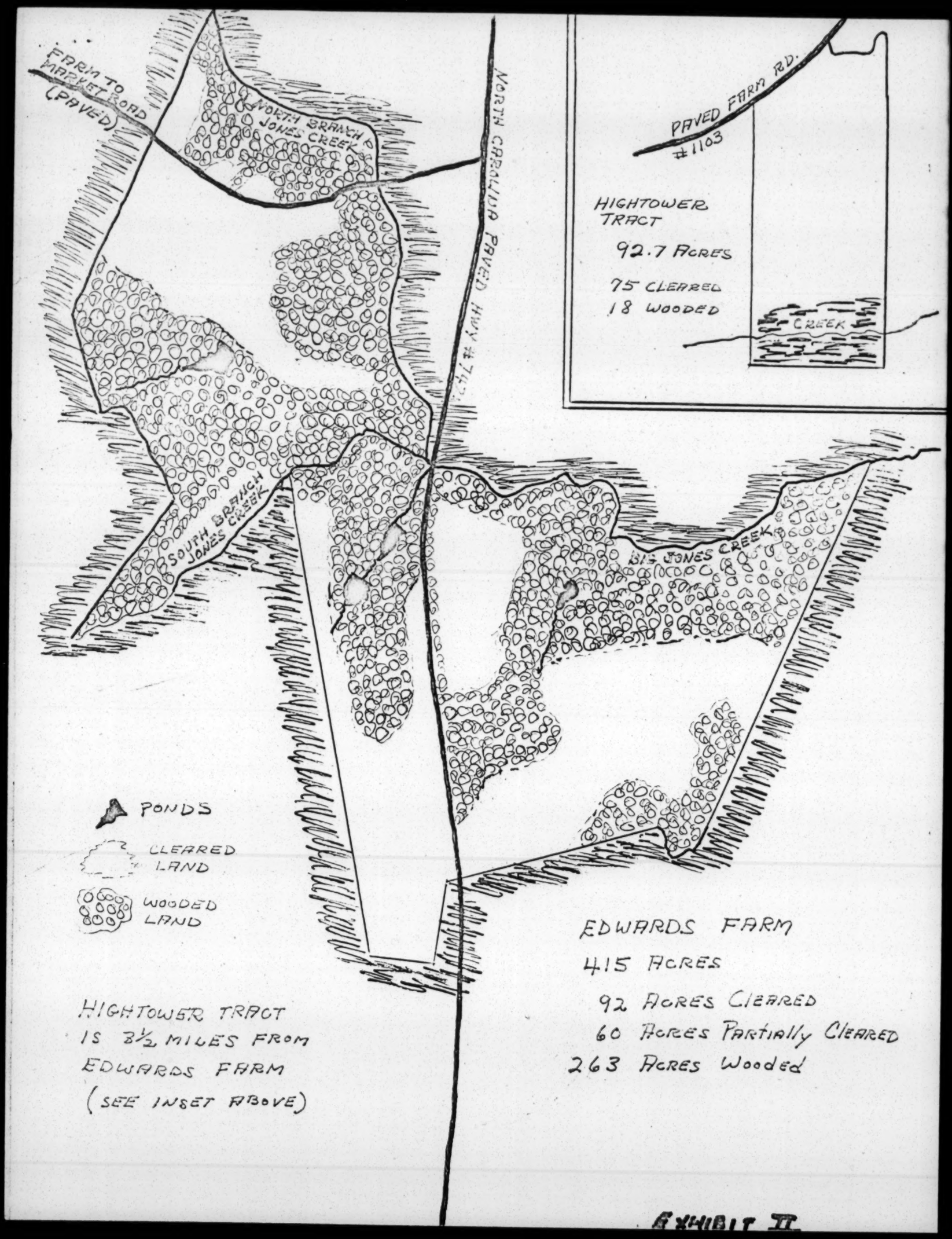

FARM TO MARKET ROAD (PAVED)
NORTH BRANCH JONES CREEK
NORTH CAROLINA PAVED HWY #75
PAVED FARM RD. #1103
HIGHTOWER TRACT
92.7 ACRES
75 CLEARED
18 WOODED
CREEK
SOUTH BRANCH JONES CREEK
BIG JONES CREEK
PONDS
CLEARED LAND
WOODED LAND
EDWARDS FARM
415 ACRES
92 ACRES CLEARED
60 ACRES PARTIALLY CLEARED
263 ACRES WOODED
HIGHTOWER TRACT IS 3½ MILES FROM EDWARDS FARM (SEE INSET ABOVE)

EXHIBIT II

Meeting of the National Board
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
November 20-21, 1972
Washington, D. C.

PROPOSED AGENDA

1. Opening Remarks by Chairman, Dr. Mays
2. Minutes of May 24, 1972 National Board Meeting
3. Executive Committee's Report, Chairman Greene
4. Minutes of September 18, 1972 Executive Committee Meeting
5. Executive Directors Report
6. Legislative Director's Report
7. Panel Discussion of Rural Development Act and Future Legislative prospects.
8. Financial Report
9. Director of Development's Report
10. Proposed preliminary Budget for 1973
11. Proposed study of Rural Development in China
12. Discussion of Field Programs
13. Constitutional Amendments
14. Date and Place of Next National Board Meeting
15. Good and Welfare
16. Adjournment

Meeting of Rural Advancement Fund

1. Discussion of NSF Actions
2. Business Session
3. Adjournment

MINUTES
Meeting of National Board
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
followed by Meeting of Members of
RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND
November 20-21, 1972
Washington, D.C.

The meeting was called to order at 2:30 p.m. on November 20 by Chairman Mays, who presided until he had to leave, when the chairmanship was taken over by Vice Chairman Browne. Those present for some or all of the sessions were:

Board Members: Benjamin E. Mays, Robert S. Browne, George H. Esser, Jr., Shirley E. Greene, Lewis W. Jones, James Lipsig, Rev. A.J. McKnight, Robert J. Miles, Morris Milgram, Daniel H. Pollitt, Arthur F. Raper, Vera Rony, Rowland Watts, Raymond M. Wheeler.

Staff Members: James M. Pierce, Fay Bennett, Don Blood, Sister Anne Catherine, Charles W. Dixon, Nancy Firmin, Sheila V. Williams, John A. Wilson, Alice D. Wolfson.

Guests: James N. Boylson, Stephen E. Bossi, Boren Chertkov, Willie Lee Farmer, John W. Gadson, Jim Harrison, Jon W. Linfield, Donald MacInnis, Elizabeth Newman, Daniel H. Pollitt, Jr., Benton Rhoades, Clifford Somerville, Robert S. Wilkins, Raymond Williams.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING

Action: It was voted to approve the minutes of the May 24 meeting of the National Board as mailed to Board members.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT

Executive Committee Chairman Greene summarized major actions taken at meetings held since the last Board meeting--one on September 18 (minutes of which were sent to all Board members) and one held just prior to today's Board meeting. The Board took action on certain of the Committee's recommendations, as indicated.

Halifax County, Va.: A committee (Greene, Johnson, McKnight) was appointed in September to visit the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia for a full exploration of its future relationship with NSF. The committee was unable to visit SAAV but, with Mr. Browne replacing Mr. Johnson, has met and is to meet again today with three representatives of SAAV (Mr. Somerville, Mr. Farmer, and Mr. Wilkins) who have come here to present a new proposal. A report to the Board is scheduled for later on in the Board meeting.

Experimental Farm and Training Center: An estimated minimum budget for the center was approved, totaling $227,000 (itemized on page 4 of the September 18 minutes), of which $172,000 was already available in earmarked funds. It was proposed that the Executive Committee, at the time of its next meeting, hold a seminar for a thorough discussion of plans for the center, to which would be invited selected people with competence in various aspects, including co-op managers and members, field people, representatives of other organizations, and possibly some foundations.

Action: The Board voted to authorize the Executive Director to proceed with setting up a seminar on the experimental farm and training center, to be held on January 23 and 24 in Washington, D.C.

Stock from Carlson Bequest: In accordance with Executive Committee action, the 2,193 shares of Xerox stock were placed in the hands of a black broker, Mr. Bell of Daniels & Bell, Inc., with instructions to hold it for sale at 170 or over. The broker has advised selling at a lower figure and buying higher yield stocks. The Executive Committee now recommends selling the stock at about 150 and using up to $100,000 of the proceeds for operating expenses as needed through December 31 and/or for training center expenses, holding the balance in reserve in long-term high-yield investments pending further action by Executive Committee and Board.

Action: The Board voted to authorize the Executive Director, acting on behalf of RAF, in consultation with Daniels & Bell,Inc., to sell RAF's Xerox stock at about 150, with the following disposition of the proceeds: $100,000 to be applied to 1972 expenses and/or training center expenses, $200,000 to be put into long-term high-yield investments, and the remainder to be held in open account subject to further action by the Board.

Proposed Amendment to Bylaws: An amendment to increase the size of the Executive Committee has been drafted, in accordance with the Board's instruction, for submission to the annual (spring) meeting of the Board. But in order to broaden representation on the Executive Committee, as is the intent of the amendment, it is necessary first to modify the composition of the Board. The Committee therefore recommends that steps be taken to add representative Chicanos, Indians, and Appalachian whites to the Board, as well as some younger persons. It was agreed that minority members should be added to the Board with the understanding that, as yet, we have no programs in their areas but that they might help to develop some.

Action: Board members were urged to present suggestions for Board membership to the Executive Director as soon as possible, preferably before the January 23-24 meeting, to be turned over at the appropriate time to the Nominating Committee.

Requests for Funds: Grants approved by the Executive Committee on September 18 have been made to the Good Hope Farmers Cooperative Association ($850) and the Bluffton Oyster Cooperative ($1,600), both of South Carolina.

Proposed Study of Rural Development in China: Mr. Greene did not report on the Executive Committee's discussion of this proposal, since two of the proposal's originators would be present later on to discuss it with the Board.

Class-Action Lawsuits: NSF has twice recently been involved in class-action lawsuits. First, at the request of the Southern Mutual Help Association, we gave financial aid in a complaint of two individuals against the U.S. Department of Agriculture to force a reversal of the wage determination for sugarcane workers. The result was a Federal District Court injunction ordering USDA to reconsider sugarcane wages, make any wage increase retroactive to the beginning of the harvest season, and withhold subsidy payments pending the reconsideration. USDA's appeal was rejected.

In the second case, NSF has joined Migrant Legal Services as a plaintiff in a suit cosponsored by other organizations and individuals, also against USDA charging discrimination in employment and in committee assignments and non-conformity with Congressional mandates in policy and programs. The case has not yet been tried, but it has already resulted in a USDA request to NSF to submit minority and female nominees for 23 USDA advisory committees.

The Executive Director requested authorization to enter similar class-action lawsuits in the future. The Executive Committee recommended that a small committee be created, including one or more lawyers, to advise the Director when such cases arise, but to authorize the Director to use his own discretion if the committee is not available for consultation.

Action: The Board voted, after thorough discussion, to adopt the following guidelines for participation in class-action lawsuits:

The Board understands it to be within the legitimate and appropriate function of NSF on occasion to initiate or to participate with other organizations and/or individuals in class-action lawsuits over issues relevant to NSF's declared field of interest.

The responsibility for determining when such action shall be taken rests with the Executive Director. Among the criteria he shall use in deciding in a specific case whether or not to take such action shall be the following: Does the situation fall clearly within NSF's sphere of interest? Does the proposed action offer reasonable prospect of being successful or of achieving significant results? Is the anticipated cost involved fundable without undue strain on NSF's resources?

Normal procedure by the Executive Director in making these determinations shall include consultation with legal talent which is competent and knowledgeable on the issues at stake and consultation with the Executive Committee, or at least with the principal officers of NSF. In exceptional cases where immediate action is indicated, the Executive Director shall be free to make the necessary decisions.

In all cases of such action, the Executive Director shall promptly notify the Executive Committee of action taken and shall include a report of such action and of progress in the case at the next regular meeting of the National Board.

Action: It was voted to receive the Executive Committee report.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Pierce presented a written report (copy attached) touching on legislation, field programs, fundraising, staff changes, support and advice given other organizations, and participation in our programs by business and labor groups. He added that the encouraging progress made in finding markets for co-op produce had necessitated considerably more staff travel than anticipated.

More funds and fund-raising are needed, especially for the political activity of NSF, contributions to which are not deductible, making them more difficult to obtain than RAF contributions.

Action: It was voted to accept the Executive Director's report.

REPORT OF LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Wilson presented a written report (copy attached) on NSF's major efforts in the legislative field, dealing especially with minimum wage legislation and extension and reorganization of OEO.

He called particular attention to the profiles of the new Senators and Representatives elected to the 93rd Congress (Appendix III of his report), as well as to the civil rights voting records of members of the 92nd Congress (Appendix I), a letter from Senator Nelson commending NSF for its efforts to preserve OEO (Appendix II), and a discussion of land reform legislation (Appendix IV).

Action: It was voted to receive the Legislative Director's report.

DISCUSSION OF LEGISLATIVE PROSPECTS

Five guests were introduced and gave their views on what we may expect from Congress and the Administration in the coming several years.

James N. Boylson, Executive Director, National Association for Community Development, discussed the future of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Even though OEO has been extended for another two years, he stated, there will be serious cutbacks, especially at the local level, where whole new relationships will have to be developed. Our organizations will have to watch out for local interests, since no one at the federal level will be doing so.

The President will use his executive prerogative in government reorganization and will probably create a new Department of Community Development, into which a part of the present OEO will be placed. The Administration apparently will seek to eliminate programs with the stamp of the "Great Society" on them, and other key programs will be transplanted, one by one, to areas where they will be less effective. Our organizations and others must band together to keep poverty issues before Congress and the public.

Jon W. Linfield, Executive Secretary, National Rural Housing Coalition, deplored the almost total lack of rural housing programs. Rural housing bills in the last session died in committee. Public housing in rural areas exists in theory but not in practice. The Farmers Home Administration has virtually the only program for rural housing. But subsidies alone are not enough, and even they are insufficient.

We must get rural housing higher on the list of Congressional priorities. We should press for a series of hearings on rural housing, possibly based around a bill similar to last session's McGovern-Abourezk bill to provide housing for all rural people, starting with the poorest.

The proposed Department of Community Development he felt would be a disaster, since a super-department would undoubtedly provide less service than smaller departments.

Boren Chertkov, Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, stated that NSF deserves credit for doing a good job in an uphill battle.

He then outlined some accomplishments of the past year. The Senate passed a fairly good minimum wage bill. The Department of Labor completed a good study of unemployment compensation which will be made public soon. Coverage of farm workers by workmen's compensation has been recommended, and social security coverage for farm workers was introduced as an amendment, though White House opposition caused its defeat. Foreign labor importation and the entire farm subsidy program have been under attack.

On the negative side are the expiration of the Migrant Health Act, scheduled for next June, the serious threat to education programs (Title I of the Health and Education Act), lack of progress in abolition of child labor, and the promise of no jobs for rural America in public service employment. With Senator Mondale, he deplores the "powerlessness of rural America."

At present, the Senate Subcommittee is working on viable alternatives for rural America (Can the small farmer survive?) and on determining what kind of legislation might be developed.

Jim Harrison, Staff Director, House Subcommittee on Farm Labor, expressed satisfaction at the defeat of Proposition 22 in California, which would have been a serious setback to agricultural workers, but he indicated that the Farm Bureau may now intensify its effort to gain passage of repressive legislation on the federal level.

A major goal next year will be labor-management relations legislation. A minimum wage bill, including a farm worker provision, will be passed, he stated, as will tough child labor legislation. Congress will have to keep a watchful eye on the Administration during the coming four years. The House Subcommittee will continue to prepare legislation and will also engage in "oversight" activities, to make sure that the USDA, for instance, does not overlook its legal duties.

Stephen E. Bossi, Washington Director, Rural Life Division of the U.S. Catholic Conference, stated that Congress is not where the action is--it's out in the field. New loan and grant money is available that wasn't there before. All of us will have to work together, in coalition, watching developments in the Rural Development Act. He stressed the need for a more outspoken rural constituency and more advocacy for the grassroots level.

In the discussion following these presentations, it was emphasized that we must act as watchdog and monitor, especially on the local level, and must participate in Congressional hearings, bringing information back to local communities. While the make-up of Congress is about the same as before, the Administration now thinks it has a mandate, and we have got to be on the alert to prevent a take-over by the Executive Branch, fighting a defensive battle if necessary. We face a tough four years.

DISCUSSION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

Raymond Williams, of Cooperative Extension Service, USDA, currently on special assignment to the Secretary of Agriculture for implementation of the Rural Development Act, was present to explain provision of the Act, particularly those portions of special concern to NSF.

Title I deals with overall planning and development, especially through grants and loans. Grant funds will be available for developing projects in such areas as water pollution, sewers, and industries. Loans will be made to co-ops, corporations, and other groups, even public bodies, involving the total community and the total range of community needs. These include loans for essential services, such as health and education, and a guaranteed loan program for housing.

Title V is also very important. It deals with research and extension programs, involving land grant colleges and also private colleges. But there is little financial authorization for this Title. Title VI deals with coordination of development in rural areas. An Assistant Secretary for Rural Development is to be appointed.

Mr. Williams termed this the most significant legislation on rural matters in 25 years and stated that probably several billion dollars a year would be involved as the program unrolled.

In order to obtain a loan or grant, a project must demonstrate that it is sound and has already performed useful service. It must also prove that it has feasibility, accountability, and adequate personnel. The area to be served must be a rural area as defined in the law. Loans are to be made through a variety of loan-making agencies.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Mr. Pierce presented a statement of expenditures and income for the first ten months of 1972 (copy attached) which showed that we had operated within the budget, having spent $293,013 out of the budget of $302,516 for that period. Certain items, such as total salaries, were less than budgeted, but payroll taxes, printing, postage, and mailing costs were considerably more. However, income through October 31 totaled only $219,770.

Funds contributed for special projects not included in the operating budget are listed separately and so far this year total $311,267. Such earmarked funds not yet spent now total $206,489. Cash on hand on October 31 was $138,919. There is thus a deficit of approximately $67,000, though this amount may be reduced by the end of 1972 as a result of new contributions coming in.

Action: It was voted to accept the financial report.

REPORT ON RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Miss Bennett presented a written report (copy attached) on her work in fundraising and development of other resources, including the film on Halifax County being produced by Morten Parker. She stated that a total of $162,932 had been raised thus far in 1972 through direct-mail appeals ($77,375 from mailings to outside lists and $85,557 from our house list).

Bequests of $52,672 (not including the Xerox stock) have been received. Income from other sources has totaled $4,166, bringing total receipts for the ten months to $219,770. She estimated that total income for the full year would come to approximately $280,000. (These figures do not include gifts from foundations or other sources earmarked for special projects.)

There was brief discussion of the value of outside appeals. Miss Bennett pointed out that these appeals are educational tools as well as a means of gaining new contributors to add to our house list. House mailings produce a much higher percentage response and larger average gifts.

Action: It was voted to accept the report on resouces development.

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1973

Mr. Pierce presented a proposed preliminary budget for 1973. The total comes to $398,580, which is $35,560 more than the 1972 budget. The increase is largely attributable to more realistic figures for printing, postage, and mailing costs, based on the assumption that outside appeals will be continued at the present rate. Payroll taxes will be going up again, and the item for staff travel is larger. The item for salaries is subject to increase following negotiations with the union.

The question was raised of where the income will come from to meet a larger budget, when we can't even raise enough for this year's budget. In reply, it was pointed out that there is a job that needs to be done, and we must do it somehow. The Executive Director and other staff members watch expenditures very carefully and cut down wherever necessary or feasible. In the new budget, there are four staff positions that are not filled; the horticulturist job should be filled, but the rest will have to wait if funds are not available. Further possible economies were discussed.

Action: It was voted to approve the proposed budget subject to the considerations discussed.

PROPOSED STUDY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA

Two guests presented a proposal, drawn up by a group of concerned individuals, for a study of developments in Chinese agriculture.

Benton Rhoades, of Agricultural Missions, Inc./National Council of Churches, stated the objectives of the proposal: (1) To learn relevant lessons from the Chinese experience in rural development. (2) To develop friendly liaison between rural people's movements in China and North America. (3) To open new understanding by Americans of the Chinese people today, especially the 80 percent who live in rural areas.

He commented that a program that had broken the grip of rural poverty on people deserved a thorough investigation from which we might learn much of value.

Donald MacInnis, of the China Program, National Council of Churches, outlined the three stages of the proposed study: (1) A consultation in the U.S. or Canada, with about 30 participants from rural people's movements, to examine China's rural development experience for points of relevance to the American rural sector. (2) A dialogue on issues of mutual concern at the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa. (3) A visit to China's rural sector by an observation/study group of 10-12 American rural leaders.

Speakers at the consultation would include agricultural specialists who had been in China recently and Chinese and academic specialists. It is hoped that the consultation might be held in February, the visit to the Embassy at about the same time, and the trip to China in May, though there is no assurance of getting visas by then.

Mr. MacInnis urged that NSF agree to be principal sponsor of the study. Both Agricultural Missions and the China Program of NCC have endorsed the program and offered some financial support but would not qualify as principal sponsor since church organizations are suspect in China.

Mr. Greene said he thought NSF was well qualified to be principal sponsor because of its broad representation, broad concern, and long history. Cosponsors should include Chicano, Indian, and Appalachian white organizations since NSF lacks adequate representation of these communities.

There was extensive discussion, and additional discussion by the Executive Committee was reported, concerning whether or not NSF should sponsor the plan, what individuals should participate, and who should speak at the consultation.

It was agreed that any delegation to China should include people with enough maturity politically to keep them from being brainwashed, and that they should have sophistication in answering questions. Care should be exercised in the selection of speakers for the consultation, avoiding persons who are too narrowly partisan or counterbalancing them with objective scholars and including persons who would give critical support.

In general, there was agreement that the consultation alone would be well worth while and helpful as related to rural development in the South. The trip to China is not essential to the validity of the project.

Dr. Jones, however, questioned whether the project would be of core value to NSF or a luxury that could not be afforded in terms of personnel time, funds, or whatever else might be involved.

Mr. Lipsig favored taking part in the consultation but opposed NSF's serving as sponsor because of possible adverse publicity. He also questioned the value of the China trip, fearing that we would come back with a need to advocate political decisions that we would not be able to advocate. He felt that, to be really fruitful, the project should include study of and trips to Russia and Yugoslavia, for instance.

Miss Bennett urged that a visit to Japan be included as part of a China trip, since Japan has programs for small farmers, co-ops, and land reform that would be well worth our attention. Others agreed that investigation of relevant programs in countries other than China would be appropriate.

> Action: It was voted, with negative votes by Dr. Jones and Mr. Lipsig, to endorse the proposed study of rural developments in China as one of a series of studies of experiences in other countries, to accept the principal sponsorship, and to authorize the Executive Director to work closely with the consultation and whatever might develop from it.

Further discussion centered on details concerning our role in the project. It was agreed there should be a steering committee including representation from each of the cosponsors.

Action: It was voted to name Mr. Greene, Mr. Pierce, Miss Rony, Mr. Browne, LaDonna Harris, and Lamond Godwin to serve on the steering committee for the China project.

Mr. Greene reported that some foundation funds might be available, and that many church organizations have frozen Chinese mission funds that could be used if the trip to China materialized. A small amount of money is needed immediately as seed money to attract additional funds.

Action: It was voted to appropriate $1,000 to the project, in the hope that special contributions can be raised to cover this amount.

On the matter of selection of persons to attend the consultation, the suggestion was made that each Board member submit names of up to 30 people for consideration. It was agreed that the participants should be people with leadership roles among their constituencies, with grassroots contacts, and with communicative skills. Mr. Pierce asked that suggestions be sent to him and stated he would ask others for suggestions also.

DISCUSSION OF FIELD PROGRAMS

Coastal Plains, South Carolina: John W. Gadson, Sr., Executive Director of Penn Community Services, Frogmore, S.C., was present to show some slides, and he and Mr. Pierce discussed programs in that area.

The Coastal Plains area, comprising 20 counties, is the poorest and most rural, has the largest percentage of blacks, receives the smallest amount of federal aid, and has the most outmigration of any area in the state. It also has a growing number of self-help organizations, including child development centers, oyster and shrimp co-ops, an upholstery co-op, comprehensive health centers, farm co-ops, and a co-op grocery store, all of which manage to get by on extremely limited funds.

Recently, 22 of these groups formed the Coastal Plains Human Development Coordinating Council, for the purpose of improving communication between them, bringing all in touch with existing resources, and developing new resources. The staff, kept to a bare minimum to encourage people to continue to do things for themselves, consists in a coordinator, Brad Fowler, hired with help of an NSF grant.

NSF has been actively concerned with this area, as have several church groups. Now, Governor West of South Carolina has become interested and is to meet with Mr. Pierce, Mr. Greene, and others to discuss possible ways in which state agencies may help. Mr. Gadson's slides were taken in preparation for that meeting.

Halifax County, Virginia: Father McKnight reported for the committee appointed by the Executive Committee to meet with the representatives of the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia to discuss SAAV's relationship with NSF.

The group had met and had also considered SAAV's request, submitted by the three representatives, for a loan of $40,000. Of this, $20,000 was to purchase fetilizer at a discount and $20,000 to develop a self-service gasoline operation. SAAV also requested grants for organic farming, a cold storage unit, and several other projects. The representatives reported that SAAV had received no OEO funds since August, so that money that would have been used for fetilizer had had to go for administrative costs.

Father McKnight stated that the principal problem appeared to be lack of communication between NSF and SAAV and a confusion of roles, which had resulted in almost dual management. As a result of today's meeting, the lines of communcation are now open. The co-op wishes to continue its working relationship with NSF.

The committee recommended that NSF make a grant of $12,000, if SAAV were not refunded by OEO, to help subsidize SAAV's manager and expenses, and that an additional $8,000 be made available if SAAV would be willing to plant at least 20 acres in organic crops. NSF would provide technical assistance and SAAV would furnish complete financial accounting.

The committee also recommended that NSF make an interim loan of $20,000 for fertilizer, pending the processing of a loan through the Southern Cooperative Development Fund; the loan would be repaid to NSF by SCDF. Mr. Pierce would draw up a detailed presentation, setting forth what was expected of each party to these transactions, which would be discussed, voted on, and signed by SAAV.

Action: It was voted, in accordance with the committee's recommendations as presented by Father McKnight, to authorize a grant of $20,000 to SAAV and a loan of $20,000 pending the processing of a loan from SCDF.

Burke County, Georgia: A report of expenses and income for 1972 revealed that NSF had contributed $32,908 toward expenses of the Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative; this amount to be reduced somewhat upon sale of fall crops.

Mr. Pierce read a letter from EGFC requesting funds for a co-op manager and for final payment due on the pea-picker. He recommended a grant similar to that given SAAV, that is $12,000 towards the co-op manager and expenses and $8,000 for organic crop development.

Action: It was voted to authorize a grant of $20,000 to EGFC.

In response to a question, Mr. Pierce stated that the money could come from the uncommitted balance from sale of the Xerox stock.

Southern Louisiana: Sister Anne Catherine reported on the precarious financial situation in which the Southern Mutual Help Association finds itself. It has been supporting itself on a percentage basis through its government-funded programs. Certain of these programs did not receive final approval till a month ago; they were to have been funded retroactively through 1971. But SMHA had received funds for only as far back as March, 1972, and therefore finds itself short more than $6,000. Sister Anne Catherine expressed hope that a loan could be repaid.

Action: It was voted to make a loan of $6,000 to SMHA, to be repaid if and when anticipated government funds are forthcoming.

Anson County, North Carolina: Mr. Pierce reported briefly on the Experimental Farm and Training Center, which is located on the border between the rich-soiled piedmont and the sandy-soiled coastal plain. It has the type of marginal farm land that the average small farmer has.

Maps have been prepared by Georgia Tech. experts showing soil composition, a land use plan, and architectural plans for buildings and sheds, including plans for expansion. We are also getting a lot of help from the Soil Conservation Service and some contributions of equipment.

We are proceeding slowly and carefully. It is hoped that at least 100 acres will be planted in vegetables this spring and that a cattle operation will be started. The emphasis will be 10 percent on the experimental farm and 90 percent on training. Training funds from the Department of Labor are anticipated.

Miscellaneous Programs: Mr. Pierce reported a grant of $75,000 to RAF from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He recommended that $30,000 be allocated to general RAF operating expenses, and that the remainder be allocated as follows: South Carolina Council on Human Relations, $7,500 for program with RAF; Penn Community Center, $10,000; Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association, $9,500 pending further investigation; Deep South Educational & Research Association, $6,500; Arkansas Council on Social Justice, $5,000; Clay County (Mississippi)Community Development Corp., $6,500.

Action: It was voted to approve the recommendations of the Executive Director regarding allocation of funds received from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, subject to their being used to further the objectives of the Rural Advancement Fund.

NEXT BOARD MEETING

Mr. Pierce suggested that the next meeting of the National Board be held in the South, possibly at the NSF training center, if far enough along, or at Penn Center with a side trip to Burke County. It was agreed that the Executive Committee should make the final determination. It was also agreed that the meeting should be held as late in the spring as possible, preferably in June, and an informal vote favored Friday and Saturday, June 15 and 16.

The meeting adjourned at 2:45 p.m. on November 21.

MEETING OF MEMBERS OF RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND

A meeting of Members of the Rural Advancement Fund of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., was convened at 2:45 p.m. on November 21, 1972, with the following present:

Shirley E. Greene, Lewis W. Jones, A.J. McKnight, Robert J. Miles, Rowland Watts.

Action: It was voted to accept all reports presented to the NSF National Board at its meeting just concluded and to concur in all National Board actions relevant to RAF's purposes and program.

The meeting adjourned at 2:55 p.m.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
to the NSF National Board
by James M. Pierce
November 20, 1972

If nothing else happens in 1972, it will be a year long remembered by the NSF staff. On the political and legislative field we experienced both success and failure--sometimes simultaneously. Nixon was reelected, but Congress did not change hands. The OEO Bill was passed, including Title VII, but without appropriations. The Rural Development Act was passed, but we don't know what the value will be to the rural poor until the guidelines are drawn up. More of our priority legislation got through Committee than ever before, but most of it died at adjournment of Congress.

In the field, we watched SMHA's health program grow, with doctors, dentists, and nurses achieving remarkable outreach to previously ignored poor people. We also felt the frustrations as professional staff discovered health conditions that, in many cases, were past the point they could be corrected. We saw a beautiful organic crop of sweet potatoes and other vegetables in Virginia, but we also lost 10 acres of crops during the flood. In Georgia, the co-op is moving forward very well despite a serious midsummer drought that destroyed most of the pea crop. We helped the co-op obtain a VISTA contract to expand the membership into additional counties, only to find that the VISTA's were not willing, or able, to adjust to local conditions and work with the co-op members properly. The co-op finally had to cancel the VISTA contract.

In South Carolina, we saw the Coastal Plains Human Development Coordinating Council draw more than 20 self-help groups together into a working, cooperative organization that was able to attract additional funding and interest the Governor in its problems. The Council has been invited to meet with Governor West and selected foundation people on December 4, to discuss joint efforts to reduce poverty in South Carolina.

Our fundraising efforts have been both good and bad. Results of mail appeals were below normal in the spring and summer as people responded to the grass-roots fund appeals from McGovern, but they were more than compensated for by a final settlement of the Carlson bequest that netted us $47,500 in cash and 2,193 shares of Xerox stock, valued at about $330,000 on today's market. In addition we received $200,000 more toward the acquisition and development of our experimental farm and training center, bringing the total contributed for that project to $280,000. We expect an improvement in receipts as a result of our year-end appeals, which usually produce rather well.

We have made a few staff changes. Ms.Hammond resigned in New York and was not replaced. We terminated Mr. Frey in Georgia, effective December 8, at the end of this year's crop season. Ms.Sabelhaus resigned in Washington and was replaced by Ms.Firmin. Mr. Weil was hired to live on and do preliminary work on the training center. Our staff presently consists of three people in New York, three in Washington, four in the field, plus Fay Bennett and me, for a total of twelve. We are still understaffed and hope to increase our staff as finances permit.

We have made some very meaningful contacts in marketing. This year we sold organic foods to Village Markets in Pennsylvania, through the Poor People's Development Foundation in New York City, to Consumers and Mid-East Cooperative stores in Washington and New York City, and to others. We had many requests we could not fill. We sold non-organic foods to a number of processors and in the fresh market. We gave marketing assistance to other cooperatives and to New Communities. Dr. Allie Felder of the Cooperative League has been most helpful in arranging meetings with markets and, in some cases, serving as the marketing link between low-income cooperatives and consumer cooperatives. We expect to do much more in the marketing field next year.

We have continued to give support and advice to the United Farm Workers, the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, the Florida Farm Workers Organization, the National Coalition for Land Reform, the Southern Cooperative Development Fund, and others.

We continued our support to the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia and the Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative. We made a small grant to the Bluffton Oyster Cooperative to buy an ice-crusher, another to the Good Hope Farmers Cooperative to buy a sweet popato picker, and a grant to the Coastal Plains Human Development Coordinating Council to hire a coordinator for a three-month period. Special project funds contributed to RAF were turned over to New Communities and the Poor People's Development Foundation for their marketing program. We put one of our contributors, Mr. Prentice Ford, in touch with low-income farmers in Florida through Bill Johnson; he is helping them to start their own cooperative.

We shared our experiences and dreams with the National Institute for Community and Economic Development in California and with organic farmers and marketing people brought together by Rodale. We are working with the Foundation for Community Development in North Carolina as they prepare a land utilization program for Soul City.

Our appeals to business and labor for active participation in our programs are beginning to produce results. Fruehauf Trailer Company gave us two 40-foot refrigerated trailers to be used as temporary cold storage units, and Garden Way Manufacturing Company gave us a new Troy-Bilt Rototiller for use at the training center. The Rodale people are asking their advertisers to consider making contributions to our effort. The Cement Workers local union in Charlotte has offered to do all the cement work free at the training center and is helping us secure free labor from other craft unions in the area.

Several other activities are scheduled for in-depth discussion at this meeting. They include our legislative and political program, two public-interest court actions, fundraising, the experimental farm and training center, the Coastal Plains Human Development Coordinating Council in South Carolina, and a proposal concerning a study of people's movements and rural development in China.

On balance, 1972 should be considered a successful year, but we must consider and attempt to correct some of our deficiencies. We are clearly understaffed and will continue to be until we can increase our income. Understaffing has created a lack of communication, internally between our staff and externally with the groups with whom we are working. Many calls for help must be refused. Research and legislative action programs need additional input of both money and manpower.

In closing, I would like to express my feelings about our staff. They are working extremely hard, often without sufficient tools. They are building a good NSF. I am extremely proud of them. If you have any questions about any of our programs, we will be happy to answer them. More important to us, if you have suggestions that will make it possible for us to do a better job, we will be most grateful.

NSF-RAF FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(as of October 31, 1972)

EXPENDITURES (Operations)	1972 Budget (12 months)	1972 Budget (10 months)	Spent (10 months)
Salaries	$186,000	$155,000	$123,412
Payroll Taxes	12,690	10,575	23,845
Fringe Benefits	12,690	10,575	7,270
Employee Pension Program	4,000	3,333	4,000
Subtotal	$215,380	$179,483	$158,527
Printing	33,000	27,500	32,417
Postage	15,000	12,500	14,889
Mailing	15,000	12,500	27,355
Rent	13,140	10,950	9,651
Telephone	8,000	6,666	5,680
Electricity	1,000	833	291
Office Expenses	7,500	6,250	4,703
Office Equipment	5,000	4,166	516
Staff Travel and Expenses	23,000	19,166	26,467
Board Meeting Expenses	8,000	6,666	3,525
Books, Ref. Material, Org. Dues	2,000	1,666	1,373
Consultants	10,000	8,333	1,273
Accounting Services	1,500	1,250	2,671
Legal Services	1,500	1,250	500
Continuing Grants	4,000	3,333	3,000
Bank Charges	-	-	175
Total	$363,020	$302,516	$293,013

INCOME (Operations)	
Direct Mail Appeals	$162,932
Bequests	52,672 *
Interest and Dividends	6,927
Sales of Literature and Special Produce	623
Repayment of Loan (Houston County Day Care Center)	500
Total	$223,654

* Plus 2,193 shares Xerox stock, valued at approximately $330,000 on today's market.

INCOME (Earmarked for Special Programs)

Experimental Farm and Training Center	$280,000
Health Program, Halifax County (Readers Digest Foundation)	20,000
Health Program, Halifax County (8th Grade, New Lincoln School)	739
Organic "Good Food" Project	5,595
Marketing Programs	4,933
Total Earmarked Income	$311,267
Total Operations Income	223,654
Total Income, 10 Months	$534,921 *

* Plus Xerox stock

SUMMARY OF ASSETS

Cash on Hand, October 31, 1972

NSF Checking Account, New York	$ 730	
NSF Checking Account, Washington	2,585	
NSF Savings Account, New York	2,674	
RAF Checking Account, New York	4,690	
RAF Checking Account, Washington	10,062	
RAF Savings Account, New York	58,178	
RAF Savings Certificates, Washington	20,000	
RAF Savings Certificates, Durham	20,000	
RAF Savings Certificates, Greensboro	20,000	
Total Cash on Hand		$138,919 *

* Plus Xerox stock

Earmarked Funds Not Yet Spent

Experimental Farm and Training Center	$152,000	
Halifax County Health Programs	15,739	
Educational Film	21,000	
Migrant Program	250	
F.E.C.D.	3,000	
Employee Pension Program	12,000	
Emergency Fund	2,500	
Total Earmarked Funds		206,489
Deficit, as of October 31, 1972		$ 67,570

REPORT ON RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

by Fay Bennett

November 20, 1972

A great deal of my time continues to be spent in organizing and developing our mail appeals, to our own house list and to outside lists. I have also continued to spend some time developing resources for our local programs. These efforts have resulted in a $20,000 gift from the Readers Digest Foundation and another special gift of $5,000 for the Halifax County health group and a full-time volunteer nutritionist to work with the Louisiana program.

Educational Film

The film is at last in the final stages, and we hope it will be completed within the next few weeks. Special background music has been written by Charlie Byrd. The last thing to be done is to include the narration, and we hope that Melvyn Douglas will be the narrator. Helen Gahagan Douglas will help us to reach some of the large donors to the McGovern campaign, and we have other ideas for using the film to attract large gifts. We hope it will also be used on a national television network, and of course it will be available to local groups as an educational tool. (P.S. Because of the illness of Melvyn Douglas, the narration is being done by Dustin Hoffman.)

Mail Appeals to Outside Lists

Approximately 487,000 letters were mailed during the first half of 1972 to outside lists. These have brought in a total of 4,612 responses through October 31. Of these, 2,215 were new contributors and 2,397 were our own contributors. Income from this mailing totaled $61,377.50. Of this amount, $28,224.50 came from new contributors and $33,153.00 from our own people.

Our outside mailings were suspended at midyear because of heavy competition from the McGovern campaign (which was financed in large part through mail appeals). We had noted also that our appeal based on the SMHA brochure was not doing as well as expected. We have now prepared a new brochure, based on the Burke County program, and outside mailings will be resumed next week.

In addition to receipts from appeals mailed this year, we continue to receive gifts resulting from mailings to outside lists sent out last year and the year before. These have totaled 1,111 gifts this year, of which 735 were from new donors and 376 from our own people. From the new donors we received $8,618.83, and our people gave $7,378.47, making a total of $16.097.30. Thus we have a grand total received during the first ten months of 1972 from our outside mailings of $77,374.80, from a total of 5,723 gifts.

Mail Appeals to House List

Two house mailings were sent out during the first ten months of 1972. The first, with the annual report, brought a total of $26,661.67 from 1,961 donors. The second, with "The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1971", produced $14,318.03 from 1,109 donors. The house list now includes more than 26,000 names.

A special personalized mailing over my signature was sent on October 12 to 272 top contributors who had not yet given in 1972. By October 31, this had brought in 21 gifts, totaling $1,871.00. Returns are still coming in.

Other contributions from persons on our house list include 22 gifts from special contributors totaling $20,998.88 and an additional 1,010 gifts totaling $21,697.83 from various sources. Some of these came in response to house mailings sent out last year, a few resulted from the Washington newsletter, and some were from unidentifiable sources.

Another mailing, sent on October 20 to donors who have not contributed in the past five years, is not included in this report, since it was a third-class mailing and returns did not begin to come in until November.

A third house appeal, consisting in a 3-page letter-report by Jim Pierce, was mailed October 30. Returns are now coming in very well. In early December, a brief year-end appeal will go to the house list.

Other Income

Earmarked funds received in 1972 totaled $311,268.52. Bequests totaled $52,672.66, not including the Xerox stock, valued at approximately $330,000.

Projected Income for Year

Based on income received during the first half of November and anticipated income through December 31, we expect our total income from contributions for 1972 to be in the neighborhood of $280,000. This does not include earmarked funds nor possible foundation gifts.

1973 PROPOSED BUDGET

(NSF and RAF Combined)

(This budget does not include loans or grants to field or special projects nor budget for the training center)

Salaries.	$180,440 *
Payroll Taxes	29,000
Fringe Benefits	9,000
Employee Pension Program	4,000
Total Personnel Costs	$222,440 *
Printing	40,000
Postage	18,000
Mailing	30,000
Rent	13,140
Telephone	8,000
Electricity	1,000
Office Expenses	7,500
Office Equipment	5,000
Staff Travel and Expenses	25,000
Board Meeting Expenses	8,000
Books, Reference Material, Organization Dues	2,000
Consultants	10,000
Accounting Services	3,000
Legal Services	1,500
Continuing Grants	4,000
Total	$398,580 *

*Subject to adjustment after negotiations with union.

1973 PROPOSED BUDGET

Personnel Costs [1]

(Does not include operating or casual labor on experimental farm and training center nor staff funded for special field programs)

Executive Director (Pierce)	$ 21,100
Associate Director (Open)	16,000
Director of Development (Bennett)	16,880
Legislative Director and Asst. to Director (Wilson)	13,250
Field Coordinator (Blood)	12,750
Staff Associate (Wolfson)	10,650
Research Associate (Open)	10,000
Bookkeeper (Williams)	10,000
Records Secretary (Friedberg)	9,050
Secretary (Gardener)	8,860 [2]
Secretary (Open)	9,050
Secretary (Open)	9,050
Secretary, part-time (Various)	1,200
Field Representative (Dixon)	8,300
Field Representative (Sr. Anne C.)	8,300
Training Center Agronomist (Weil)	8,000 [3]
Training Center Horticulturist (Open)	8,000 [3]
Total Salaries	$180,440 [1]
Payroll Taxes	29,000
Fringe Benefits	9,000
Employee Pension Program	4,000
Total Personnel Costs	$222,440 [1]

1. Subject to adjustment after negotiations with union.
2. Presently part-time at $7,088.
3. Housing provided.

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(212) 473-0284

NOTICE

TO: NSF National Board Members

The enclosed postcard was inadvertently left out of the letter you received recently notifying you of the NSF November 20-21 Board meeting.

We are sorry for this inconvenience. Please fill out the enclosed postcard stating whether or not you will be attending the meeting, what day you will be arriving, and if you need a hotel reservation at the Pick-Lee House.

Thank you.

202
347-4800
Reservations at Pick-Lee Hotel
OK

File
Sharecroppers

PLEASE NOTE

Because of its length, we are not sending with these minutes a copy of the report by John A. Wilson, Legislative Director, to those persons who were present at the Board meeting and received a copy of it there.

If you wish another copy of this report, please write to the Washington office:

National Sharecroppers Fund
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

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112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • (212) GRamercy 3-0284

November 27, 1972

TO: Members, NSF National Board

FROM: James M. Pierce, Executive Director, NSF/RAF

SUBJECT: U.S.-China Rural Study Program

The actions of the NSF National Board at the November 20-21 meeting will be reflected in the minutes of the meeting that will be mailed to you within a few days. Briefly, they included instructions to the staff to continue support for the Burke and Halifax cooperatives, to proceed with the construction of facilities at the new training center and to consider the possibility of filing additional legal actions against governmental agencies that fail to perform for poor people in accordance with their mandates.

An important decision was to act as a principal sponsor for a U.S.-China Rural Study Program. The enclosed document explains the rationale and objectives of the Study Program.

It is extremely important that the people who participate in the consultation and those who make up the possible visitation group be representatives of the rural poor or able to address themselves to the needs and desires of the rural poor.

We need nominations of people you think could best serve in such a capacity. The sponsoring committee will select from your nominations approximately 30 people to participate in the consultation. Feel free to nominate any number of people up to 30 giving a brief description of them and their qualifications.

It is important that your nominations be in the hands of the sponsoring committee prior to December 12. Please send them to me at the New York office and I will forward them to the sponsoring committee for final selection.

We sincerely appreciate your assistance in this matter.

George —
Thanks for your support & advice
Jim

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE.

U.S.-CHINA RURAL STUDY PROJECT

PROPOSAL

A three-stage program is proposed, with the purpose of improving people-to-people understanding between the rural people of China and North America:

1. A consultation in the U.S. or Canada, with participants drawn from rural people's movements, will examine China's rural development experience for points of relevance in the American rural sector today. Speakers would include agricultural specialists who have lived in or visited China recently, Chinese specialists from the China mission, and academic specialists.

2. A visit to the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa for direct dialogue on issues of mutual concern in rural development.

3. A visitation group of American rural leaders for an observation/study group in China's rural sector.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To learn from the Chinese experience in analysis of their rural development problems, their experiments and successes.

2. To develop friendly liaison between rural people's movement leaders in China and North America, hoping for two-way reciprocal visits and ongoing communication.

3. To open new understanding, by Americans, of the Chinese People today, especially the 80% who live in rural areas.

RATIONALE:

The most far-reaching rural revolution in man's history has transformed China's rural sector since 1949. While the social, political and economic context in China and North America are quite different, Americans, facing rural problems of their own, might well learn from China's analysis of her rural problems, and the wide range of experiments in rural reforms that are in progress.

- mutual aid and collective action (farm communes)
- priority of man over technology and profits
- concern for social justice, liberation of minorities and women
- group participation in decision-making (revolutionary committees)
- the problem of urban-rural differences
- new forms of education merging theory and practice, classroom and labor
- equalized delivery of public health services
- resistance to waste and consumerism; recycling of wastes
- involvement of youth and women

It can be expected that a reciprocal visit of rural leaders from China might follow a successful consultation, visits to the Embassy in Ottawa, and a visitation group to China. Such visits have taken place in Japan.

IMPLEMENTATION:

1. The consultation can be set up independent of cooperation from the Chinese, either in Ottawa or the Chinese Mission to the U.N. However, we have hopes of cooperation.

2. Visits by a small group to the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa are quite feasible. There are numerous precedents for this.

3. The proposal for a visitation group to China is dependent on the issuing of visas by the PRC government. We can expect that they would look favorably on such a proposal, especially if the consultation and the visit to Ottawa were successful.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Bowie, Harris, Hall

DATE: December 7, 1972

FROM: George Esser

COPIES:

SUBJECT:

I would like for us to nominate a few people from the South to take part in the US-China Rural Study Program, noted on the enclosed memorandum. We should have the nominations to phone in on the afternoon of December 11th.

Someone from (1) North Bolivar Farmer Coop - Mrs L.C. Dorsey who is presently in school but coming back is best.

(2) Charles Sherrod New Communities

~~(3) New Director of T.S.C.~~

(4) Fr. McKnight

H.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: G. Esser

DATE: 5 January 1973

FROM: A. Campbell

COPIES: 1

SUBJECT: US-China Rural Study Program

I saw, two days ago, a memo written by you, dated December 7, 1972, relative to SRC nominations to participate in the US-China Rural Study Program. If our recommendations have not been made I would like to suggest that the following individuals be considered for inclusion on our list.

1) Jim Upchurch - Director, East-Coast Migrant Project
2) Meredith Richardson - Director, Federation of Southern Cooperatives.
3) William Harrison - S.W.F.C.A. - Selma, Alabama
4) Gerald LaBrie - La. Coordinator for the Federation
5) Marvin Davies - Urban Rural Development Corp. of Fla.
6) John Brown - S.E.A.S.H.A. - Tuskegee, Alabama

ACC;jd

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

A cooperative program for economic, health, and educational advancement in the rural areas of eight southern states sponsored by the State Human Relations Councils, Southern Regional Council and National Sharecroppers Fund.

The staff person assigned to each state would be under the administrative supervision and direction of the state council director. Program planning would be provided through the cooperative action of the state council and NSF.

Other RAF/NSF programs include:

Self-Help Housing
Leadership Training
Student Interns

Day Care Centers
Community Improvement
Craft Cooperatives

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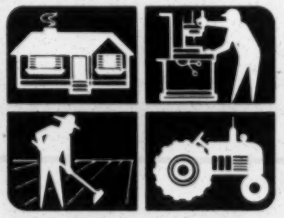

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In two of America's poorest areas, men and women who had forgotten how to hope are beginning to remember again.

They are the impoverished rural people, most of them black, of Burke County, Georgia, and Halifax County, Virginia. For generations, they watched their babies die at twice the white rate. They saw their cotton and tobacco farms shrink under the pressure of racism and discriminatory national agricultural policies. Shacks sagged, debts took food from the table, and flight from the land they loved seemed to many the only solution. So they fled by the thousands to the dubious sanctuaries of city ghettos. Those who determined to remain on the land found themselves being picked off, one by one, by the forces of poverty.

Today, in Burke and Halifax, the people have come together in cooperatives that are transforming the land—and the spirit—of their counties. They are farming together, planning together, and hoping together. And, with significant new assistance from the National Sharecroppers Fund and its Rural Advancement Fund, they are producing a rural Renaissance that cynics said was not possible.

Signs of the times tell the story. In Burke, a sign in the office of the Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative says:

"If you do something for your co-op, your co-op will do something for you."

Outside the new marketing shed of the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia (SAAV), in Halifax, the proud slogan reads:

"We Ain't No Big Thing But We're Growing."

Growing healthful, profitable organic crops on land written off as useless. Reaping fine vegetable harvests with modern machinery on irrigated land once parched and fallow. Producing a new way of life than can reverse the old pattern of tragic migrations.

Woodrow Harvey is chairman of the Burke co-op. He says:

"For the first time, I can see the way clear for a lot of folks who left to come back and farm. And for a lot who might leave to stay on. One man saw our new co-op harvester taking up more peas in a day than his family could handpick in a week. Next year you can be sure he'll really be into that pea production. Word has gotten around and I've heard from friends in New York and Chicago who say they're ready to return now. We're not out of the woods. **Folks who've been blindfolded a hundred years can't all open their eyes overnight. But with the support from the Rural Advancement Fund of NSF, more eyes are opening every day."**

A TRUE COMMUNITY

Four hundred miles away in Halifax, SAAV farmer Robert Wilkins was tired of farming tobacco, a crop that went up in smoke along with most of the profits. Now he watches his fields of plump cucumbers and squash being harvested by co-op workers while irrigation pipes spray another patch threatened by drought.

"This is the first time in my life I had irrigation," says Wilkins. "Always wanted it but couldn't afford it. You watched the white man irrigate while your fields dried up. They laughed when the co-op said we'd get it. But we got it. **Got something else too that you can't count by the bushel. We have people helping each other to get out of the hole we been in. We have a true community."**

ASPIRATIONS INTO PROGRAMS

The co-ops of Burke and Halifax are only three years old. But they represent the logical result of three decades of service to the rural poor by the National Sharecroppers Fund. **The aim has always been: Help the poor to help themselves.** Their problems often went unnoticed, particularly by urban Americans quick to condemn rural migrants on welfare but slow to comprehend that people in cities ate well while many families producing the food went hungry.

NSF fought for humane farm legislation and against Agriculture Department programs that kept poor farmers in general and black ones in particular ignorant of technological advances. It campaigned against racism that denied black farmers the loans that made white farmers solvent. At the same time, NSF workers went into the fields, listening to farm families, translating their aspirations into programs of change.

CO-OPS SPELLED SURVIVAL

By the late '60's, blacks on the land were in crisis. Some 4,500,000 had emigrated from the South since 1940. Denied equal opportunity by both public and private institutions, blacks all over the South who remained on the land saw their last chance for survival in cooperatives.

NSF's Rural Advancement Fund provided technical know-how and as much money as it could muster to co-ops in half a dozen states. Farming with seed and fertilizer bought at lower bulk prices meant a few extra dollars in the house to buy a child shoes or pay for a doctor's visit.

TOOLS ARE NEEDED TOO

But tools were also needed if their fields were really to bloom, lives to change, young people to stay home instead of fleeing to the cities. Tools like tractors and irrigation pumps cost money, and there was none. James Pierce, RAF/NSF's executive director, says:

"We decided to concentrate energy and funds

in Burke and Halifax. Anybody who expects historically deprived poor people to make it on spirit and hard work alone doesn't understand today's farming. Millionaire farmers get huge subsidies. So do aircraft companies. We wanted to do as much as we could for people who had the will but not the way."

MEN AND MARKETS

RAF/NSF loans helped turn the tide in Burke, where the average black family income was under $700 a year, and in Halifax, among the poorest ten percent of American counties. But it takes people to make money work. RAF/NSF rolled up its collective sleeves along with co-op members.

Technical advice and markets were the key. NSF staff probed the complex world of marketing that had been alien to one-crop cotton and tobacco farmers. With co-op approval, they secured firm contracts from dependable brokers, good terms for machinery purchase, and the best technical help from agriculture experts. Specialists developed organic fertilizer with components from far and near. Elected co-op management teams worked with members on planting and harvesting schedules to insure that peas, squash, and cucumbers would be ready for market on time. **All the things no individual could do alone became possible cooperatively.**

"I'll tell you," says Woodrow Harvey. "When we hit the button on the irrigation pump and folks saw water bubbling out over fields that were ours, bringing them to life, that made a lot of believers."

The organic squash and cucumber crop in Halifax (fittingly grown near the grim, grey stubble of a long-abandoned tobacco field) made a lot of believers, too. And not just in the county. Buyers in New York and Washington liked what they saw and clamored for more.

TO BELIEVE IN THE FUTURE

None of the people in Burke or Halifax who lived through earlier years of hopelessness are crowing. They know the heavy odds against them. They count the friends who left, the babies who never grew into childhood. Loan obligations and expenditures for this dramatic year leave little money to acquire more land, vital to produce the volume that means profit in the marketplace. Still, with crops in and time to gather for discussions, ambitious plans are being made by the communities and RAF to raise up the entire community. RAF/NSF has labored with local people on housing plans, co-op food stores and sewing centers, day care and health facilities. No one knows where the money is coming from. But plans proceed. The habit of hope has replaced the acceptance of despair.

RAF/NSF wants to see this hope flourish in Burke and Halifax, and the lessons learned there spread to other counties where people have forgotten how to hope. At this moment, there are scores of places where families oppressed by poverty cannot believe in a hopeful future. Or in themselves. Belief can be restored and dignity returned by living the cooperative way. RAF/NSF would like to assist in restoring that belief. And the Halifax community would be pleased to share its slogan with any people ready and willing to make it *their* cooperative reality:

"We Ain't No Big Thing But We're Growing."

Photographs by Burton Cohen

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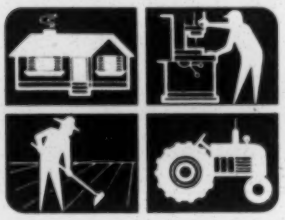

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Photographs by James Ingersoll

". . . then, or now, you are always back where you started"

". . . they who dwell there have named it the Eden of Louisiana . . ."
—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

THE BAYOU COUNTRY of southeast Louisiana, celebrated in Longfellow's *Evangeline,* today presents a surface beauty rooted deep in human exploitation. Green rice shoots reflect in flooded and glistening fields, and sugarcane grows higher than a man. Place names like Bayou Vermillion and Atchafalaya are lyrics, and tourists admire the restored elegance of antebellum mansions.

But 1972's human reality is not so beautiful. Powerful interests hold 5,000 black plantation workers in ignorance and poverty. Louisiana has the nation's worst illiteracy rate, and in some southeastern parishes half the population cannot read or write. Ignorance breeds dependence, reduces humans to serfdom. Average plantation *family* income is $2,600 a year. What does that figure mean? It means a family eats on $4.76 a week.

They eat mainly beans and rice, are often overweight while undernourished. It means they live in a shack without a toilet. It means that barefoot children pick up hookworm in festering yards. Worm-riddled children in 20th Century America.

Part of what it means can be visited in a winter canefield in Iberia Parish (county) where a black cane-cutting crew eats lunch beside a tractor. Visitors driving up see a tableau reminiscent of cotton fields to the north in Mississippi: black workers on a white-owned plantation where white bosses still are called "overseers"; the workers' shacks at the cane's end, some inhabited since slavery days; further off, the plantation-owned mill looming like a cotton gin, where cane is reduced to sugar and other workmen are reduced to peonage.

From waterboy to driver

"I started in these fields as a waterboy," says 60-year-old Matt Parker, tractor driver. "Thirty-five cents a day then, for 14 hours. As I got a little bigger, I went to plowing with a mule for this plantation. Never no school. That was, let's see, 50 years ago. Now I get $1.65 an hour. So you could say things are a little better after 50 years. But then, or now, you are always back where you started."

Parker tells of raising six children in a company shack without plumbing, of insurmountable debt like doctors' bills with the latest installment a $320 tonsillectomy for his youngest daughter last year. The conversation echoes a timeless tale of southern agriculture, until one of the visitors introduces a new note. He is Gaston Dupas, a black field worker for the Southern Mutual Help Association (SMHA) which Rural Advancement Fund (RAF) has been assisting.

He tells the cutters of the just-opened

SMHA-sponsored family health clinic in Franklin, La. Membership is $1.00 a family, he explains; then doctor visits are free and operations can be arranged with charity (state) hospitals. There are also educational and nutrition programs and other services to combat decades of neglect. The cane workers have not heard of the clinic or of SMHA, and they doubt that anyone could care what happens to them or their children. But they are also anxious to believe there is some hope, particularly for their children.

Before lunch is over, most—not all—extract carefully folded dollar bills from their levis, and join the clinic. But more than clinic membership is transacted. A compact has been made between the workers and a community of concern that never existed for them before this day.

A dedicated minority

The Southern Mutual Help Association has been building this community for two years on those sprawling plantations where poverty lives side-by-side with rich and politically powerful growers supported by unlimited federal subsidies. The Department of Agriculture itself sets the wage for Parker and other field hands trapped in generations of servitude. It also pays huge subsidies to the growers, with six Louisiana growers collecting $500,000 a year each from the government.

Against these potent forces, a handful of women and men, black and white, alone keeps hope alive through SMHA. There is a local newspaperman fired because he wrote the truth about plantation exploitation, a mill worker who tried to unionize the fields two decades ago, a Head Start worker dismissed because she spoke out against discrimination in a region where black men are supposed to remain silent. And leading the group is Sister Anne Catherine, a

French-born nun in whose Abbeville home hangs the slogan:

Almost always, the creative, dedicated minority has made the world better.

The work of Sister Anne and her "dedicated minority" is spread over eight parishes, taking many forms.

"From the first, the Rural Advancement Fund has been a vital ally," says Sister Anne. "Not only with funds but with advice on how to obtain the federal grants for things like the clinic and adult education. Southern Mutual Help Association is the sponsoring agency for several government-funded programs. But SMHA itself depends on RAF for its support. We look to the Rural Advancement Fund for the means to provide subsistence, travel expenses, and training of college students who take time out from their campus studies to work in teams with plantation workers, visiting people in their homes to bring help and hope."

There is the mother of eight needing help to get food stamps; a 70-year-old cane cutter with no schooling wanting to learn to read the Bible before he dies; a family with small children in a rodent-infested shack. An inability to cope is one more bitter by-product of lifelong poverty in the sugar fields.

SMHA's ability to inspire change is increasingly evident, not only in concrete programs but in a new will among the people that is intangible, yet no less real.

A community health clinic

The state's first migrant and plantation health center has just opened in Franklin with a pediatric nurse associate, a doctor, and several outreach workers. You are struck with the efficiency and cheerfulness of the center. There are bright yellow and orange curtains, gaily colored screens, handmade examination gowns in printed patterns. SMHA

organized a health survey by Tulane University medical students who found on just one plantation only 37 out of 180 inhabitants in "normal" health. In warm, "barefoot" weather, 90 percent of the children surveyed had worms. HEW funds—along with community labor and donations—have created this cheerful spotless clinic.

The shacks of Lafourche

The shacks of Lafourche Parish contain living proof of the statistics of neglect. Thirty percent of the population lives under the poverty level, 40 percent has less than 4th grade education. Virtually all are black. But wrapped in the dark night of a lonely plantation road, one shack glows with new light. Inside, an adult education team is teaching those the "system" left ignorant. There are five such teams holding classes inside shacks, each team composed of qualified instructors who are student volunteers from Antioch College and one plantation resident whose education enables him or her to help out. In one rough-walled room lit by a bare bulb, a middle-aged woman sits on the floor, leaning on a chair, learning to write her name. With great difficulty, she makes the letters while the team's plantation "specialist" encourages her.

Tired eyes opening

Next door, younger women have brought their children to class. An infant stirs, cries, is comforted by its mother. She has five children, her husband is a tractor driver at $1.65 an hour, and sometimes she cuts cane by hand.

"Most nights I am tired in the class," she says. "But I never went beyond fourth grade and the lessons perk me up. They—you know—open my eyes."

Later a mill worker and SMHA member, Henry Pelet, tries to describe his feelings about the education program he directs. And about other things.

"I've lived in this cane area all my life," he says. "And I haven't liked the things I've seen. Today, we are starting to change it. This young lady from the plantation instructing tonight is going to Tuskegee Institute this week to study so she'll be better trained to teach. A year ago, all she faced is what her family has always known—a life in the fields or on the fringe. SMHA is making possible one very small advance with miles and miles ahead. We need so much more. And we're struggling to get there."

The Rural Advancement Fund underpins SMHA's survival and growth, gives encouragement to the new-found hope for change on bayou and plantation. Clinics to give bodies a chance to grow and be strong, education programs to open minds and enable them to confidently make their choices for the future, day care centers where children have supervised play and wholesome meals while their mothers work, credit unions to encourage savings and provide low-interest loans for essentials, new homes to replace decrepit shacks.

And all of it developing that sense of community that is the vital first step the rural poor must take in their struggle for the decencies of life the rest of us take for granted. We ask you to share in these efforts by helping to provide resources for the people of southeast Louisiana who today are finding the will to build new lives and are earnestly seeking the way, and for RAF's programs in other poor rural areas for farmer cooperatives, craft co-ops, leadership training, housing, and other social and economic programs to help people help themselves.

breaking new ground

National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS WORKSHOPS

NOTICE

TO: Executives of Affiliates of the National Social Welfare Assembly
Participants at May 18, 1954 Conference on School Desegregation

The Assembly Committee on Intergroup Relations is planning for a series of workshops with the following purpose:

> To provide an opportunity for NSWA affiliates to come together so that they may exchange views, make a study of and an inquiry into the practical aspects of organizational function and administrative policy and practice relating to their endeavors to eliminate prejudice and discrimination.

* * *

The first workshops of the series will be held this spring:

April 20 from 2:00 P.M. to 4:30 P.M.

June 16 from 10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M.

> "It was felt that leadership, professional and volunteer, is basic to progress in intergroup relations, thus it is essential that national organizations give attention to training programs for their local as well as national personnel on such matters as--
>
> a. leadership attitudes, need for personal conviction and support
>
> b. methods and practices in intergroup relations
>
> c. minority group personnel, to look into the ways we need to work to assure more opportunities for placement, for upgrading, especially into administrative positions, and the need to increase opportunities for staff development of persons of minority groups."

Save these dates:

April 20

June 16

* * *

Save the dates for the workshops, and further details will be reaching you later in the month.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GRACE T. HAMILTON . . .

To: GSM

From : GTH

This would be a useful meeting for SRC . Contacts would be established with the staff and lay leadership of the national agencies with staff at work in the Southern region. Would alsp provide a widened market for SRC publications.

Would you approve GTH attendance - at the first of the two meetings scheduled ?

May 5, 1955

Mrs. Bernice Bridges, Director
Education-Recreation Services
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Bernice:

I have run down the earlier correspondence with Dr. Mitchell and Robert Snable, the Chairman of the Young Adult Council.

Dr. Mitchell regrets that it is not possible for him to attend the meeting. The Council has very limited funds so it is not possible to give financial assistance to help young people attend this meeting. I enclose, however, a list of the staff of such stat state groups affiliated with the Southern Regional Council as are organized and staffed. I believe it would be useful for information about the Assembly to be sent to them in case they know of young people's groups which should be represented.

In the event that you are looking for suggestions of people from the Southern region who might serve as consultants or in some other leadership capacity, the following suggestions may be useful.

(1) Mrs. Margaret Dagen, 1579 Parsons Place, N.W., Louisville 5, Kentucky (Present executive of the Kentucky Council; teacher in the Highland Junior High School, Louisville; excellent working relationships with great variety of community groups involved in the process of education for school desegregation.)

(2) Dr. C.H. Parrish, Department of Sociology, University of Louisville, Ky. (A consultant for state organizations of the SRC; Vice-Chairman of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations affiliated with the SRC; regular relationships with a great variety of local and national groups concerned with preparation for school desegregation.)

(3) Mrs. Bonita Valien, 339 21st Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn. (Consultant on the staff of Southern Educational Reporting Service; also served as one of the research team which studied the communities reported in Schools in Transition.)

You probably know of the community consultants who have worked this year for the NAACP in communities actively preparing for desegregation of the schools. Mrs. Margaret Butcher is one of the best and I believe might be interested and able to work with the Assembly.

I expect to be in New York during the month of June and will look forward to an opportunity for conversation. I regret that the Council is not in a position to be of more help in the ways in which you hope to find help.

Yours Cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH:rnf

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK 17 • NEW YORK

SIDNEY HOLLANDER President MISS MARGARET HICKEY Chairman Administrative Committee ROBERT E. BONDY Director

April 14, 1955

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Grace:

Some time ago our Young Adult Council addressed a letter to Mr. Mitchell inviting the Southern Regional Council's cooperation in the United States Assembly of Youth to be held at Oberlin College, September 8-13, 1955. So far we have had no reply.

I thought perhaps it would be helpful if I were to supplement the Young Adult Council chairman's letter by explaining to you two ways in which we would welcome your Council's cooperation.

1. The extension of an invitation to young adults in the 18-30 age group to attend USAY. We assume that in the local groups with which you come in contact there are young people of this age group and they would be the kind of people who would be particularly interested in the discussions at USAY. If there is any help you folks could give such young people in helping to plan financial arrangements, that, too, would be helpful.

2. The USAY Planning Committee would welcome the news that the Southern Regional Council can send one of its experienced staff workers to serve as a resource consultant in the discussions for which the Council's experience would be particularly helpful. There are several commissions and clinics which will be concerned with various angles of discrimination and segregation. I don't know whether Mr. Mitchell feels he could spare the time to come to USAY. I am sure it would be exciting to the young people to have the opportunity to meet with him. If he cannot do so, it would be wonderful if we might have you there.

Bonita Valien
C. H. Pawne
Margaret Dayne

The major difficulty in this invitation is that we are working on a very limited budget and are seeking resource consultants from organizations which see sufficient value in USAY to be willing to send their staff workers to help with the program at the organization's expense. In other words, we are unable to offer any financial assistance.

When is your next trip to New York? It's been a long time since we've had the opportunity for conversation, so come soon.

Sincerely yours,

Bernice

Bernice Bridges, Director
Education-Recreation Services

jm

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

March 11, 1955

TO: FRED ROUTH

I nominate you for Executive responsible for the Young Adult Program for the SRC.

GM.

Please send _____ USAY brochures to:

Name _____

Address _____

_____ _____

Name of person sending this card _____

Organization _____

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK 17 • NEW YORK

SIDNEY HOLLANDER President MISS MARGARET HICKEY Chairman Administrative Committee ROBERT E. BONDY Director

March 1, 1955

MAR 7 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Young Adult Council invites your cooperation in the United States Assembly of Youth to be held September 8-13, 1955 at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. The theme for this year's USAY is "Freedom in the Balance." We feel you will share our enthusiasm for USAY - an assembly of some 350 young Americans for discussion of the most pressing issues facing citizens today.

USAY is sponsored by the Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly, a central national council of sixteen major Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, student, rural and young worker organizations in the United States. Participants will be young adult members (18-30 years) and adult leaders of organizations affiliated with or invited by YAC to cooperate in USAY.

We feel that your organization will be interested in the discussions at USAY and hope you will wish to send two observers from your staff or lay leadership. It is quite possible that these observers will be qualified to serve as resource persons in various discussion groups at the Assembly. The enclosed memorandum indicates the general areas of discussion.

We have prepared a brochure for distribution in the near future. If you wish to have a supply to make available to young adult members of your organization who might wish to participate in the Assembly, please return the enclosed post card.

We will be happy to provide any additional information you may desire, and hope to receive your favorable response to this invitation as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Snable

Robert M. Snable
Chairman,
Young Adult Council

jm
encl

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

UNITED STATES ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH

September 8-13, 1955

Oberlin College Oberlin, Ohio

PURPOSE: To bring together from all parts of the United States rural and urban students and workers, 18 to 30 years of age, of all creeds and colors and all major organizations -
to get acquainted and make new friends, and
to do some serious thinking about our democratic heritage and the responsibility of citizens in community, national and world affairs.

PROGRAM: Theme - "Freedom in the Balance"
Commissions will deal with the citizen: his well-being; his political responsibilities; his role in the world community
Clinics for practical program aids
Special Events for pleasure

Outstanding speakers and expert resource consultants will contribute both information and stimulation. After the 1953 USAY a participant remarked "USAY was equal to a semester at college and much more fun!" We anticipate that the 1955 USAY will measure up equally well.

ELIGIBLE: Young Adults (18-30) who are members of YAC organizations listed below or other invited organizations.

HOUSING: University dormitories. Space is reserved for single men, single women and married couples. Meals will be served in University dining rooms.

COST: Registration fee - $10 (until June 30); $12.50 (after July 1)
Meals and Room - $35, from dinner, Thursday September 8th to lunch, Tuesday, September 13th.

Part time participants will be charged the full $35 unless precise information about late arrival or early departure is registered with the YAC office by September 1.

TRAVEL: Oberlin is 25 miles from Cleveland and 10 miles from Elyria, Ohio. Buses leave Cleveland or Elyria for Oberlin approximately every hour from 7:00 a.m. to midnight.

BRING: Simple clothing - sportswear, slacks, jeans. There will be special evening events but no formal parties.

If you like tennis, bring your racquet and tennis balls.

Musical instruments for informal sings will add pleasure.

APPLICATION FORMS: Forms may be requested from your own organization or directly from the Young Adult Council. Send the completed form, with registration fee, to YAC.

For further information and application forms, write to:

YOUNG ADULT COUNCIL
NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Member organizations of the Young Adult Council are:

American Youth Hostels
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Encampment for Citizenship (Associate)
Liberal Religious Youth
Lisle Fellowship
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Board, YWCA
National Council of YMCA's, represented by the National Student Council
National Council of Catholic Youth
National Jewish Youth Conference
N.A. Student Cooperative League
Rural Youth of the U.S.A.
Students for Democratic Action
United Christian Youth Movement
U.S. National Student Association
United World Federalists, Student Division

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

9.5.m - See P. 3+4

Bulletin No. 3 March 15, 1955

INTERGROUP RELATIONS BULLETIN

FOR SOCIAL WELFARE AGENCIES

(Issued periodically by *The Committee on Intergroup Relations)

Social welfare agencies have for many years been pioneering for the elimination of prejudice and discrimination - a trend which has been accelerated by the Supreme Court Decision of May 1954.

The projects briefly outlined in this issue illustrate directions which the movement for the improvement of intergroup relations has taken and which have been facilitated by agencies in the social welfare field. The examples included are not intended to be exhaustive, but merely suggestive and illustrative, and to serve as source material for further information to those who seek it.

This issue is devoted primarily to sundry examples of projects being carried on by such groups as Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc.; National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; National Urban League; Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America; and the National Conference of Social Work.

Subsequent issues of the Intergroup Relations Bulletin will carry supportive examples of projects and programs developed by other groups.

*(formerly The Committee on Prejudice and Discrimination)

(The cost of the Bulletin is 8¢ per issue; 50 or more copies 6¢ per issue)

WELFARE AGENCY PROJECTS IN PROCESS

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS OF AMERICA, INC.
(345 East 46 St., New York 17, N.Y.)

In recent years, increasing attention has been given in local community chests and councils to the problems of promoting better intergroup relations among racial and religious groups in the community.

A number of Community Welfare Councils, some in the South, have made comprehensive studies of services and facilities available to Negroes, employment opportunities, public attitudes, and the areas of community life where improvement in race relations should be made. Examples are: Akron, Ohio; Charleston, West Virginia; Gary, Indiana; Greenville, South Carolina; Jacksonville, Florida; Shreveport, Louisiana; and Springfield, Illinois. (See detailed descriptions below).

Community Chests
Denver, Colorado

The Denver Community Chest tackled the problem of continuing distribution of funds to the Metropolitan YMCA - when it was disclosed that the Sportland Beach Branch - was practicing discrimination in its membership. The executive committee of the Chest, with the full cooperation of the YMCA, sought the facts, got them, drew conclusions and made recommendations distinguished for their frankness, brevity and lack of rancor. The specific recommendations were:

1. That Chest financial support be continued for the Metropolitan YMCA with the continued understanding that none thereof be re-allocated to or used by or for the Sportland Beach Branch;
2. That the Metropolitan YMCA continue and intensify its efforts toward a program of complete racial equality in all its branches;
3. That the Metropolitan YMCA avoid any further arrangements with any branch whose operations are not consistent with Community Chest and YMCA policies.

Community Welfare Councils
Greenville, South Carolina

The Greenville Study was made in May 1950. It was entitled "Everybody's Business." More than two hundred citizens actively participated in the collection of facts and in making recommendations. Annual follow-up reports refer to this project as "Greenville's Big Idea." The 1953 edition reported that ninety-three specific improvements had taken place, either while the Study was being made or since the Study was completed.

Jacksonville, Florida

A Follow-Up Committee catalogued a wide range of improvements twenty-one months after the publication of the Jacksonville Survey. The report of the Follow-Up Committee comments: "Many of the following constructive developments were specific recommendations made by the Survey Committee. Other improvements would seem to have been facilitated by the better atmosphere, wider understanding and discussions since the Study."

St. Louis, Missouri

A Committee on Goals for Non-Discrimination was set up within the Social Planning Council of St. Louis and St. Louis County. Various goals were outlined and approved by the Board of Directors May 11, 1954. The functions of the Committee are:

a. to submit periodic reports to the Board of progress in the elimination of discrimination in health, welfare, and recreation agencies;
b. to compile a body of experience from agencies on problems and techniques in eliminating discrimination;
c. to use this experience in conferring with staffs and/or boards of agencies whose policies and practices are at variance with the Goals, and who desire change; and,
d. to develop, in cooperation with other community agencies, an educational program for the elimination of discrimination in health, welfare, and recreation agencies in particular, and in the broader community in general.

Shreveport, Louisiana

The Shreveport Study of 1953 was a truly outstanding self survey which had a terrific impact upon the community while it was being conducted and has already led to widespread improvement in the situation. This Study was given TV coverage by Edward R. Murrow.

Springfield, Illinois

An evaluation made in Springfield, Illinois two years after the original study listed eighteen specific changes for the better which had occurred during the intervening period. This report makes the following disclaimer: "We are not listing these as accomplishments because we cannot claim the entire credit for bringing anyone or all of these changes about. However, the committee as a whole, or individual members of the committee, took an active part in every one."

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
(22 West Gay St., Columbus 15, O.)

The National Conference of Social Work, at the 1955 Annual Forum in San Francisco, May 29-June 5, will consider the general topic of "Segregation, Desegregation and Integration." One of the General

Sessions and several sectional sessions will deal with the subject. The speaker at the General Session will be George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

Section I (Services to Individuals and Families) will have a series of group meetings related to the whole subject.

1. The school situation. A school social worker will report on the integration of the Negro child into the public school and all its attending adjustments.
2. Social agencies - public and voluntary. Problems and practices in attempting to work out nonsegregated caseloads, etc. will be explored.
3. Public housing. Discussion on segregation and desegregation will be based on the work of the Housing Authority of Baltimore.
4. American Indians. The segregation aspects - including education, housing, etc. - will be discussed. D'Arcy McNickle, Director of The American Indian Development, Denver, Colorado, is the speaker.
5. Migratory group. Specific segregation problems of this group will be defined. Joseph H. Douglass, Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C., is the speaker.

The Eduard C. Lindeman memorial lecture will also deal with desegregation and integration. The speaker will be Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Section II (Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups) will have a meeting on the contribution of group work in racial integration. The speaker will be Dorothy Height of the staff of the YWCA of the USA.

Section III (Services to Agencies and Communities) will have a panel discussion on the question of what social work can do to help our schools meet the problems of desegregation, including suggested ways of bringing social work and the schools closer together within the community. Presiding at this panel will be: Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Dean; George Warren Brown, School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Panel members are: M. Leo Bohanon, Executive Director of the Urban League of St. Louis; and Miss Margaret W. Ryan, Texas Research League, Austin, Texas.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE USA
(297 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y.)

The United Lutheran Church in America, the Congregational Christian Churches and the Presbyterian Church in the USA, their social action commissions, cooperated with the Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University, and the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, NCC, to examine the processes through which local congregations of their own groups had moved toward, or had achieved some degree of racial inclusiveness in their own churches and organizations. The project is now nearing completion.

The National Council of Churches in a strongly worded message addressed to the 35,500,000 members of its 30 constituent communions, has denounced "any and all forms" of racial prejudice as a "sin - contrary to the will and design of God." The 500-word text was coupled with a 16-point outline of suggested steps to be taken by local churches and individuals in combating prejudice and discriminatory practices.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
(1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.)

The National Urban League received $7,500 from the Philip Murray Memorial Foundation to assist the League in launching its "southern industry project" aimed at increasing the industrial employment of Negroes. Formal presentation of the grant was made by Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union (CIO) and chairman of the Foundation, to Robert W. Dowling, League president.

The southern industry project is one of the League's answers to the problems of new community relationships and attitudes resulting from the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation. The project seeks to increase the number and improve the work levels of Negro labor in industrial plants and businesses located in the South.

Oklahoma City Urban League

Here is an indication of plans underway in one League City - Oklahoma City - to implement the Supreme Court Decision in Desegregation of Public Schools. Because of its careful planning and the way in which the proposals are suggested, it appeared to be valuable for use in many League communities.

Five committees have been established:

1. Consultation and conference with school officials and representatives of influence groups.
2. Citizens' Committee to coordinate community groups.
3. Community Leadership Institute.
4. Speakers' Bureau.
5. Preparation of instructional material.

Washington Urban League

The Washington Urban League, in cooperation with other civic-minded organizations, met the student strikes against public school integration in the following manner:

1. Served as an observer at three high schools and reported to the cooperating group meeting.
2. Initiated efforts to secure newspaper editorials condemning the truancy.
3. Participated in group discussions formulating plans of action.

4. Served as promoter and coordinator of group activities, alerting the Federation of Churches, notifying groups not represented at meetings of the recommendations for action, and so on.
5. Participated in drawing up the proposals on school-community relations presented to the School Superintendent after the strikes ceased.
6. Sent messages of commendation to the Superintendent, the Commissioners, the Chief of Police and the newspapers.

Future activities will deal with three areas: integration of school administration, implementation of proposals, and improvement of neighborhood attitudes.

YWCA, NATIONAL BOARD
(600 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N.Y.)

The National Board will present for action to the 20th National Convention of the YWCA of USA the following recommendation:

"That during the next triennium, each local Association and the National Board review its progress toward inclusiveness since the adoption of the Interracial Charter in 1946, and, to assist this, that materials be prepared and sent to local Associations by the National Board.

"That local Associations and the National Board, on the basis of progress already made, decide upon concrete forward steps to be taken between now and the 1958 Convention, and that a summary of effective experience be reported to the Convention in 1958."

The members of the National Board voted in the October 1954 meeting that the National Board receive and approve the National Social Welfare Assembly's May 18, 1954 Statement on Integration. Special meetings were set up in order that Board members might have the opportunity to take a nation-wide look at current YWCA practices in community situations, for the purpose of considering what steps the YWCA might take to further the processes of desegregation.

In December 1954, the YWCA of USA prepared a descriptive record of its experiences in a report entitled "Methods of Combating Discrimination." This was prepared at the request of the World YWCA, for participation in a Conference of non-governmental organizations under the sponsorship of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations.

Further, the Southern Regional National Board and staff members met in Atlanta, Georgia in December 1954 to assess the changing conditions in the South and their implications for the YWCA.

In January 1955 selected National Board and staff members participated in a consultation on desegregation in the YWCA. At that time work groups considered matters relating to (1) leadership; (2) electoral practices and policies; (3) branches; (4) relationships to the community.

From the above consultation came specific recommendations to the National Board of the YWCA.

RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

RECENT BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Education in a Transition Community. By Jean D. Grambs. New York, Commission on Educational Organizations, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1954. 25¢. Concerned with the integration of various groups, minority racial, ethnic, or new residents, in schools and community life.

Forbidden Neighbors: A Study of Prejudice in Housing. By Charles Abrams. New York, Harper, 1955. $5.00. Close link between the problem of discrimination in housing and the growth of prejudice in American communities is the focus of this vigorous and solidly documented book.

Leader's Guide to the Use and Study of Materials on Intergroup Education. Prepared by Joseph H. Douglass. Washington, D.C., National Education Association of the United States, 1954. $1.00.

Now is the Time. By Lillian Smith. 1955. New York, Hard cover ed.: Viking Press, $2.00. Paper bound: Dell Publishing Co., 25¢. Conflicts arising from the Supreme Court Decision are explored, defined and recommendations made for their solution.

One Nation Under God: A Report on Our Moral and Spiritual Resources for Brotherhood. New York, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1955. Free. Recommends ways and means for community organizations to marshal their spiritual forces to meet today's challenges.

The People Take the Lead: A Record of Progress in Civil Rights, 1948 to 1955. New York, American Jewish Committee, 1955. 10¢. Survey of nationwide progress in civil rights. Describes administrative, legislative, judicial and voluntary action to insure equal opportunity for all Americans.

Schools in Transition: Community Experiences in Desegregation. Edited by Robin M. William, Jr. and Margaret W. Ryan. Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina Press, 1954. $3.00. Series of case studies of communities that have made the changeover from bi-racial public schools to integrated systems during the past few years.

You, Your Town, Your World and Human Rights. New York, Thirteen Member Agencies of the Conference Group of U.S. National Organizations on the United Nations, 1955. 25¢. Conference Group Bureau of Information, 45 E. 65 St., New York 21, N.Y. Social action handbook for community leaders describing how individuals and groups can attain the "common standard of achievement" set by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

RECENT MAGAZINE ARTICLES

The American Negro: a UNESCO Report. Special Number. The UNESCO Courier, October, 1954. UNESCO Publications Service, 475 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N.Y. 25¢. Dedicated to the American Negro whose progress in less than a century is described as one of the most amazing social phenomena of our time.

A Balance Sheet in Human Relations During 1954. Strengthening Democracy, February 1955. Board of Education of the City of New York, 131 Livingston St., Brooklyn 1, N.Y. 10¢. Review of the gains and losses in human relations during 1954.

Changing Patterns in the New South. Special Issue. New South, December 1954-January 1955. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga. 50¢. Record of growth of democracy in the South in the last decade.

Church Reactions to the Segregation Ruling of the United States Supreme Court. Christian Social Relations, January 1, 1955. Department of Christian Social Relations of the National Council of the Episcopal Church, New York 10, N.Y.

Fraternities: Schools for Prejudice? By Alfred McChung Lee. Reprint. The Committee Reporter, September-October 1954, published by the American Jewish Committee. National Committee on Fraternities in Education, 28 E. 35th St., New York 16, N.Y. 3¢.

How the Supreme Court Decision is Affecting YWCA Program - A Symposium. The YWCA Magazine, February 1955, 600 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N.Y. 35¢. Describes the procedures adopted by YWCA throughout the USA, in carrying out the doctrines of this decision. Cities include: York, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Southeastern Region; Tucson, Ariz.; Roanoke, Va.; St. Louis, Mo.; Asheville, N.C.; and Portland, Ore.

The Negro in America Today. By Alan Paton. Reprint. Collier's, October 15, 29, 1954. Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. 10¢. Alan Paton brought both objectivity and sympathetic understanding to this study of race relations.

Racial Integration: Some Principles and Procedures. Special Issue. Dan W. Dodson, Issue Editor. The Journal of Educational Psychology, October 1954. New York University, Washington Square, New York 31, N.Y. 35¢.

The Schools That Broke the Color Line. By William Peters. Reprint. Redbook, October 1954. Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. 4¢. Emphasis on the positive side of Southern White and Negro children sharing the same classroom.

Some Suggested Next Steps in Furtherance of Desegregation in Education. By Lester B. Granger. Reprint. The Journal of Negro Education, Summer Issue, 1954. National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y. 5¢.

The Southern Education Reporting Service. The Southern Education Reporting Service, a non-profit agency directed by a group of Southern editors and educators and financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, publishes a monthly newspaper called Southern School News. Report on this appears on page 7, NSWA Intergroup Relations Bulletin, August 1, 1954.

A Symposium on Segregation and Integration in College Fraternities. Social Problems, January 1955. Society for the Study of Social Problems, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, N.Y. $1.00. Represents a systematic attempt on the part of a social science journal to concern itself with the role college student associations are playing in the continuation of prejudice and discrimination on the college campus.

File
Nat'l. Social Welfare
Assembly, Inc.

May 26, 1964

Mrs. Bernice Bridges
Consultant
Education and Youth Services
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Bridges:

I wish that I or someone else from here could attend the National Teenage Conference on Human Rights. I am afraid, however, that we shall not be able to make it this year. This far in advance I do not know whether any of our people would be in the New York-Princeton vicinity at the time, and I am afraid that we could not otherwise manage the travel expenses.

You have a very interesting program, and a very worthwhile purpose. We wish you all success.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors ROBERT E. BONDY Director

May 20, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The National Social Welfare Assembly will sponsor a National Teenage Conference on Human Rights to be held August 17 - 21, 1964 at Princeton University. Participants will be high school age members of national organizations from various states over the nation and their adult advisers.

On Wednesday morning, August 19, from 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon, we would like to have the participants introduced to some of the leading direct action organizations. Would there be any person in New York or nearby who is sufficiently well informed about the Southern Regional Council activities that you would wish them to serve as spokesman for the organization at the August 19 morning meeting?

We would like to have the action organization representatives present for the full morning, 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon. Our plan is to have a panel chairman to raise questions so that the panel members can respond in preference to having a series of straight speeches.

Points we shall hope to have covered include: purpose and methods of the organization, examples of current activities, the role of youth in the organization, and any suggestions you have about what teenagers can do in their own organizations, schools, and communities in efforts to assure equal rights and equal access to opportunities.

We are planning this conference without any special funds and therefore are unable to pay expenses for a representative to come from the South. However, we are told that some of your well-informed leaders are often in New York for other purposes. We can, of course, cover expense of transportation between New York and Princeton.

We shall appreciate your consideration of this inquiry,

Sincerely,

Bernice Bridges

Bernice Bridges, Consultant
Education and Youth Services

BB/cw

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

ANNOUNCEMENT

NATIONAL TEENAGE CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

August 17 - 21, 1964

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Princeton, New Jersey

sponsored by

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY
345 East 46th Street - New York, New York 10017

The National Social Welfare Assembly is the central national planning and coordinating agency for the social welfare field.

What The National Teenage Conference on Human Rights will be a nationwide interorganization Town Meeting, providing opportunity to meet teenagers from other parts of the U. S. A. ... exchange information ... learn from skilled leaders ... voice opinions ... decide what youth can do to help assure equal rights for all.

When August 17 - 21, 1964

Where Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey

Who Teenagers, ages 15 - 19, representing national youth organizations and their local units, religious youth movements, state youth committees, community welfare councils and youth councils.

Delegates will be teenagers who are leaders in their organizations, schools, churches, synagogues and communities, representing all ethnic and racial groups, from urban and rural communities.

Each youth delegate will participate as an INDIVIDUAL, drawing on the experience of the organization and community represented.

Adults will be present as advisers to delegations, speakers, workshop leaders, program aides ... and to listen and learn.

Purpose The Conference aim will be to help American teenagers increase in knowledge and understanding ... develop methods of action ... gain inspiration and commitment to the cause of securing equal rights.

Program Methods General Assembly ... Discussion Groups ... Workshops ... Task Forces ... Daily News ... Committees.

Special Events Mixer and Hootenanny ... Folk Dancing ... Party with entertainment by Delegations ... Banquet.

Free Time Student Center Lounge ... Ping Pong ... Volleyball ... Softball ... Tennis ... Swimming Pool.

Travel Light Bring one bag you can carry. Girls: Sandals, skirts, blouses, Bermudas, summer dress for special events. Boys: Sandals, slacks, Bermudas, T-shirts, white shirt and tie for special events. ALL: Sweater or raincoat; notebook, pencils, pen, and, if you wish, tennis equipment and bathing suit.

Arrival

Plan to arrive in Princeton August 17 in the afternoon. Register at the Student Center, Wilcox Hall, on the Quad.

Cost

Fee will be $55 if paid prior to June 15, 1964, or $60 thereafter. Fee includes room and meals (dinner 8/17 - breakfast 8/21), infirmary, insurance, and student union facilities.

The full fee must accompany each registration.

Refunds due to illness or other unavoidable factor will be made up to July 15, 1964.

Travel

In New York City, go to Port of New York Authority bus terminal, 8th Avenue at 41st Street. Take Surburban Transit Line (Ticket Window 9, Loading Platform 120) Bus to Princeton, New Jersey. Buses leave every half hour. Trip takes an hour. Cost, one way, is $1.50. Roundtrip $2.70. Get off at last stop, at edge of Princeton campus.

Long distance travel by air, bus or train should terminate at New York City terminals. Transfer to Port of New York Authority bus terminal for bus to Princeton.

Pennsylvania Railroad has some trains (check locally) which stop in Princeton Junction, N. J. Transfer to Princeton local, which meets all scheduled train stops, for a four-mile trip to Princeton Station at edge of campus. No other railroad serves Princeton.

Make reservations early due to heavy August travel.

Travel by car only if the driver is an adult adviser or parent. University students are not permitted to have cars in Princeton; this policy will be followed by the Conference.

Registration Forms

Registration forms are available on request through the National Social Welfare Assembly and cooperating organizations. Forms should be filled out and sent in with full fee by June 15, 1964.

k
3/13/64

July 17, 1964

Mrs. Bernice Bridges
Consultant
Education and Youth Services
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Bridges:

Thank you for renewing the invitation to us to be represented at your Princeton meeting on August 19. Your suggestion of Paul Rilling is an intriguing one, but I think it would not be fair to Paul, who now works for a governmental agency and has all the problems of identity which that entails, to represent us on such a panel. About all I can say is that we certainly shall not forget the dates, and if anyone happens to be up that way at the time, we shall let you know.

Thank you for your good wishes, and we are sorry that we probably cannot this time work with you, as we have so enjoyably done in the past.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors ROBERT E. BONDY Director

Rec'd 7/16/64

July 15, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Earlier this spring we wrote you that the National Social Welfare Assembly will sponsor a National Teenage Conference on Human Rights, August 17-21, 1964 at Princeton University.

We asked if any representative of the Southern Regional Council would be in the New York area and available to participate in a panel of representatives of some of the direct action organizations on the morning of Wednesday, August 19 from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon. At that time you knew of no one who would be up this way.

Since it is now mid-July, I thought it might be worthwhile to recheck this question with you in case someone has had a change of plans. You may remember that our problem is a too tight budget which prevents our inviting a representative directly from Atlanta.

One other thought occurred which may or may not be useful. Paul Rilling, Executive Director, D.C. Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, is coming to Princeton to help with another discussion on the afternoon of August 19. I think someone said he was formerly with the Southern Regional Council but I do not know how long ago. We have not mentioned the morning panel to Mr. Rilling but wanted you to have the information.

This second inquiry is merely that we, out of the several different associations (foreign visitors, U.S. Youth Council, etc.) have high regard for the work of your organization and will regret the absence of a panelist due to our own budget limitations.

Sincerely yours,

Bernice Bridges

Bernice Bridges, Consultant
Education and Youth Services

BB/sy

cc: Mrs. Ann Wolfe
American Jewish Committee

NATIONAL TEENAGE CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS - August 17-21, 1964 - PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, Princeton, N.J.

	Monday, 8/17	Tuesday, 8/18	Wednesday, 8/19	Thursday, 8/20	Friday - 8/21
		Early Meditation	Early Meditation	Early Meditation	Early Meditation
		7:30-8:30 Breakfast	7:30-8:30 Breakfast	7:30-8:30 Breakfast	7:30 - Breakfast
MORNING	FINAL SESSION of Advance Leadership Meeting, to begin Sat., August 15 at 2:00 P.M. - WILCOX Hall	9:00-General Assembly 9:15-Discussion Groups Problems in Our Own Communities 10:30-Snacks 11:00-General Assembly Address: Assuring Equal Rights - Whitney Young, Jr. Natl. Urban League	9:00-General Assembly Direct Action Orgs. NAACP CORE SCLC SNCC NSM 10:30-Snacks 11:00-Assembly - Continue	9:00-Task Forces - Continue 10:30-Snacks 11:00-Task Forces complete work. Duplicate their reports.	DEPART
		12:00-1:00 Lunch	12:00-1:00 Lunch	12:00-1:00 Lunch	
		1:00-2:00 Committees Meet	1:00-2:00 Committees	1:00-Committees	
AFTERNOON	Arrival and Registration of Delegates	2:00-3:00 Choice of Recreation: Swimming, Tennis, Ping Pong, Soft Ball, etc. 3:15-Snacks 3:30-General Assembly Address: Myths & Facts about People - Sociologist Questions & Comments	2:00- Workgroups - • Housing • Education • Employment • Legislation • Voting • Religion & Race 3:30-Snacks & Recreation 4:30-Workgroups continued	2:00-Recreation 3:30-General Assembly Task Force reports Discussion Consensus and/or Minority Speaker	
	6:00-7:00 Dinner	5:30-Dinner	6:00-7:00 Dinner	7:00-Banquet	
EVENING	7:30-General Assembly • Welcome by President, Princeton University - • The Conference Plan - • Discussion of Human Rights Problems in Our Own Community 9:00-Folk Singing and Dancing 11:00-Dorm Meetings	6:30-Charter Buses to NYC to see "In White America," a play by Prof. Duberman of Princeton University (Play based on documentary material) 10:30-Return by Charter Bus	7:30-General Assembly Free-wheeling discussion: What is most urgent & how do we feel about all that has been said 9:00-Task Forces Meet on What Can We Do? 11:00-Dorm Meetings	8:15-Address: Human Rights - A World-Wide Task 9:30-Music -- Voices, Inc.? 11:00-Final Ceremony 11:30-Dorm Meetings	

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY, INC.

★ MANDATE
★ FOR
★ ACTION

In A Year Of Decision

1964 ANNUAL REPORT

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Where Are We Going in Civil Rights

by

Dr. Robert W. Spike, Executive Director
Commission on Religion and Race

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the U.S.A.

at the

Annual Spring Luncheon Meeting of the
National Social Welfare Assembly
April 12, 1965

June 1965 25¢ per copy Volume IV

The National Social Welfare Assembly is the central national planning and coordinating agency for the social welfare field.

WHERE ARE WE GOING IN CIVIL RIGHTS

by

Dr. Robert W. Spike

I am pleased to share with you this noon time my views on the subject that has been assigned, "Where Are We Going in Civil Rights?" This is exactly the question I am asking myself. This will be an exploration rather than prophetic.

I am reminded of the story of a four-year-old boy who came in to his mother with his face covered with lather and said he was going to shave. His mother said to him, "But, John, you don't know how to shave."

He said, "Yes, I do. I have been listening to Daddy, and I know all of the right words."

The kind of words that I use come out of the very deep involvement that our Commission has in the middle of the struggle. But there are times when these words, these observations, and analysis, bear about as much relationship to the dynamics of the movement we are now a part of as the boy's observation about what it takes to shave.

To speak at all intelligently about where we are going in civil rights, we have to remind ourselves if only very briefly about where we have come, and then to speak a bit about the recent center of tension and dramatic focus, namely, in Selma. On the basis of these two things we can talk about the immediate future and some very long range and wild guesses about the longer future.

The Struggle for Equality - Three Periods

The struggle for full equality in this country from the point of view of the Negro people can very well be divided into three periods - and they are periods of very great and very profound unevenness.

The first period would certainly be two hundred to two hundred fifty years ago, more or less from the beginnings of our nation up to the time of the Civil War, when slavery particularly in the hundred years just preceding the Civil War was a matter of course, a matter of acceptance, not only in certain regions of the country but in the whole country. True, there are those who make the point - and with some justification - that the very founders of our nation, those who drew up our basic documents of freedom, probably had in the back of their minds that these documents excluded Negro people because Negroes were thought of first as property, and then second as persons. So you have to think of this whole long heritage of relationships between the races in this country, which still carries its mark and is buried deep in the psyche of the nation.

The next period is the one hundred years from the Civil War roughly into our own time, which was characterized by the heroic and in many ways unbelievable struggle of the Negro people to bring themselves into the full stream of American life. Having been emancipated from slavery by fiat, there were no assurances of acceptance into white society. Indeed soon after the promulgation of legal rights, the white society set out to establish a whole new range of obstacles and barriers that would nullify that freedom. These one hundred years have largely been characterized by heroic attempts at education and self education, of advancement against tremendous pressure. They represent a long and historic struggle.

The third period has to begin at least symbolically with the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation in 1954. I am afraid that when the history of all of these events is written that will seem to be almost the beginning as far as generations that come. Those heroic souls who have struggled for civil rights in the last twenty or twenty-five years are largely unnoticed in the whole national picture. For 1954 was the date which becomes a kind of axis in the struggle. With that decision of the Supreme Court, Brown versus the Board of Education, one has symbolized for the first time since the Civil War the determination of the Federal Government, in this case in the existence of the Supreme Court decision, to move positively and strike away the subterfuges of states rights which have been used so overwhelmingly and often with so much deception to prevent people from exercising their full constitutional rights.

The decade 1954-1964 really spawned what we know now as the freedom movement, the civil rights movement, in that great numbers of people have been added to the group of those who struggled before that largely in the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. There is a proliferation of new organizations, and finally very belatedly the entrance of larger numbers of white people into the struggle for justice.

The Churches Enter the Struggle

It is in that latter vein that the churches, as far as their organizational life and strength, have to be numbered. It is not, of course, true that the churches have paid no attention to the basic issues of justice over the years. If you could look in our office you would find piles of documents of pronouncements the church bodies have made on this subject for a great many years. If you have had commissions and agencies valiantly at work, we have had all kinds of individuals, even as the social welfare agencies and other institutions of our society concerned with human welfare. But it was not until 1963 that the churches at least of this country decided that the issue was so drawn, and the crisis so deep in the life of America, that nothing less than the fullest sort of mobilization of resources and energies was called for.

It became apparent, probably for the first time to large numbers of white people in the spring of 1963 following the demonstrations in Birmingham that the nation was not just being plagued by an uncomfortable social problem that affected a few people, but that it was in the midst of an internal crisis which might indeed split the nation; that there was facing the nation a determined and intensely devoted Negro population which would not rest until all doors were open, until all barriers, whether bounded by legal restrictions or whether

bounded by the more subtle and covert pressures and customs of our society, were down. When that finally became real to this nation, largely symbolized by the willingness of hundreds of people to march in the street and to go to jail in the City of Birmingham at personal risk and cost to themselves, we had the opening we now have.

The period of demonstration, of desperate taking to the streets the issues of justice, has served an enormously useful purpose in this country. This period brought to us, with the events that followed these demonstrations, a major piece of civil rights legislation. The demonstrations have convinced the conservative institutions of this country, at least on superficial top layers, that strenuous and active campaigns had to be instituted within their own life to make it possible for Negro people to find full equality in these institutions.

There was coming to be - and I put this in the immediate past tense - there was coming to be felt in civil rights organizations, and those who were most engaged in the struggle last summer, and fall, and winter, the feeling that the time of the usefulness of demonstrations had passed; that these demonstrations which had produced certain major breakthroughs had also worn thin on the American scene, and that except for the most militant of the civil rights groups there was a desire to try to find some new ways of attacking those areas of the problem that still remained.

The feeling was that demonstrations when they do capture the imagination of people and dramatize the issue need to be followed through by very careful planning and careful work so that the whole business of people having political power, of organizing in the community in order to get that political power, that these were the efforts that now needed to be made to achieve the remaining tasks. These remaining areas which are so seriously still with us are the areas of open housing, of educational equality and quality, of the balancing of opportunity in terms of jobs and political strength.

These are the areas that people had begun to move to. There was the conviction expressed in most civil rights groups in the middle of the winter that major attention should be focused in the more complicated Northern cities.

This was certainly true with the Commission on Religion and Race, the organization that I serve. We had decided in the fall to concentrate more of our energies and attention in the North than in the South. We had been very deeply engaged in Mississippi and other parts of the South, and we now felt that the more complicated and probably in the long run the more serious issues that needed working at were in Northern cities.

Then in the midst of our careful plans, Dr. King began to organize in Selma. The State Troopers of Alabama, as if they had been on Dr. King's payroll, proceeded to escalate the seriousness of that situation by their terrifying kind of brutality and almost stupid resistance to the legitimate exercise of rights. They made Selma a central symbol of indignation and protest. Again I have to speak just about our own organization, but I think others were affected the same way. It was impossible for us to keep on with our plans of analysis and preparation and careful planning of what we were going to do in this Northern city, and that Northern city. We found ourselves coordinating

and transporting hundreds and finally thousands of church people to Selma.

Five Results of Selma

It was not something that we planned or that we even urged. It was the spontaneous overflow of deep feeling that had to have some kind of expression. Out of Selma have come at least five remarkable results which I would like to call to your attention.

First, the attention of the whole nation was drawn sympathetically and applied to the Negro freedom seeker in a way that has not been true since Birmingham. Indeed the indignation and moral revulsion felt by all of the intervening tragedies was even greater than Birmingham. People felt compelled to do something. Thousands who poured into Selma dramatized that deep feeling, and those of us who were standing on the deck trying to focus the indignation constructively felt the sheer weight of it.

After I finally got back from Selma and Washington, where I had gone directly after the attempted march with Dr. King, the one that was turned back after eight days, I finally got back to my office. There I found three typed pages, single spaced, of groups of people who wanted to go to Selma. We had to say, "Don't go because there are too many people there already." These were not individuals. These were lists of groups, and the groups consisted of people all the way from 5 to 400. This was a spontaneous kind of feeling.

The sympathetic marchers on Sunday, March 14, all across the nation were another sign. In the middle of that Sunday afternoon it seemed as if fully half of the nation was on the street marching some place. The nation was opened again for drastic movement of Selma.

Second, the Federal Government became more irrevocably committed to an active role in the struggle than ever before, passing by its fears of contravening historic rights reserved by tradition if not by statute to the states.

Third, the President, himself, passed through his own valley of decision, and he emerged for the first time convincingly as a moral leader of the freedom struggle. I suppose every President has to have this. President Kennedy had his Oxford. This was the first time that President Johnson had been personally and deeply involved and had to make his own kind of drastic decision.

Fourth, Selma makes possible the passage of a stronger voting rights bill than we could have hoped for, along with the possibility of other legislation which will strengthen the Federal authority in crimes resulting from civil rights issues. These are bills yet to be drawn. I am quite sure they will be drawn before the year is over.

Fifth, and this is of particular concern to those of us in the religious community. Selma was a major breakthrough for those in the Roman Catholic Church who are deeply concerned about civil rights. The Roman Catholic presence in Selma on the days after the aborted Tuesday march was one of its most impressive features.

Other Results and Effects

Now having enumerated all of these aspects of victory, however, I must honestly say that my overwhelming feeling about the effects of Selma is fearfulness. Despite the spontaneous expression from the whole country, I have the feeling that it was an over-reaction, that it was generated out of guilt and frustration long building and found an easy emotional release in the treks to Selma.

I do not in any way undervalue the importance of the struggle for freedom that went on there, and that was represented by Dr. King's program. I am not talking about that at all. But I am more troubled than reassured when popular television shows reek sentimentality and patriotic poetry dedicated to the whole civil rights movement as I heard right after Selma. And when certain great hierarchial leaders who have had no previous connection or even public statement about civil rights announced that no price is too great to pay, no sacrifice too painful, no labor too demanding to help the American Negro achieve his full civil rights. Or when every political figure now finds it the right thing to do to join marchers or send representatives to Montgomery. In some ways this may be the state toward which we have been working, that is the taking up into the popular American culture of the Negro freedom movement. It may be, but I am too wary of our notorious weakness for fads to believe it too easily.

We are people who like symbols of freedom. Selma to Montgomery represented that. But for some it seemed a little too much like a refighting of the Civil War. The temptation to vindictiveness against the South rather than being personally forced to repentance is dangerously present in the North right now. When I use the word "repentance" I don't mean it in its narrowest ecclesiastical sense. For many, Selma has been an escape from the hard and complicated decisions in Northern cities where freedom is also at stake. The very days that crucial decisions ought to have been made for sustained plans for this summer, for example, many were on trains and planes bound for Montgomery.

In many ways the reaction to Selma in Northern communities is not immediately definable. Bitterness and frustration in the North are shared by the white villians in Alabama. But the remedy which will emerge from Selma, namely, a voting bill, will not be felt in the North. This is the same kind of thing that came out of the struggle of events that produced the Civil Rights Bill. There are very close relationships to Mississippi, the production of that bill and the enormous sense of frustration and bitterness that emerged and broke out in Northern cities last summer. For the remedy that comes forth on the national medium does not in any way affect the situation that Negroes face in ghetto situations.

There is a dangerous kind of sentimentality bred by all of the public attention given to the events in Alabama. The churches particularly and the clergy need committed prophetic ministers. But we need even more skilled hard working clergy and laity who will work at basic political reform, economic opportunity and the changing of housing patterns.

Questions Raised by Selma

That is the sober picture as I see it for the months that immediately face us now. How can the commitment of Selma, that many people felt who were there and many who did not go but actually felt it, how can it be channeled into the very complicated and yet essential bed rock tasks of changing the patterns of relationships, particularly in the Northern cities?

I don't want to be too pessimistic, and I don't think I am. But I am sure that enough changes cannot be made in these next few months to prevent outbreaks of bitterness and perhaps of violence in a great many places in the North. History just does not move that fast. I see a great many people working at the job.

In fact as I move among the cities of the North I am alarmed by all of the cross purposes and hostilities and jealousies of prerogatives that emerge. This is the most obvious picture you have about the North where there are so many agencies and organizations committed by charter to the extension of human rights. How often they seem to be at cross purposes, or at least suspicious, of one another. How fearful of the new forces that are emerging, particularly the more indigenous voices, the more Negro militant leadership. These somehow will not fit in neatly to the patterns of social work organization in the city or of the political structure of the city.

That kind of tension and opposition is going to increase. And unless it is worked out, unless these newer voices - some of them not as skilled, some of them without degrees behind their tones and voices - are listened to, then we will not get very far.

I also have a feeling that even though the base of support for the civil rights movement as a whole has been greatly widened by these last few years, and again by Selma, there is also a deepening of quiet resistance within the conservative institutions of this country, despite what seems to be going on on the top levels, on the public image levels.

One sign of this is the resurgence of attacks on parts of the civil rights movement as being Communist or being influenced by far left people. There is too much of this, and it is too apparent in the last six weeks particularly for it to be completely accidental.

There are groups of people, some of them also engaged in the civil rights struggle, who would very much like to tone down, tame down, anything, the more militant part of the movement. If that is accomplished by insinuation and by weeding out certain people from the movement, then we are on our way to developing in this nation a permanent - permanent may be too strong - a long term alienated group of people who will be outside of the consensus of the American scene as far as the direction of the society is concerned.

These people will not be submerged nor pushed aside by these threats. The surest way to develop a long time irresponsible kind of negative radical movement is to begin to weed people out of the civil rights struggle at this stage. It is very serious, and I think it is one of the signs to keep watching.

The other sign: there is deepening resistance to serving the institutions in this country. I would include most of the institutions that all of us represent in this room in that category. One of the signs is the increasing difficulty of financing for basic pragmatic programs of social change.

One of the shocking things is the way in which the major foundations of this country are unable to mobilize their resources in that basic problem. They can find the money for anything that seems to be educational - in quotes - which must always somehow be certified that it is not threatening the present balance of the social structures we have. Yet the meaning of this civil rights struggle we are now in is that it is a major opening wedge for a long time process of basic social change: the struggle as to whether in a democracy encased in a complicated technological society these changes can be made fast enough and with enough freedom so that all people have a share in the benefits of democracy.

This is not just a struggle about Negroes and their historic plight, which is serious and bad enough. Out of it is emerging a much deeper and very healthy change: a movement for freedom in its true sense. That is the exercise of equality and opportunity for the whole range of the citizenry within and accepting the technological facts of our time.

We should give thanks that in our age - when it looked as if all of the frontiers were closed, and when all of the red blooded traits of American youth were going to be shunted into climbing into telephone booths or pushing beds down the street - that there has emerged a young and virile and militant Negro generation that has opened the door for the white kids to come along with them. If we close the door to them and do not understand the seriousness of what it is they are engaged in, and if we do not join them with our resources and with our responsible wisdom, then we will have failed our country.

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors ROBERT E. BONDY Director

Report of The Treasurer to the 1965 Annual Meeting of The Assembly

Eugene J. Patton

The financial situation within The Assembly has always been reasonably tight. In our first year back in 1946 the income was about $63,000 and our expenses were about $59,000, so in that first year we started off with a surplus of some $4,000. Until 1960 our income has matched our expenses. It had to be that way. In the last four years, however, our expenses exceeded our income and we had to borrow from the banks.

In reporting the financial results of operations of The Assembly for the year 1965, let me say at the outset that on the basis of actual figures for the first ten months of this year and what I consider very reasonable estimates of income and expenses for the months of November and December, we shall not have to go to the bank and borrow as we have had to do at the end of each of the last four years. At the end of 1961 we had to borrow $16,000; 1962 - $21,000; 1963 - $12,500, and 1964 - $18,100.

The 1965 financial results viewed in light of this background are quite commendable, and our retiring director, Robert E. Bondy, and his executive staff should feel proud of their accomplishments this year.

Before going into detail, I also wish to point out and emphasize that in 1961 The Assembly adopted the financial policy that the basic support should come from its own constituency, namely, the affiliated organizations and the United Funds and Welfare Councils. In other words, it was the objective of this policy that The Assembly's own constituency would provide 90% to 95% of the income to defray expenses of operation. An examination of this objective will be discussed later in this report.

A summary of 1965 financial results projected on the cash receipts and disbursements method of accounting is as follows:

Income - 1965

Income - cash receipts	$ 294,300
Bank loan proceeds	None
Total income - cash receipts	$ 294,300

Expense - 1965

Monies actually paid out	$ 291,000
Less: Dec. 1964 loan repaid with interest thereon	18,500
Actual operating disbursements	$ 272,500
Surplus, estimated 12/31/65	$ 3,300

Operating income exceeds operating expenses, on a cash basis, by $21,800 ($294,300 - $272,500). Out of this excess of income over expense, we were able to repay, in 1965, the December 1964 loan and interest thereon of $18,500 leaving an estimated surplus of about $3,300 at year end.

What were the sources of our 1965 income as compared with the four preceding years?

Total Cash Available by Source and Year 1961 - 1965

	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961
Affiliated Organizations	$ 112,800	108,800	103,300	91,400	95,000
United Fund & Community Welfare Councils	114,200	107,500	100,000	101,000	94,300
Contributions	7,600	8,600	8,400	9,500	7,200
Reimbursements	55,300	27,000	36,000	21,800	19,500
Sale of Publications	3,800	3,600	7,600	5,200	8,000
Miscellaneous	600	600	600	600	2,500
	294,300	256,100	255,900	229,500	226,500
Money Borrowed	NONE	18,100	12,500	21,000	16,000
Cash Available	$ 294,300	274,200	268,400	250,500	242,500

Percent of Cash Available by Specified Source Year 1961 - 1965

Affiliated organizations United Funds & Community Welfare Councils	77%	79%	76%	77%	78%
Reimbursements	18.8%	9.8%	13.4%	8.7%	8%

There was a marked increase in income from reimbursements in 1965. Of the $55,300, about 90% came from implementation of the Standards of Accounting and Financial Reporting, The International Exchange Program and the comics project. If it had not been for this substantial amount of reimbursement income we would have had to go to the bank again this year.

We are still striving to increase our income from outside sources. The president is again sending letters soliciting contributions from friends and from individuals.

So much for the income analysis; let us look at our cash disbursements.

Disbursements by Object and Year 1961 - 1965

	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961
Salaries	$ 161,200	155,300	143,600	144,900	147,500
Retirement	19,500	17,800	13,700	13,100	12,700
Rent	19,700	19,100	19,600	19,700	19,700
Travel	20,000	19,300	17,300	15,000	14,000
Printing and reproduction	8,600	4,100	10,900	6,900	12,000
Telephone and telegraph	6,500	8,100	6,300	7,200	8,400
Meetings - conferences	10,000	11,100	9,600	8,600	9,500
Office expenses	25,500	26,600	25,900	19,900	17,600
Equipment	1,500				
Repayment of loan and interest	18,500	12,900	21,500	16,400	
	$ 291,000	274,200	268,400	251,700	241,400
Less Loan repayments	18,500	12,900	21,500	16,400	
Operating expenses	$ 272,500	261,300	246,900	235,300	241,400

This report gives you an idea of the scope of the financial operational aspects of The Assembly. These figures relate to what we call the Operating Budget.

In addition, The Assembly in 1965 will expend $749,000 for special projects including the International Exchange Program which is carried in co-operation with the U.S. Department of State; the U. S. Youth Council, and Standards Implementation Project.

In other words, The Assembly this year is doing a total business involving expenditures of over one million dollars. The accounts have been examined every year by the national accounting firm of Haskins & Sells and have been found to be in order.

These expenditures are under the administration and supervision of a small Assembly administration and program staff. May I say on my behalf and, if I may, on yours that they are doing an excellent job under a tight budget situation. They deserve our highest commendation.

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345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors ROBERT E. BONDY Director

FULL AGENCY INFORMATION FOR THE NATIONAL BUDGET AND CONSULTATION COMMITTEE

AGENCY STATEMENT OF NEEDS, PROGRAM AND ORGANIZATION

Human Needs Served

The Assembly is the one national planning and coordinating agency for the social welfare field. Through involvement of national-state-local, public-voluntary, and lay-professional interests, The Assembly gives leadership in bringing about adaptive change in purposes, programs, and structures within the social welfare field, and in encouraging innovation in meeting needs and trends. The Assembly also takes leadership in shaping new relationships with other interests concerned with human well-being, including housing, education, government, business, labor, social sciences, and economic and physical planning.

What the Agency Does

In pursuing these goals The Assembly is committed to the following priorities: Advancing social and economic well-being; achieving new, dynamic, and inclusive approaches to planning; and furthering the realization of equal rights and full access to opportunities and services. Working together on this program are 36 standing committees, conferences, and workshops on which over 1,500 different individuals serve. The Assembly:

a. Studies problems and programs of current and coming import which vitally affect the entire field of social welfare. For example, the place of voluntary social welfare in today's world and how it is to be financed; ways organizations can open full opportunities for Negroes; changing relationships between governmental and voluntary agencies; social welfare needs of the armed services and veterans; selection, training and differential use of staff with and without professional education; automation and leisure; executive responsibility for long range development plans; legal entitlements under welfare laws.

b Influences public social policy of governmental and voluntary organizations through: Analyzing and evaluating programs, needs, and trends; working with key persons in the agencies; adopting official positions developed in consultation with national organizations, state and local planning councils, and social welfare statesmen; preparing and distributing information bulletins and guidelines.

c. Speaks in behalf of voluntary social welfare. Presents point of view of voluntary social welfare for incorporation into the U.S. position on matters before the U.N. Social Commission; prepares report on voluntary services for U.S. report to the U.N.; presents organized young adult interests in national and international affairs through U.S. Youth Council; testifies before committees of Congress in its own name and by request on behalf of local, state, and national agencies and individuals. By agreement with United Community Funds and Councils of America, The Assembly is the national spokesman for social welfare planning, and serves as liaison to state and local welfare councils on national developments.

d. Develops guides for agency programs and policies. For example, how to use volunteers in poverty programs; how to determine fees for service; what to consider in choosing a campsite; personnel matters; salaries; uses of confidential information; what teenagers can do about human rights. With UCFCA cosponsors the National Budget and Consultation Committee. Standards of Accounting and Financial Reporting for Voluntary Health and Welfare Organizations were developed in a joint project with the National Health Council.

Organization

History. Created in 1945 to meet the demand for a central national planning and coordinating agency in the social welfare field.

Governing Bodies. The Assembly, the corporate authority, elects 158 members named by the 79 affiliate and associate organizations and 117 members-at-large, also The Assembly officers and Board of 36 who serve 3-year terms. Chairmen of standing units are ex officio Board members. In 1965, The Assembly met twice; average attendance 200. The Board met 4 times; average attendance 24.

Officers. Board: Chairman, Winslow Carlton; Vice Chairmen: Robert F. Shea, Sanford Solender; Secretary: C.F. McNeil. The Assembly: President, William H. Bulkeley; Vice Presidents: Margaret Hickey, R. Wolcott Hooker, John F. Meloney, Chester McKittrick, Leo Perlis, Mrs. Alexander B. Ripley, Ira A. Schur; Secretary, Mrs. Michael Harris; Treasurer, Eugene J. Patton.

Staff. Total: 45. NSWA: 18 full-time, 2 part-time. (5 full-time, 1 part-time are professional). Special staff: 25.

Community Relations. No local branches. Work through members-at-large, national organizations, united funds, and welfare planning councils.

HIGHLIGHTS OF PROGRAM

The Assembly in 1966 will continue its regular on-going activities; will complete the special Study of Future Role and Program begun in 1965; will work further on implementation of uniform accounting and financial reporting; and will give special attention to four major areas: 1) Anti-poverty programs. 2) Extending and strengthening relationships with departments and agencies of the Federal government. 3) Governmental and voluntary agency relationships, roles and responsibilities. 4) Financing national voluntary organizations. During 1966, adaptations in the structure and work of Assembly units will be made as the special study progresses, if change is indicated.

The paragraphs which follow report selected program highlights.

Future Role and Program

The special Study of the Future Role and Program of the National Social Welfare Assembly, begun in September of 1965, will be completed in 1966.
The study will: 1) Analyze and evaluate national issues and problems affecting the well-being of people; 2) assess the purpose, nature, and extent of The Assembly's role in the light of these problems; 3) project attainable program goals; and 4) convert program goals into recommendations covering organization, management, and financing.

The scope of the study includes: 1) Factual assessment of The Assembly over the past ten years with respect to trends in financing, staffing, workload, participation in program, and program emphases and priorities; 2) identification and broad evaluation of social welfare problems and issues requiring national study, planning, coordination and leadership for solution; 3) assessment of the nature, role, and utility of The Assembly, its present image, the utility of its materials; 4) identification of means by which to further working relationships with the Federal government, and with other national organizations of similar interests; 5) identification of the methods for improving and strengthening working liaison with local and state social welfare planning councils; and 6) identification of means by which working relationships can be extended and strengthened with organizations and groups whose interests touch upon social welfare.

The study plan calls for individual and group conferences with lay and professional leaders in social welfare and related disciplines. Care is being taken to have the views of united fund and community welfare councils as well as those of national voluntary and governmental bodies. A series of five regional conferences assures geographically wide-spread participation.

The study committee of 18 members includes business, education, labor, government, religion, and social welfare interests. Bernard L. Gladieux, Vice President of the management firm of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, is committee chairman; Mrs. H. M. Rozendaal, citizen leader of Schenectady, New York is vice chairman. Greenleigh Associates are consultants to the committee. The study is financed by The Rockefeller Foundation with matching money from individuals, and national organizations affiliated with The Assembly.

Standards of Accounting and Financial Reporting for Voluntary Health and Welfare Organizations

Implementation of the Standards, developed jointly by The Assembly and the National Health Council is proceeding so that agencies may make their first report by these Standards before or during 1968. The program includes work with the national agencies, with united funds and with regulatory bodies. June 30, 1966 has been set as the deadline date for completion of national agency manuals and those of their local units. United Community Funds and Councils of America is developing a new budget manual for use by local united funds and chests. Technical assistance in the implementation program is by Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co.

A handbook, Forms and Instructions Recommended to State and Local Regulatory Bodies for Uniform Financial Reporting by Voluntary Health and Welfare Organizations, has been completed. Its contents were developed in cooperation with voluntary agencies, state and local regulatory bodies and other public officials. This handbook will be distributed in cooperation with the National Association of Attorneys General and the National League of Cities.

These three approaches - with the agencies, united funds, and regulatory bodies - encompass the major facets of reporting. This means that, when completed, a national or a local agency can use one set of reports for all purposes requiring reports of income, expenditures, and assets, and the relationship of these items to program and management costs. The reports will also provide means for financial comparisons among agencies.

War on Poverty

Historically The Assembly is committed to advancing the well-being of all people, a commitment which was reaffirmed on April 10, 1964 with the adoption of an official Position Statement on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In 1966, The Assembly will give particular attention to the war on poverty. The Assembly will: 1) Continue to emphasize the role of social welfare in fighting poverty, and will recognize that both innovative and established programs are essential. 2) Help define appropriate roles for governmental and for voluntary agencies. 3) Gather information about the experience of national agencies and local units. 4) Examine how such experience relates to and affects agencies' on-going purposes and programs. 5) Identify in what places and ways the established agencies may make their best contributions to the poverty fight. 6) Against this background, seek to develop common understanding and agreement with the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

Relationships with United Community Funds and Councils of America

The Assembly and the UCFCA work closely together in ways appropriate to advance planning and coordination in social welfare. A statement of agreement, adopted by the two boards in 1964, recognizes The Assembly responsibility for overall planning in the social welfare field, for keeping abreast of Federal and national developments and for dealing directly with welfare planning councils on such developments. UCFCA continues its responsibility for giving leadership,

consultation, and service to local funds and councils, and for keeping abreast of local voluntary and governmental planning matters.

With UCFCA, The Assembly co-sponsors the National Budget and Consultation Committee, and two annual regional meetings - the Great Lakes Institute and the Adirondack Workshop.

Governmental and Voluntary Responsibilities

Plans have been drawn for initiating a dialogue to assess the dramatic changes which are taking place in governmental and voluntary responsibilities and relationships in the health and welfare fields, and to consider and define the respective roles of government and voluntary effort in the coming years. This dialogue, jointly undertaken by the National Health Council and The Assembly, is seen as a continuing process, for such matters are not static. Funds are being sought for an initial group to be brought together in 1966.

Social Issues and Policies

Committees of Congress, public bodies, national organizations and local community welfare councils look to The Assembly for advice, consultation, and information on matters of public social policy. The Assembly speaks for itself on those matters for which an official position has been taken. By request The Assembly speaks on public issues for other organizations and individuals. For example, in 1965 The Assembly testified on unemployment insurance before the House Ways and Means Committee on behalf of 23 organizations and 64 executives. Of these, 10 organizations were local funds or councils and 42 individuals were executives of local funds or councils. The Assembly filed separate statements for three national organizations, and for the Record introduced an Assembly study on unemployment insurance.

Individual consultation has been given to national organizations on specific issues, such as, Federal aid for social work education, and implementation of medicare as it affects visiting nurses and united funds. At the request of the D/HEW Task Force on Social Work Education and Manpower, members of The Assembly Committee on Personnel met with the Task Force staff for consultation regarding needed legislation.

Members of Congress and public officials have been warm in their praise for this aspect of The Assembly work.

Legal Rights of Persons Entitled to Public Benefits and Welfare Protections

The question of legal entitlements and protections under welfare programs is a growing interest of The Assembly. In 1959, The Assembly took the lead in examining the issues around a newly passed Louisiana law which disqualified over 22,000 children for Aid to Dependent Children. A number of national agencies, acting under Assembly sponsorship, petitioned the Social Security Commissioner to call a hearing to determine whether or not the Louisiana action was not in fact out of conformity with Federal law. When the hearing

was called national organizations singly and jointly filed amicus curiae briefs on behalf of the Louisiana children. As a result of this action Federal regulations were modified, and subsequently incorporated into law, making it impossible to deny assistance to an otherwise eligible child because of the unsuitability of the home, unless other provisions are made for support of the child.

Legal and social welfare interests have been further stimulated by Assembly publications. For example, Poverty and the Law (1963), which discusses the constitutional rights of public assistance recipients, and Check List of Legal and Constitutional Issues affecting the rights of individuals seeking or receiving welfare and related benefits (1965). Elizabeth Wickenden, The Assembly Consultant on Public Social Policy, has spearheaded these efforts which have involved others also. For example, the Yalw Law Journal in June of 1963 published Midnight Welfare Searches and the Social Security Act, and in June 1965 carried Individual Rights and Social Welfare: The Emerging Legal Issues. Both articles were by Charles I. Reich, Esq. The Assembly, through special financing, gave wide distribution to the 1963 article. Miss Wickenden has secured a grant for an exploratory examination of the legal issues through a project now underway at the Hays Center of the New York University Law School.

Continuing attention will be given to this significant area in the coming months.

Social Welfare and Community Mental Health

A seminar on social welfare and community mental health will be held in March of 1966 under the joint sponsorship of The Assembly and the National Health Council and with the aid of a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. The purpose of the seminar is to bring together national, state and local, voluntary and governmental service and planning agencies to develop ways to gain the objectives of the Community Mental Health Act of 1963. The seminar proceeds on the assumption that it is necessary to replace the walls between systems of service in the states and communities with bridges of understanding and cooperation. It is hoped that answers will be found to problems of financing, fragmentation, and growing demands for a variety of new kinds of services.

This seminar may well provide a pattern for exploration into other important program areas involving a variety of community interests.

Relationships with the United Nations

Voluntary social welfare's point of view on issues to come before the United Nations Social Commission is developed and presented by The Assembly Committee on International Social Welfare. In preparation for the 1965 meeting of the Commission, agenda items were analyzed, comments and recommendations prepared dealing with: 1) family, child, and youth welfare services; 2) relationship between social security and social services; 3) training of social welfare personnel; 4) reappraisal of the United Nations Social Service Programme; 5) the social aspects of housing

and urban development; 6) proposals for the programme of work of the U.N. in the social field 1965-1967. These papers, issued as an Assembly publication, have had wide use. Mrs. Edison Dick, then U.S. Representative to the U.N. Social Commission, expressed "warmest appreciation ... for the help and guidance given by the thoughtful position papers of the National Social Welfare Assembly." She added: "It is a great satisfaction to a delegation to have the back stopping of such an interested and informed group."

The U.S. representatives to the UNICEF Board have requested similar help in 1966.

International Development

Social welfare services are constructive and necessary measures to advance, support and sustain the total society is the central message of a Position Statement on Social Welfare in International Development, adopted by The Assembly on March 12, 1965. The principles set forth in this statement will guide The Assembly's future relationships in both governmental and non-governmental international development interests.

International Conferences

United States participation in the Fifth Pan American Congress of Social Service was sponsored by The Assembly Committee on International Social Welfare. There were 19 on the U.S. delegation to the Congress which met in Lima, Peru in November of 1965. The Assembly Committee was responsible for the preparation of the U.S. position paper on the theme: Social Welfare's Role in Mobilization and Administration of Human Resources in Social Development.

The Assembly is joining with other national organizations in plans for the 1966 International Conference of Social Work which meets in Washington, D. C. in September.

International Exchange

Local communities have the privilege of learning first hand about social welfare interests and services in other countries through the International Exchange Program, which is financed by the U.S. Department of State. Under the auspices of this Program, each year several hundred visitors from some 40 to 50 nations study and visit social agencies in the United States. In 1966, some 1,000 individuals will be hosted by IEP with each visitor's program developed by The Assembly's IEP staff. Through The Assembly U.S. Youth Council, friendships across national boundaries are formed which in time will broaden and enrich the lives of young people throughout the world. In 1965, there were small exchange delegations to Cambodia, Latin America and the Caribbean Islands, and from West Germany, Russia, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Vietnam.

Intergroup Relations

A newly constituted Committee on Intergroup Relations will gather information about the programs, problems, and progress of national agencies and will develop recommendations for use by the national agencies and their local constituency.

Financing National Voluntary Agencies

This subject will receive attention in 1966 through an ad hoc committee charged with exploring the 1) problems national voluntary agencies have in securing adequate financial support, 2) current and potential sources of support, and 3) possible solutions. Intimately involved are the changing relationships with government, project money, and fees.

Regional Conferences and Workshops

Regional national organization field staff conferences offer the opportunity for a careful look at problems specific to the region, and for making plans on how best to deal with them. Four regional field staff conferences now meet regularly as part of the program of the Committee on Field Service: Western, Midwestern, Southeastern and Northeastern.

Adirondack Workshop and the Great Lakes Institute, co-sponsored with UCFCA, bring together national, state and local agency executives, both governmental and voluntary, for an exploration of some special problem. In 1966 the topics will be New Federal Legislation-Impact on Local Communities, and The Revolution of Expectations.

National Inter-organizational Relationships in Social Welfare

The Assembly is serving as convener of a group of national agencies meeting to review major changes affecting the social welfare field, and to consider their implications for national functions, programs, organizational structure, etc. within the field. Included are National Association of Social Workers, National Conference on Social Welfare, American Public Welfare Association, Council on Social Work Education.

Individual Staff Members

Individual staff members are called upon from time to time for committee service, for speaking, and for writing assignments. For example, four articles in the 1965 Encyclopedia of Social Work, published by the National Association of Social Workers, were prepared by Assembly staff members: National Organizations in Social Welfare, Robert E. Bondy; Voluntary Organization for Social Welfare, Gordon Manser; Social Action, Elizabeth Wickenden; Financing National Health and Welfare Agencies, Elma Phillipson Cole. The 1965 Yearbook of the U.S. Department of Agriculture included a section on welfare services written by Mrs. Louise N. Mumm.

Miss Wickenden prepared a Chapter on Welfare Services for a book, In Aid of the Unemployed, edited by Joseph M. Becker, S. J., published by The Johns Hopkins Press in 1965. Mrs. Cole prepared a Chapter on Interagency Relations for a 1966 Columbia University book Public Relations in Health and Welfare Management.

Miss Wickenden in 1965 was appointed by the President to membership on the Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women. She was also invited to membership on the National Advisory Committee to the Legal Services Program of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. She is a member of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, charged with reporting in 1966 to Congress and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare on changes needed in the public assistance and child welfare services provisions of the Social Security Act.

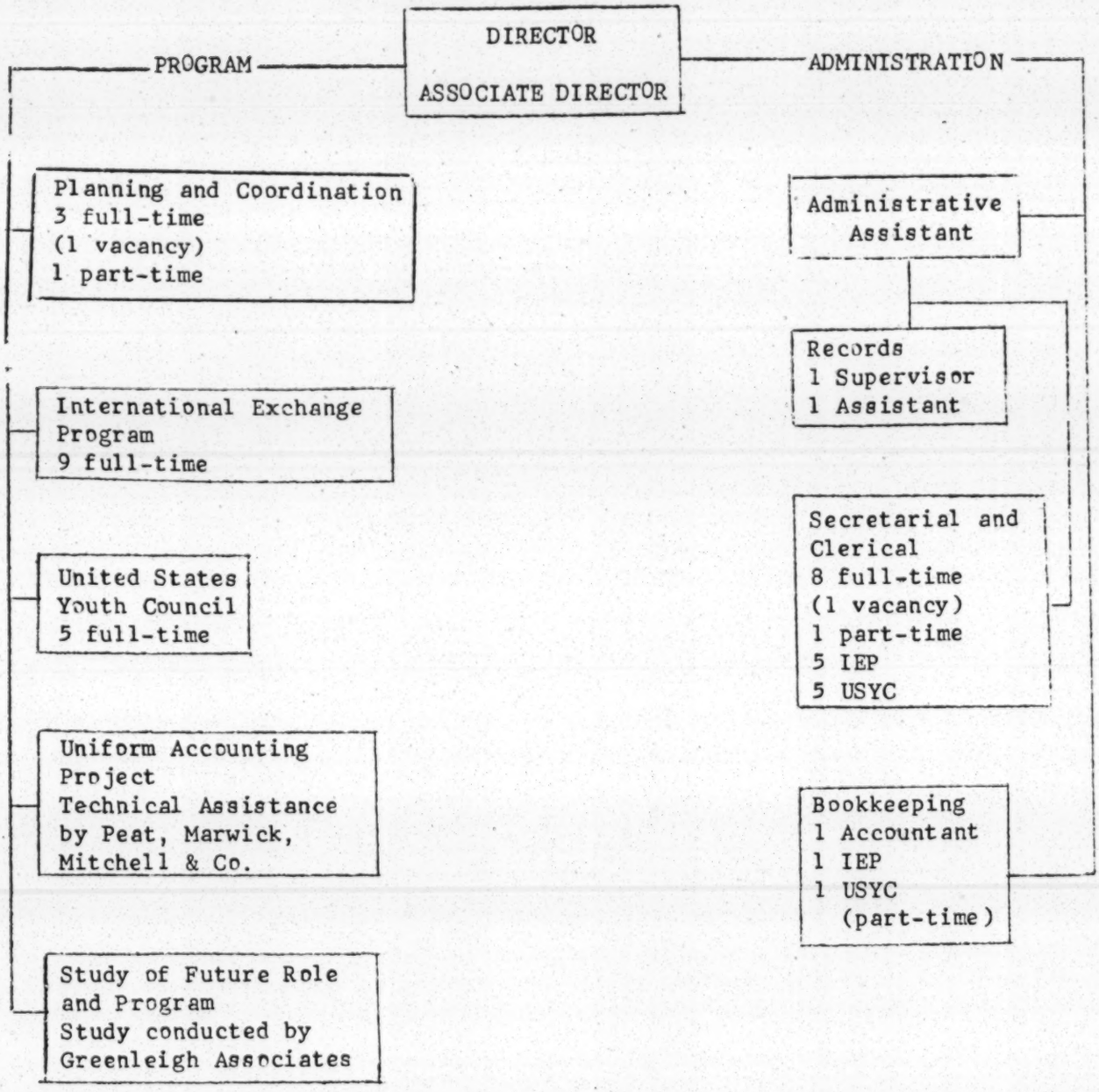
Staff members have helped in the development of standards, for example homemaker services, and for accreditation of agencies serving blind persons.

Publications

Publications are an integral part of The Assembly's service to the field. A regular newsletter to the constituency highlights developments. Guides for organizing and operating programs and services are developed with the help of technicians in the related fields. For example, youth work camps, use of case aides, handling confidential case material. Information bulletins are issued analyzing new Federal proposals or laws, or dealing with some critical and emerging problem. For example, taxes, health care for the aged, poverty, youth employment. Occasional papers pertinent to The Assembly's program emphases are issued: integration, poverty. Studies and special directories are prepared: a study of salaries and working conditions in social welfare, titles and definitions of social welfare positions for the Department of Labor Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Service Directory of National Organizations affiliated and associated with The Assembly. In 1965, 20 items were added to The Assembly's Publication List.

Printed and mimeographed in U.S.A.
February 1966

STAFF ORGANIZATION - January 1966



January 6, 1966

Mr. Gordon Manser
Associate Director
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46 Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Manser:

Thank you for the invitation to attend your New Orleans meeting on February 15. While I would like very much to be with you, regrettably I have another commitment.

Our Director of Field Activities, Ed Stanfield is available and would be happy to come if you wish. We would not suggest this except that we have a great interest in the Assembly and would like to have SRC represented.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors ROBERT E. BONDY Director

January 5, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Gladieux has asked me to acknowledge your letter of December 29 concerning the invitation to Mr. Leslie Dunbar to attend the Regional Consultation in New Orleans in connection with the current study of The Assembly. Since the intention of our invitation was to obtain organizational as well as individual representation, we would be very pleased to have you attend the New Orleans meeting in Mr. Dunbar's stead. Is this a possibility for you?

With best wishes for the new year.

Very cordially yours,

Gordon Manser

Gordon Manser
Associate Director

GM/sy

December 29, 1965

file

Mr. Arthur Greenleigh, President
Mr. Bernard L. Gladieus, Chairman
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46 Street
New York, New York 10017

Gentlemen:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar has recently become the Executive Director of the Field Foundation, Inc., 250 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York. I am sure he would be interested in your study.

All of our agencies should occasionally undertake what the Assembly is now doing, and we would appreciate it if you could share the results of the study with us.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President / WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors / ROBERT E. BONDY Director

December 27, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

A major study of the future role and program of the National Social Welfare Assembly is currently underway. The study is being conducted by Greenleigh Associates, Inc. Briefly, the purpose of the study is to:

1. Analyze national issues and problems related to planning and coordination of efforts affecting the conservation and development of human resources;

2. Ascertain the nature of the need for a national planning and coordinating agency; and to

3. Recommend the future function, role, program, organization, management and financing for The Assembly in light of these problems and needs.

One of the most important features of the study is a series of five Regional Consultations of outstanding leaders in various fields concerned with human welfare to consider the problems and issues of developing effective national planning and coordinating efforts. These meetings are by invitation only and will be limited to 30-40 people. Attached is a list of some of the issues that will be on the agenda.

We would like you to participate in the New Orleans Regional Consultation which will be held in New Orleans at the Sheraton-Charles Hotel on Tuesday, February 15, 1966, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., including luncheon. Funds available for the conduct of the study will enable us to reimburse you for your necessary travel and other expenses in connection with your attendance at this meeting.

For those persons coming from out of the city, a block of rooms has been reserved at the Sheraton-Charles for your accommodation. Please return the enclosed card directly to the hotel if you wish to make a reservation. As this is a busy time of the year for them, we would suggest you return it as soon as possible.

Will you please let us know at the earliest possible date whether you can accept our invitation to be present? The enclosed card may be sent back to The Assembly for this purpose.

We are sure that you recognize both the importance and the urgency of this problem and we trust you will attend.

Sincerely yours,

Bernard L. Gladieux

Bernard L. Gladieux, Chairman
Committee on Future Role and Program

Arthur Greenleigh

Arthur Greenleigh, President
Greenleigh Associates, Inc.

Encs.

GREENLEIGH ASSOCIATES, INC.

STUDY OF NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY

Major Issues for Consideration in Regional Consultations

This statement outlines a number of major issues for consideration in the Regional Consultations which are being conducted as a major part of the Study of the National Social Welfare Assembly by Greenleigh Associates, Inc. The issues are interrelated and require consideration of The Assembly not only in light of its historical past, but, more significantly, in terms of the future role of this organization during a period of accelerated social and institutional change. Of particular relevance is the expansion of governmental planning and development at all levels--Federal, state and local--and the implications for voluntary planning efforts.

I. Scope

There are many areas of concern which might come within the purview of a national organization interested in the conservation and improvement of human resources. These include, for example: racial discrimination, poverty, ill health, mental illness, crime and delinquency, slums and bad housing, aging, unemployment, inadequate education, automation and leisure time, social disorganization, family breakdown, unwanted children, population explosion, urban decay and economic crises.

Issues include: What is the need for an organization such as The Assembly to encompass these various concerns in its program? Should The Assembly program be inclusive of this broad range of concerns or limited to some specific areas?

II. Functions

There are many functions and activities which might be included in The Assembly's program including, for example: planning, coordination, social action, legislative information, research and data collection, conduct of forums, conduct of special studies, development of public policy positions, mobilization of resources and providing central services and consultation to national agencies and local planning councils, and making representations on international social welfare matters.

Issues include: What functions should The Assembly encompass in its program? What relative emphasis and priority should be placed upon these functions in light of limited resources?

III. Membership and Constituency

The Assembly now has a membership of 269 persons, including 154 individuals nominated by 57 affiliate national voluntary organizations, 14 Federal agencies, and 6 associate groups, plus 115 members at large. There is no formalized association between The Assembly and state and local planning councils, although an informal functional relationship exists.

Issues include: Can The Assembly best carry out its future role as an organization of organizations, a body of citizens representing organizations, an independent entity, a coalition of national organizations and local planning councils, or some other alternative?

IV. Structural and Operating Relationships

The scope, function and constituency of The Assembly will, to a considerable extent, shape its general structure and operations. However, in some areas the functions of several organizations overlap or are closely interrelated. Formal relationships with a wide variety of organizations must be determined and a suitable structure to carry out The Assembly's operations must be shaped.

Issues include: What is the best structure and means by which The Assembly can further its relationships and effectiveness with the Federal establishment, other national organizations having similar interests, and local planning councils?

V. Image

The Assembly refers to itself as the national planning and coordinating agency for the health and welfare field and considers itself to be the spokesman for social welfare in the United States.

Issues include: Is this image of The Assembly shared by its constituent members and others in fields broadly related to human resources development? Should The Assembly attempt to perpetuate its present image or try to develop a new one for the future?

VI. Basis of Financial Support

The ongoing operating budget is presently limited to about $300,000 a year. For support of its program operations The Assembly has been dependent almost entirely upon contributions from national voluntary affiliates and contributed funds from local United Funds. Support for special projects has come from governmental and foundation sources.

Issues include: How can The Assembly program and operations be financed in the future? Should support for the ongoing budget be sought from the Federal government, foundations, or sale of services?

To: Gordon Manser Associate Director

I shall attend the Regional Consultation in connection with the Study of the National Social Welfare Assembly to be held Tuesday, February 15, 1966 at the Sheraton-Charles Hotel, New Orleans, Louisiana.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

MAKE YOUR HOTEL RESERVATIONS NOW!

Sheraton-Charles Hotel

I will attend the convention of the . . . .

NSWA 2/14-15/66

(name of group or association)

(date and hour of arrival – date of departure)

Reserve for me the following accommodations . . . (check one)

☐ single ☐ double bedroom

☐ twin bedroom ☐ suite ➡ ☐ twin bedroom ☐ double bedroom

YOUR NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

RESERVATION WILL BE CANCELLED AT 6 P. M. UNLESS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED

MAKE YOUR HOTEL RESERVATIONS NOW!

S. L. 10M-4/65

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MR. ANTHONY - FOR YOUR INFORMATION. WE HAVE SENT THIS MATERIAL UNDER SEPARATE COVER TO MR. STANFIELD

Rec'd 1/31/66

January 27, 1966

m/file

To: Participants, New Orleans Regional Consultation
February 15, 1966, Sheraton-Charles Hotel

As background information for your participation in the New Orleans Regional Consultation, in connection with the study of the future role and program of the National Social Welfare Assembly, I am very pleased to enclose several documents.

These include: The last Annual Report of The Assembly; Full Agency Information for the National Budget and Consultation Committee; and the Treasurer's Report presented at our last Annual Meeting.

Gordon Manser
Associate Director

Encs.

File
Nat'l Social Welfare
Assembly

March 23, 1967

Mr. Winslow Carlton
Chairman, Board of Directors
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Carlton:

Thank you for your invitation to serve on the Committee on Intergroup Relations. I accept with pleasure.

To my regret, a prior commitment makes it unlikely that I can attend your meeting set for May 9th.

If SRC can be of any assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

March 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It is my pleasure to invite you to serve as a member of the National Social Welfare Assembly's Committee on Intergroup Relations, now being reconstituted and expanded. This invitation is being extended because of the special contribution we believe you can bring to The Assembly's efforts in this area.

You perhaps know of The Assembly's many activities and publications relating to various aspects of intergroup relations. While this whole subject has been of major concern throughout the twenty-two year history of The Assembly, recently the Board of Direcotrs has expressed particular interest in the problems of racial discrimination, and has given this high priority for our planning and programming. In spite of some well publicized gains in recent years, we know that much hard work is yet needed before all Americans attain full and equal opportunity.

We are committed to building the strongest possible committee, with a range of interests, background and residence. We expect to have both experts and informed, concerned laymen.

The initial charge to the Committee will be to draft and present for approval by the Board of Directors an up-to-date position statement for the National Social Welfare Assembly on racial discrimination. Future activities may be to help develop an ongoing program in this subject area for The Assembly; to respond to challenges to the voluntary sector from Federal officials; to develop relevant services to The Assembly's constituency.

The reconstituted Committee will have the excellent Chairmanship of Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones and will meet on Tuesday, May 9, 1967 from 9:30 a.m. to 12 noon in the Hugh R. Jackson Memorial Conference Room of The Assembly, at 345 East 46th Street, New York City. As you may know, national committees tend to have longer meeting hours, but meet less frequently.

I hope you will be able to accept this appointment and to give us the benefit of your thinking and insight. Enclosed you will find a card on which you may indicate your acceptance and intention to attend the May 9 meeting. Additional materials will be sent to Committee members in advance of the meeting.

Very sincerely,

Winslow Carlton

Winslow Carlton
Chairman, Board of Directors

WC:ah
Enclosure: card

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

Note - & file

file

April 19, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I want very much to thank you for accepting the invitation to serve with us on The Assembly's Committee on Intergroup Relations. We look forward to the special contribution you will bring to our efforts.

I believe that the initial focus for the Committee was described in Mr. Carlton's letter. If you have particular thoughts that you think would be helpful to the staff as it attempts to gather material for our consideration, I hope you will give us your suggestions. In the meantime, I hope that the present enclosures will be useful to you in providing some background material on The Assembly itself.

You will be receiving additional materials concerning our subject and the content of the meeting, shortly. I look forward very much to working with you in this undertaking.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones

Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones
Chairman

PMJ:ah
Enclosures: Publications List
20th Annual Report
Newsletter, March 1967

file

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

Received 5/2/67 wy

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MEMORANDUM

May 1, 1967

TO: Members of the Committee on Intergroup Relations

SUBJECT: Committee Meeting, May 9, 1967

As Mrs. Jones indicated in her letter to you, we have been seeking to pull together some material which we hope will be relevant to the meeting on May 9. Accordingly, I am enclosing several items for your perusal.

1. Attached is a copy of the letter from Mr. McNeil to the executives of organizations and groups affiliated and associated with The Assembly and a summary of the responses to that letter. An attempt has been made to group these responses in a way that may be helpful.

2. Also enclosed are copies of several "occasional papers" from The Assembly's publications, each of which speaks to various aspects of the problem of racial discrimination.

John F. Larberg
Staff Consultant

Summary of Responses to Assembly letter
of December 30, 1966

The letter requesting copies of agency statements on racial discrimination was sent to 74 affiliated and six associated organizations.

The response was interesting from several points of view.

1. The rather simple request by McNeil for information from agencies projected a response from 44 or over one-half of the national organizations related to The Assembly.

2. The statements differed somewhat as to content and subject matter. This was expected to a degree, since some were established with intergroup or race relations as a primary function, while many others were brought into being to deal with problems or functional areas of quite a different order.

3. Nevertheless, the statements received can be conveniently grouped into two broad categories--those with a limited focus and those which attempt a broader view.

4. Twenty-four (24) of the agencies or organizations have submitted statements with a limited focus. These statements tend to speak to the administration of the national agency and deal with the absence or elimination of racial discrimination in their staff, on their board and in the extension of services to clientele. This position is perhaps best typified in the responses by many agencies to the nondiscrimination standard established for Federal governmental participation in fund raising.

   Some of these statements also have a wider applicability and extend to choice of suppliers, contracts for services, rental of facilities, etc.

5. The remaining twenty (20) agencies can be said to have a broader view or range of concern, in that they extend beyond the administrative or operational policies and practices of a national headquarters office.

   Eleven (11) of these include requirements for the practices of local chapters or member agencies of the national organization. It is interesting that both types of national agencies are represented, those where authority and policy determination are centralized and those which are federated structures, with local units being autonomous. In the former, policies adopted nationally are binding on local chapters or units; in the latter, the objective is accomplished through membership, certification or accreditation criteria.

(continued)

Most of the statements in this group are explicit in stating the positive value of integration; describe aggressive recruiting programs; set forth special services and programs for minority group members among both staff and clientele; describe plans to press for the adoption of civil rights laws by federal, state and local governments; and stress involvement beyond the agency into the wider community.

May 1, 1967

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

December 30, 1966

TO: Executives of Affiliate Organizations and Associated Groups

Considerable interest is being expressed on many sides regarding social welfare agencies and racial discrimination. For many years in the vanguard of leadership and action, recently there have been questions raised in some quarters concerning the role of social agencies and the degree of their leadership in this problem area. In some cases there have been questions raised concerning agencies' own practices with clients and staff.

The Assembly continues its long standing interest in the subject of intergroup relations and will soon reconstitute and enlarge its committee, with a charge now to focus specifically on problems of racial discrimination.

One of the first items of business for this newly formed committee will be to develop an up-to-date statement of policy on the subject of racial discrimination. In preparation for this, may we request that you send us a copy of any statement of position, policy, or practice your agency may have on this subject.

Thank you for your cooperation.

C. F. McNeil
Director

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

INTEGRATION

No. 1

The Assembly is issuing these two papers as one way to advance the program emphases adopted by the Board of Directors on May 12, 1964. The full text of the Board's Statement is included in the pages which follow.

November 1964 Volume Two

The National Social Welfare Assembly is the central national planning and coordinating agency for the social welfare field.

INTEGRATION

No. 1

Integration - An Appeal to the American Conscience

John O. Nicklis,
President, Pitney-Bowes, Inc.

An address before the Eighteenth Annual Luncheon of the National Social Welfare Assembly, December 3, 1963.

* * * * * * *

The Role of Social Welfare in the Current Integration Struggle

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director, National Urban League

An address before the Annual Dinner of the Presidents and Executives of Affiliates and Associates of the National Social Welfare Assembly, December 2, 1963.

Volume Two $1 per copy

Integration - An Appeal to the American Conscience

John O. Nicklis

I am supposed to tell you how pleased I am to be speaking to you today, and I suppose I can, with "good conscience", say that; but I can also say that I approach my task with more trepidation than pleasure. After having accepted a verbal invitation that came through a business associate and friend, I discovered that my audience was composed of professionals and knowledgeable laymen in the social welfare field, and that my subject would be, "Integration - an appeal to the American conscience".

I don't feel at all worthy to talk on this subject, particularly to a group of people who almost certainly have given longer thought to the problem than I have. On the matter of conscience, however, I do feel adequately qualified because I believe I have as bad a conscience about integration as anyone in this room. Over the past months, through the Birmingham violence, the sit-ins in many cities throughout the South, the school integration problems in Englewood, New Rochelle, and other cities, the picketing of construction sites, the consumer boycotts in Philadelphia, and the many other manifestations of the final loss of patience by the Negroes of our country, I have had a chance to think a little bit about the status of my own conscience, and I am not too happy about it.

The first thing I did was to check the dictionary definition of conscience. It says conscience is a "sense or consciousness of right or wrong. Sense or consciousness of the moral goodness or blameworthiness of one's own conduct, intentions, or character, together with a feeling of obligation to do or be that which is recognized as good, often with a special reference to the feeling of guilt or remorse for ill-doing".

This is an adequate definition, but I began to think how we use the word, and it seemed to me most of us consider conscience as a guilt mechanism. We say, for example, "my conscience bothers me". We seldom say, or think, "my conscience made me feel good". Perhaps this is because we fear the appearance of self-righteousness. But another reason may be found in the fact that a good conscience - one that we can recognize as such, and acknowledge to ourselves - requires us to act after the bad conscience nudges us. And it is precisely here that we most often fail ourselves. Or I have, at any rate.

In the broad matter of integration, and on the specific matter of my own relation with Negroes over the years, I must say that except, for the fact that I have worked for a company which has long tried to do a positive job of finding and employing Negroes, I personally have had what can only be called "an easy conscience".

Certainly, I don't believe I have ever consciously or willfully done anything to further the segregation of the Negroes, or to retard their integration into our society, economically or socially. Nevertheless, I must say that I have done very little positively to eliminate segregation or to advance integration. And this is what challenges the American conscience today.

Millions of men and women of goodwill all over our country have done nothing to retard the Negroes escape from slavery after emancipation, but far more importantly, very few of us have done anything positive and sustained to help them. The conscience of America is awakening - it has been awakening over the last several years - but the awakening has been all too slow, and except for the events of the last year, would still be dormant.

By far the most important of these events occurred November 22 in Dallas. The tragic death of President John F. Kennedy has quickened the conscience of America as nothing else has since Lincoln's assassination ninety-eight years ago. It may be that the Negro problem had no direct relation to this horrible crime. But most thoughtful people have seen a relationship between this mindless murder and the increasing tolerance we have shown for hatred and violence in American life.

I share the almost universal hope that the death of our President and the slaying of the suspected assassin without trial may have a profound effect on our nation.

As Chief Justice Earl Warren, himself a target of hate, said in the rotunda of the Capitol:

> "Surely there is a lesson to be learned from this tragic event. If we really love this country; if we truly love justice and mercy; if we fervently want to make this nation better for those who are to follow us, we can at least abjure the hatred that consumes people, the false accusations that divide us, and the bitterness that begets violence.
>
> "Is it too much to hope", Warren asked, "that the martyrdom of our beloved President might even soften the hearts of those who would themselves recoil from assassination, but who do not shrink from spreading the venom which kindles thoughts of it in others?"

It does not seem to me it is too much to hope. We Americans have an opportunity - it may be our last opportunity - to establish a sense of values worthy of our heritage, to right the wrongs of the last century, and to erase bigotry and hate. As Walter Lippman wrote last week:

> "The only solace for the Nation's grief can come from a purge of the hatred and venom which lies so close to the surface of our national life."

Now, while the dark horror of that weekend still lies heavy on our hearts, while the knowledge of our passiveness in the face of hate and injustice stirs our collective conscience - now is the time to do the purging. The Negro and his struggle for justice and opportunity, should be the place for us to begin.

Let me talk first about employment, for that is an immediate and critical need, and it is something I and other business leaders have a responsibility to provide.

I can tell you in good conscience that most of the leading corporations of America have awakened to the problem, and are doing something about it. We need to do more, and we must enlist even more business leaders in the effort. But there is a new and encouraging change of attitude in the front offices of American business; there is a recognition of the need to provide more upgrading, training, and promotion for the Negroes.

In my own company, this recognition is taking the form of a renewed dedication to a program started almost twenty years ago. At that time, under the leadership of Walter H. Wheeler, Jr., then President, aided by Joseph J. Morrow, who headed the Personnel Department, we began a positive program to employ Negroes in our Stamford plant and office.

Today 5 per cent of our 2,300 Stamford employees are Negro. We have skilled and semi-skilled Negroes in our plant. We have Negro engineers. We have Negroes in our offices, including two secretaries for executives. And we have two Negroes in our management. But I hasten to add, we are not satisfied with our progress, nor should we be. We have not done as much as we should in employing Negroes in our branch sales and service offices, for example.

The growing national concern over civil rights prompted us to re-examine our program this summer. Mr. Wheeler, now chairman of the board, sent a memorandum to all our management, and later wrote all employees. He recalled our leadership in establishing fair employment practices. "However", he wrote, "I am sure all of us will agree that we have not done a complete job, by any means, and there is much more for us to do. I need not emphasize that this matter is of upmost national importance ... The issue is more challenging than it has been in our history since the Civil War.

"All of us should carefully examine our personal attitudes and practices. We should make every effort to increase our employment of Negroes, as well as other minorities, just as rapidly as we can. We should also be sure that we are giving equal opportunity for training and promotion of Negroes and other minorities after they are hired, and we should co-operate with other industries and organizations in community programs to eliminate racial discrimination and injustices."

Following this directive, we have been reviewing our entire program and have taken a number of positive steps:

1. We have enlisted the help of the Negro community in Stamford, to send us applicants who have the desire and potential to learn the jobs we have available. Last Wednesday, for example we invited a dozen Negro leaders in the community to have lunch with an equal number of Pitney-Bowes officers and personnel officials, to discuss our program. It was an encouraging and enlightening session - for all of us. Among other things, we at Pitney-Bowes have a new understanding of some of the community problems and conditions that make it difficult for Negroes to qualify themselves for the jobs we have. One thing we learned is that our schools must take more responsibility for motivating and guiding Negro youngsters. It would seem to me we need to change radically our concept of schooling for these deprived youngsters in slum area schools. This is something all of us need to work on, and we particularly need the help of social welfare agencies.

2. We have started a policy of preferential hiring. This is admittedly a somewhat radical step. On the surface, it would appear very difficult to convince our management and employees that Negro applicants should be given preference for jobs. But we have explained the essential rightness of such a policy by reminding our people of 200 years of outright slavery, and another 100 years of discrimination. Their reaction has been encouraging, as we knew it would be.

3. We are reviewing our testing procedures to be sure that the tests are not unfair to Negro applicants, in view of the generally poor educational opportunities many of them have had, and because we know they have not had the incentive to study and become educated because of the lack of economic opportunity. We have reached the tentative conclusion that employment tests are not fair to Negro applicants and that something must be substituted that will let us know they have the ambition, initiative, aptitude, and intelligence to become good employees. Perhaps no test can do this, and we shall have to rely on the ability of our recruiters and interviewers to be able to recognize these qualities. This means longer and more skillful interviews, and more careful checking of references.

   One of our problems in this regard, and one which we have made Negro leaders aware of, is that there is a greater risk of failure when applicants are hired without the benefit of experience or tests. There may well be some unhappiness and disillusionment among Negro applicants who are hired and later have to be released if they just can't do the job. This we recognize as a major problem, but we plan to go that extra mile in order to be sure before we release any Negroes we employ.

4. In our manufacturing operations, we normally have employed people who already have the skills we need. But we now plan to meet part of our future need by hiring inexperienced Negroes and giving them special on-the-job training. These new Negro employees, as well as those already working with us, will be eligible for further training to equip them for upgrading and promotion. We will give no preference to them at this stage, of course, because it wouldn't be fair to them or to us to do so. But we will be sure promising Negroes are not overlooked, which is likely to happen unless we carefully and regularly review their performance and progress.

5. In our field organization, which is composed largly of salesmen and service mechanics, we are going to follow a similar program, although in the South our progress is probably going to be somewhat slower than it is elsewhere. However, in all areas of the country where we can do so, we intend to recruit Negro salesmen and Negro servicemen and office workers, using the help of the Urban Leagues. These people will be trained after they are employed. The percentage failures among white salesmen is, of course, quite high, despite our best efforts to screen applicants for those characteristics that tend to lead to failure. So we must be ready for the fact that there probably will be a high failure percentage among Negro salesmen - something we have already learned in New York, where we have employed Negroes for a number of years. For this reason, we believe we must select sales trainees with care if we are not to discourage both Negro applicants and our branch managers. The situation is quite different where servicemen are concerned. We are sure we can get Negro applicants who show reasonable mechanical aptitude, and we know we can train them to service our products.

I would emphasize once again that we are not alone in what we are doing. Nor were we alone when we started during the Forties. Such companies as IBM, General Foods, Bristol-Myers, RCA, International Harvester, and many others have had integration programs as long or longer than we have, and many of them have made as much or more progress.

While employment is important, an increasing number of corporations also are recognizing their responsibility to support Negro organizations. Their leadership is imperative if we are to solve the problem of equal rights. Our company, in the last few years, has increased its support of the National Urban League, the United Negro College Fund, the National Negro Scholarship and Service Fund, and we will be considering other Negro organizations for support.

We are aware that if Negro citizens are to get the equality they should have as Americans, more than employment opportunity is necessary. It is a vicious circle: equal employment requires better education, better housing, and better social welfare services, and most of these things

require that the Negro be able to earn more money. They all can be provided, however, if the concerned citizens of good conscience organize and act with purpose. It is here that we must all work together more effectively.

The National Social Welfare Assembly, and the national and local organizations that constitute your membership represent a powerful potential for progress. I'm sure you are already working on the problem. But I would guess that social agencies, as well as industries must seriously re-examine what they have done, and should do now, about helping the Negro to achieve equality. Much of the progress we made in the early part of the century in eliminating social injustices and ills was the result of the strong leadership given by social workers and laymen, working together. I sense we have not had the same concern in recent years, and that we know we haven't and are ready to do something about it. Who knows better the crippling efforts of intolerance, slum housing, overcrowded and understaffed schools, unemployment, and the many other products that accompany second class citizenship, black or white. If social workers, and we who are community leaders and board members do not speak out and join other interested citizens in action programs to combat these problems, who will?

Last Wednesday, President Lyndon Johnson told Congress:

> "No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long.
>
> "We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for a hundred years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter, and to write it in the books of law."

Surely we all agree with the President. But we must do more than agree. We must let our Congressmen and Senators know how we feel. And we must get on with the voluntary action that will make integration a fact in our communities.

Civil rights legislation will establish a decent minimum legal basis for Negro citizens. Our task is to act in the social and economic sectors in our communities, in most of which we already have good laws. Our job is to let our consciences speak to us and will the action needed to bring Negroes, at long last, into that full fellowship which our best traditions and religious principles demand.

The time has come when each of us must act from the depths of his own conscience to bring the shame of discrimination and segregation to an end. From the depths of my bad conscience, I pledge to you I intend to do just that.

We have indeed talked long enough, in the nation and in our communities. And so have I here today.

Thank you for your attention and kindness.

The Role of Social Welfare in the Current Integration Struggle

Whitney M. Young, Jr.

I am pleased to meet here as it were, with members of the family. Certainly, members of my professional family, and members of my philosophical family. In such a situation one has to be careful about praising, because one cannot praise without seeming to praise themselves, and this would be immodest. One must be equally careful about condemning. One could not condemn without condemning themselves, and for me this would be unthinkable.

Like most human beings, I prefer to look at the plesant and beautiful and the attractive, and to push into the deep subconscious that which is ugly and sad and unpleasant.

But there comes a time when such flight from reality when such irresponsible kind of behavior is so dangerous, so stupid, so tragic that responsible human beings are left with no choice other than to face honestly themselves, their societies and their communities.

For me this moment has come. I hope for all of you that this moment also is here. I am thinking about the tremendous challenge that we all face today in the question of race relations. A variety of labels has been given: The Year of Decision, The Moment of Truth, The Summer of Discontent, or more popularly, the Negro Revolution. Whatever title you would call it, whatever label you would give, only the most indifferent, the most callous person could have failed to recognize certain messages that have come through loud and clear our of this year's activities.

What is the Situation ?

The first is that the Negro citizen in this country is determined to be free, is determined to have in fact first class citizenship, and is willing to pay whatever cost is involved.

He is fully aware that the cost might well be death, but he has read too well the history books about the American Revolution, and he has read Patrick Henry, and he has now decided that it is better to be dead than to be alive and to be a second class citizen.

He knows full well that while this country has great capacity for decency and for goodness, it also has a proclivity for cruelty. And so he knows that he runs a calculated risk. And we know that this is not a phonomena of a few, but that this is truly a grass roots movement. This is a ferment that stems out of the smallest hamlet and community.

It beats strongly in the breasts of every Negro. It is not a phenomena of 1963 but is a determined persistent activity and desire and will not disappear simply by wishing it so.

This is not a nightmare from which people can awaken and find everything status quo. The Negro must either be given his freedom or he must be completely enslaved. Like other human beings there is no middle ground.

Secondly, it seems to me that it has been made extremely clear that the grievances to which Negro citizens are addressing themselves are very real, that they are not fantasies and they are not dreams of little children. To put it in my vernacular, the Negro citizen is really hurting in this country. With any other group of citizens so situated we would be in the midst of a shooting revolution, not a nice clean social revolution.

Today the Negro citizens have fifteen per cent unemployed within their group as contrasted with six per cent of the white labor force. Some fifty per cent of the one million youngsters between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who are out of work and out of school are Negro youngsters. The Negro family today earns just about one half what the average white family earns, and in this situation the gap has widened instead of closing.

The Negro youngsters still receive three and a half years less education. When one considers that that education is received in slum, inferior, segregated schools north or south, then the difference is more like five years.

The Negro parents still die seven and a half years sooner. One of six Negro families lives in a home that the census has classified as dilapidated and substandard, one out of six as compared to one out of thirty-two for white citizens. The grievances are very real and very drastic.

In this situation it is small comfort to remind these victims of all that has been done for them in the past, the extent to which they are better than somebody else. The Negro citizen today is concerned about "What have you done for me lately" and "What shall you do for me tomorrow?"

It is also important to point out that this problem is not likely to diminish, and certainly not in our urban areas for one of two obvious reasons. One, the urban population as far as Negroes are concerned will continue to increase. White citizens will continue to flee to the suburbs where they hope they will form a white noose, or at best a speckled noose. The increase of the Negro pouplation into the urban cities due to migration and increased birth rate will continue.

We can expect in the North where most of our social agencies are concentrated in the urban setting, more not less disorder, more demonstrations, a greater manifestation of the determination to be free.

We can expect this for several reasons. The first is that the Negro expects more from the North. This is his last hope. He has stayed in Mississippi or Alabama and Georgia as long as he could and he expects now in New York City or Chicago or Detroit to find a life that is better.

So it is like walking to the end of a gangplank. You get to the end and there is no place to go. You either jump or you turn and fight.

The Negro also will be more frustrated in the North because his enemy is not as obvious. It is much more subtle. In the South he at least saw the signs and he heard the language. In the North he finds no signs, he finds beautiful laws that are enacted to protect him. He finds public officials who speak like Frederick Douglas, and he knows that he is hurting but he doesn't know why. He is equal, and he is impoverished and ill-housed and ill-clothed and ill-fed, and is living in a crowded situation. But he can't find the enemy because the enemy is unrelated to current discrimination. The enemy is more related to the discriminations of the past, and the enemy is automation and urbanization, things, that on the surface, are indifferent to race, and this is much more frustrating.

Finally, in the North the situation will be worse because there is the absence of the built in social control and restraint that is so present in the South in the Negro struggle to be free. In the South the Negro middle class and the Negro mass can make easy common cause, they can establish easy communications. Because whatever the economic condition, the barrier which they are seeking to eliminate affects both affluent and poor alike. So there is less suspicion and more opportunity for the middle class and the affluent and the educated to participate in affairs and to lend his restraint and his moderation and his control.

In the North a common cause is not as easy to make because at least on the surface, and for the most part true, the Negro of some affluence can escape. And so it is much more difficult to establish communication with the masses who wonder why are you involved, what is the angle, what is the gimmick. This means that you have some who try and become quickly discouraged.

For the most part, the Negro in the North is left to the mercy of people who have all kinds of motives, and who have a fertile field to exploit because they are people who are in such terrible shape that they become easy prey for the demagogue who desires, for whatever reason, to exploit them and to promote disorder.

What Can Be Done?

It is for this reason that the National Urban League has decided to come out for what we call a domestic Marshall Plan. Civil rights bills are debated as if they were some radical revolutionary measure when, in reality, they at best insure the Negro citizen what everybody else takes for granted. But this has little of no affect on the problem I am talking about, because in the cities all of these things are already resolved, public accommodations and education and so forth.

The Urban League recognizing this, and recognizing that the gap is getting wider, announced a domestic Marshall Plan which has been given a variety of titles, depending on the people's desire to discredit it or to support it. In Chicago it was called Compensatory Activity, in Cleveland, Affirmative Action, and in Miami, Florida, they say "Do Better," but whatever name you

want to give it, whether it is recreation or indemnification or compensatory activity, in fact is very simple.

After three hundred years of deprivation, of denial, of segregation, of discrimination, of humiliation and abuse, after three hundred years of receiving the barest minimum in health and welfare and economics and educational and cultural opportunities, any citizens so situated, are not likely in their lifetime or in the foreseeable future to be able to actually compete and to benefit from the rewards, to assume the responsibilities of the society simply by now declaring a condition of equal opportunity to exist. To me this is a simple concept.

What we are saying is that people who have all their lives been undernourished and haven't received the vitamins and the quality of food cannot be expected at this moment in time, simply by now giving equal amounts of food to compete with other human beings who, all of their lives, have received all of the vitamins and all of the food. For a brief period in time, there has to be some special consideration.

Equal opportunity, if it is to have any meaning at all, must mean opportunity to be equal. We are saying that a man who has been asked to run a mile race with another human being, and who is put to run on sand bare footed when the other man is given track shoes and put on a cinder track, even though at the halfway point you decide that maybe this is a little unfair and you put the Negro in track shoes and on the cinder track, it is not right one second later to say "I don't understand why the Negro isn't able to keep up."

Although we know that preventative medicine is in a sense preferential treatment, we are asking for transfusions for people who are anemic. We are asking really that just people be fair. This is no time to rise to some position of fine impartiality after three hundred years of deprivation.

We are fighting against the scars of generations of deprivation. If people want to be truly honest they will say this isn't really a new concept. We have done this with the Hungarians who were fleeing Krushchev; we have done it with the Cubans who were fleeing Castro; and we can do it with Negroes who are fleeing Wallace and Faubus and Barnett.

After all, they are our citizens, they have given us three hundred years of sweat, blood and tears. They did till the soil and hew the wood and nurse the babies and run the elevators before we got automation. We didn't pay them really. These are credits that are stored up, and unless we say this then the slogan of equal opportunity is meaningless. It is engaging in intellectual verbalization, it is academic noisemaking. It is salving our conscience and maybe appeasing our guilt feelings, but it has no meaning, absolutely no meaning.

In today's economic, highly industrialized society, to say well, I have taken the sign down, I have put my autograph on the President's Plan for Progress, forget the past, everything is all right. Everything is not all right.

We are not asking for equal time, we are not asking for three hundred years of

preferential treatment. We are asking for a brief period of special effort to close the gap, a special effort for some things to be done by business men, by religious institutions, by social agencies, by educational institutions.

What About Our Resources?

The time has come when we ought to look seriously at our whole value system, the way we deploy our resources. If medicine did what education and social work have been doing all these years, they would have been singling out their most skilled surgeons to treat the common cold and sending their interns out to do the complicated surgery. This is what we do in education. This is what we do in social work.

The social worker, oft times after getting experience, the knowledge and the education, can't wait to get to private practice, to get to the agency where the caseload is limited and the clients are middle class. And a teacher who gets training and has ability and experience, can't wait to get to the suburbs where she is working with youngsters who come from a home full of encyclopedias and intelligent dialogue in the family and the opportunity to travel. Invariably it is the new teacher, the provisional, probationary, or problem teachers that are sent to teach the kids who have no encyclopedias, who have no intelligent dialogue.

Now, the answer to this is not more money. I am convinced of this. It is not a bonus. It is a question of values, and of how we give our rewards and our prestige and our status. Whom do we give our respect to? Do we give our respect to the people who work in the areas where they are needed most? Where the need is greatest?

For social work the Marshall Plan means not just taking the sign down, and not just saying we want a diversified board or staff, or anybody is welcome. It means reaching out, really reaching out and saying we mean you, we want you and we will put up with your aggressions, your hostilities, your withdrawals because we understand it, because we know in the past you haven't really felt that we wanted you and that we needed you.

It means going out not fifty per cent of the way but seventy-five or maybe even eighty per cent of the way for awhile to say to a group neglected and rejected, that now we really mean it when we say all welcome. It means placing in those agencies which really come in touch with the people who need help our very best personnel.

For a long time we were concerned in the Civil Rights field more with the status symbols than we were with the welfare symbols. We felt it was more important to get rid of certain facilities in the Negro community because we felt, and it was true, that they tended to perpetuate segregation, that they provided an excuse not to serve the Negro in a downtown facility.

Well, we found out that the mass of Negroes cannot care less about going downtown. We found out that we were out working on trying to get the rest room signs eliminated out at the airports when the masses of Negroes couldn't care less. They weren't riding in the planes because they were doing well to ride

buses. What they really wanted was good schools. They wanted good facilities where they were. It occurred to us that the only way people are going to somehow break out of the ghetto is to break out with good education and with good health and, most important, with a sense of security and with a confidence in their identity, whoever they were.

The problem is how can we say to health and welfare agencies we want you in those areas today, but we don't want this to be at the expense of integration. We still want downtown open, we want Negroes to be able to go anywhere they want, but we want this to happen while you still pour your facilities, your best personnel into those areas where they are needed.

The best way I know to do this is to actually, deliberately put Negro personnel in the downtown areas. It might be unthinkable but how about a Negro executive of a central office downtown? This would make it very clear that Negroes were welcome even though you had services in the Negro community. What if you were really sure that your boards were integrated throughout the city? I would make an appeal here now for the actual re-examination of the whole matter of deployment of your resources in these areas. But do it honestly and don't name the center the Booker T. Washington Clinic for Children or what have you. This is a center to serve people who are desperately in need of service.

What are the Positives?

We do have in this revolution a number of things in our favor in this country.

The crulest thing you can do to a human being is not to deny him but to make him not even care. The fact that Negro citizens in this country do demonstrate, do fight through the courts and through the legislative halls to right a wrong is a very healthy sign. You see, it means that they have not disappeared, they have not given up hope, that they still feel that in spite of deprivation and the abuses to their dignity, that they are still in this country to resolve these wrongs. This is very healthy.

Too many people see conflict as something that is destructive and negative. They don't see the great potential, the creative possibilities involved in conflict, that conflict in a situation where inequity exists is the most healthy thing in the world.

Social workers are not likely, given the nature of power in this country, to be able to initiate change, even a social revolution. But social work has an opportunity here, where the initiation has already taken place, and the issue has been drawn, to now bring their genius and their talents into play.

The events of the last year have made it impossible to generalize. No longer can we identify an institution or region of the country or race of people as the enemy. There are people who are on our side. We found, thanks to some of the confrontation in the North, that some of the most ingenius bigots are in the North, and not necessarily in the South. We found in the South some of the people with the greatest convictions. This represents a real change for all of us and a real maturity to some extent on our part.

Ten years ago if I had heard that the President of the United States had been assassinated, or even five years ago, and in the next moment had heard the voice of my next President in a rich southern drawl, I would have experienced a sense of panic and fear, and probably would have been looking for the next plane to leave the country. I didn't experience any of this.

This says for me that I can't generalize, that all of the conservative and prejudiced people are not in business. There are some real bigots in the labor movement, too.

As a result of this year, we no longer see a conflict between white and black or management and labor, or religious groups. What we see now is a struggle between decent people who care and cruel and callous people who are indifferent. It is a struggle between good people and evil people, between good people and bad people.

Everybody now has been flushed out, and it has been disappointing in some cases to find which side they were on when they were really confronted with who moves next door, and not just how do I react to election in Mississippi. When really confronted, we found out not just what institution you belong to but what kind of human beings people really are.

We are not concerned about hardening of attitudes in the North. Civil rights leaders knew there would be hardening of attitudes when people were confronted with personal decisions. This doesn't bother us. The significant thing is that nobody today, unless he is a candidate for a mental institution, can ignore this problem. This is a very healthy thing. One must wrestle with it and one must make his decision as to which side he is going to be on.

I said earlier that I think social work has a great opportunity. Social work is still identified as that profession that has a concern for the underdog, for the little man.

Now, if social work fails to address itself in a meaningful and a very visible way to this problem - for social workers more than any one ought to understand what deprivation really means, what abuses to people's dignity, and what humuliation means - if social work fails at this moment, then social work will have missed a great opportunity and will have become simply an insignificant vocation.

Today social work doesn't have to stand alone. There are businesses, enlightened businesses, big business, that have turned the corner. We are not out there alone. We can really address ourselves to this without the feeling that we are being radicals or that we are being considered revolutionists.

We can take a stand, and in taking this stand, let us make it clear once and for all that we won't please everybody. The day is past when we must level our positions and our postures to the lowest denominator. Instead, let us try to shoot for the highest ideals as people. We aren't going to pass any meaningful resolutions or adopt any policy positions that are going to please everyone. But we are going to be on the side of right and decency.

What is the Challenge?

Let me hasten to close. I have said that I thought that social work had a challenge. Let me say that I am optimistic about social work meeting this challenge. I have been greatly encouraged by the reactions of NASW, and their forthright statements.

I am pleased that The Assembly has taken positions. I would like to see much stronger and much more controversial positions, but this is the first step.

I am sure some other social work groups are going to take the right position. I know I am concerned that business men are asking me what can they do to get some of our social agencies to get on board on this problem. This is a new twist, to have business men asking me "How can I get social agencies on the ball?"

Nothing more important today exists than leadership. This is what the country wants, what is is waiting for. This country for the first time has been shocked into the consequences of permitting hate and violence to go unrestricted. We fooled ourselves into thinking that we could permit people to express dissent and disagreement with violence and they would only kill a Medger Evers in Jackson or they would only kill little children in Sunday school in Birmingham, that they would only keep killing the weak. We have found out how wrong it is to permit this climate to exist.

Leadership is what people are looking for, in your agencies, by your presidents, by your executives. Whatever you do as an executive, whatever you do as a board president, the ultimate thing is what you do as a human being and whether you understand that here we are talking about a human problem. We can measure some things in dollars and cents and facts and figures; but there are some things you can't measure.

We are talking about a social and specific nature that has an indeterminable order of magnitude. How do you measure the frustration of the little Negro girl of 1945 who at the age of eight when asked by her teacher what is a punishment for Hitler said, "Paint him black and bring him to the United States," or the boy who told me "Mr. Young, I have tried everywhere to find a job. I am a graduate of Harvard Business School, near the top of my class. All of my classmates have been employed, but I have been turned down when I appear in person. I have been employed over the phone, but turned down every time I appeared in person." He said "If they don't hire me because I'm dirty I can take a bath. If it is because I lack culture I can go to museums and acquire culture. If it is because I don't have enough education, I can go back to school. But if it is because I am black, I am helpless because God made me black."

Now, how do you measure this kind of stunted personality, this kind of embittered soul?

There are enough people right here to change this. It doesn't take many. There isn't a great idea, whether for good or evil that has captured

the imagination of billions of people in this world and changed the course of history whether for good or evil that didn't start with less than twelve people, but twelve people who believed.

When people talk to me about how lucky we are that we had a Branch Ricky, and a Jackie Robinson, at that moment in history who was a great ball player and intelligent so that he could take advantage of this opportunity, I remind them that this isn't true at all. We had Negro ball players fifty years ago better than Jackie Robinson. What we didn't have was a Branch Ricky, a man who had the courage of his convictions and who had the courage to stand up and say "No, I am sick and tired of living a lie. This is not an all American game. It is an all American white game. Despite what my colleagues and associates and all others are going to say, I am going to make it an all American game." And he did.

Six months later all of his colleagues were giving him awards and everything else. They were very happy because for the first time they began to win all star games in the National League, and they even won a world series. But the most important thing his son said to me was about a year ago. "My father could have left me anything, money, property, but he left me the greatest thing of all. He left me a name that meant courage and respect and dignity."

This is what I mean. What are you leaving your kids?

The twenty-five young white kids I met with recently who wanted to start an Urban League youth movement had to apologize for their parents. They say "Mr. Young, there is no hope for them, they are not going to do anything, but we --. They are going to fertilize the grass and the country club and the golf scores. They aren't going to really get involved in this," and that is tragic.

The most serious tension in our lives today in the western world is the search for meaning. Not who are we but who could we be. Not what do you think I am but what do you think I could be. Any human being today who has not identified himself with some cause that transcends himself and his family is really not doing much.

I am optimistic in spite of all I have said. I fail to see how we can help but respond as a nation to the kind of patience, the kind of restraint that Negro citizens have shown, the kind of responsible activity on the part of the leadership in spite of the provocations.

We saw this at the March on Washington and it wasn't easy. We saw the aftermath of the bombing of the young kids in Birmingham, and most of us would have thought this enough to set off any people. Certainly it should have been enough to be the breaking point of many of the decent people in this country.

We saw the restraint that was present the day after Medger Evers was slain when his wife said "You mustn't hate, you must love. You mustn't breed violence with violence. You must continue this fight as my husband would have you do, in peaceful non-violence."

And here was an audience incensed, bitter. They too loved Medger Evers, but without anybody announcing it, when she had finished, they stood up and sang "My Country T'is of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty."

Now, this is what I have seen. I refuse to believe that human beings who are really decent can witness this kind of elementary testimony of faith on the part of people who have suffered so much and still not respond. I just refuse to believe this.

It is based upon this kind of faith that we continue to work in the civil rights movement and continue to believe that we will get more and more allies and that truly, some day in the very near future, we shall overcome.

Thank you.

File - Nat'l. Social Welfare Assembly

VJC
MJ-file

United States Youth Council

236 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Cable Address: YACWAY

Youth Affiliate of the National Social Welfare Assembly
United States Affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth

(212) 687-3674

June 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

I enjoyed meeting you when I was in Atlanta with Shawn Boles last week. You mentioned that the SRC would be interested in exploring the possibilities of cooperation with the U. S. Youth Council in action projects related to civil rights and poverty. Toward that end, Reed Martin, National Affairs Director of the Youth Council, plans to be in contact with Vern Jordan of your staff in the near future.

Reed spoke with Vern some months ago, and the Youth Council is now interested in several specific projects in connection with voter education and consumer affairs, by developing special educational materials. I am confident that we will be able to develop a broad substantive program of cooperation in the next months.

Reed and I hope to be in Atlanta before the end of the summer. When our plans become more definite, I'll check with you about an appointment to discuss some of our ideas. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Barry Jagoda

Barry Jagoda
Administrative Director

BJ/mn

file National Social Welfare Assembly

July 31, 1967

Mr. John F. Larberg
Staff Consultant
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear John:

It is good to hear from you and I do hope you will get down this way in the not too distant future. I have been talking with several people from the USYC and I hope they have been helpful.

We do publish a quarterly, NEW SOUTH, and are sending you under separate cover a complete set of the magazines as published in this format. Purely because of internal economics we don't have a complimentary mailing list for this. I do hope, however, you will subscribe at $3.00 per year. We will add you to our mailing list to receive all other publications.

I shall certainly make every effort to be present at the next meeting of the Committee. I

shall be in New York sometime during mid-September, but the Fall is heavy fund-raising time for us which means I will have to get there rather often.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

July 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I hope that before too long I will be able to send you a copy of the minutes of our May meeting of the Committee on Intergroup Relations. I think it was a very good meeting and we were pleased with it as a beginning step. I hope that your trip to Europe was a pleasant one.

Unfortunately, I have not been to Atlanta since April when we had our brief telephone conversation, and it does not seem likely that I will be able to get there in the near future, although I understand representatives of our youth affiliate, the United States Youth Council, have been to see you. I hope your conversations have been useful.

Aside from keeping our contact live by mail, one purpose I have in writing to you now is to inquire about a publication which, I believe, is entitled The New South. I have heard some good things about it and I understood that it was published by the Southern Regional Council. If this is correct, would it be possible to put us on your mailing list? Perhaps you know of other items that should be on our shelves, and I would be happy to have any suggestions that you could make.

The chairman of our Committee, Mrs. Jones, is traveling abroad for the YWCA, but we plan to schedule a meeting for the Committee this fall. I very much hope that it will be on a date that is convenient for you to attend. I look forward to seeing you then.

Best wishes,

John

John F. Larberg
Staff Consultant

JFL:ah

file
Natl Social
Welfare Assem.

July 31, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mailroom

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send a complete set of NEW SOUTH, quarterly publications in the new format, to the following person. Label is attached.

Mr. John F. Larberg
Staff Consultant
National Social Welfare
Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

PA/km

Enc.

file Natl Social Welfare Assem.

July 31, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please see that the following person is placed on our Inter-Agency mailing list to receive all publications.

Mr. John F. Larberg
Staff Consultant
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

PA/km

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

file

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

file

August 2, 1967

TO: Members of the Committee on Intergroup Relations

Enclosed you will find a copy of the minutes of the May meeting of the Committee. I am sending these to you at the request of the chairman, Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones.

Those of you who were present at the meeting will remember that we had a rather wide ranging discussion which I hope is reflected in the minutes, since the attempt here was to be not only accurate as to decisions, but fairly inclusive as to the subjects covered, as well.

For those who found it possible to attend our first meeting, we certainly hope that the material included in this write-up will provide a useful background and we look forward to your being with us at the meeting which we hope to hold some time this fall. Notice of that meeting and other material will be sent to you at a later date.

John F. Larberg
Staff Consultant

JFL:ah
Enclosure

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY, INC.
345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Committee on Intergroup Relations

9:30 - 12:00 noon, May 9, 1967
Hugh R. Jackson Memorial Conference Room

MINUTES

Present: Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones, Chairman; Malcolm Andresen, Duane Beck, Edward Carlin, Jean Fairfax, Harry Mansbach, Esq., Mrs. Laura B. Morris, Mrs. Richard Ottinger, Ramon S. Scruggs, and Mrs. Ann Wolfe.
Staff: C. F. McNeil, Director, and John F. Larberg.

A. Introductions

Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones, Chairman, introduced the members of the Committee and the staff. Mrs. Jones stressed the fact that even though everyone present had various agency, organizational, professional or business ties and identifications, each person had been asked to serve with The Assembly Committee in an individual capacity.

Mrs. Jones described The Assembly's historical concern for problems of racial and intergroup relations, and noted that The Assembly, as presently constituted, has a basic constituency of organizations--72 affiliated national agencies, five national associated groups and 338 local health and welfare planning councils or united community funds. Mrs. Jones further indicated that even though fundamental changes are planned as the result of the study of the future role, program, and function of The Assembly, this organizational constituency would continue to be an important base for future Assembly action.

B. Greetings and Background on The Assembly

In describing the background and history of The Assembly, C. F. McNeil, Director, stated that although the recommendations of the study as approved by the Board and the membership have made clear the shape and outline of the future role of The Assembly, the process of actual restructuring is now under way and the final plan for reorganization is due to be reported in the fall.

Mr. McNeil noted that the expanded purposes and concerns as well as the shift in role, program and function for The Assembly are a logical progression from its past history. Tracing down through various predecessor organizations, beginning as early as 1921 and throughout its history since 1945, The Assembly has consistently sought to provide national planning and leadership for the social welfare field and to help bring about the more effective organization and operation of social services.

The recent study by an outside firm which involved the participation of a wide range of leaders from other fields as well as the present constituency, indicated the need to adapt the organization primarily in three specific areas: a) increased citizen control and participation; b) a broadening of scope and concerns; and c) new emphasis on social policy development. The outline for reorganization includes a shift in corporate base from agencies to individuals. The new structure will have a membership of 300 individuals, who will become the incorporators, and from whom the new Board of Directors will be elected.

Mr. McNeil pointed out that the basic working methods of The Assembly have been the use of committees, consultation, forums, workshops and publications and the results achieved have been through education and persuasion. The Assembly's authority has had to come from unassailable facts and logic. Financial support for The Assembly has been from two basic sources--about $118,000 from national agencies and $125,000 from local United Funds. If the reorganization and expansion projections are to be realized, these funds will have to be expanded some and a major source of new revenue will have to be added.

Formerly a convener and limited to seeking a consensus among various autonomous national agencies, only since 1961 has The Assembly been able to issue in its own name position statements which affiliated organizations and individuals are invited to endorse. This function should probably be continued and enhanced in the new Assembly, particularly as it builds a citizen base.

Concerning the activities and program for the Committee on Intergroup Relations, Mr. McNeil expressed the opinion that not only was the reappointment of the Committee especially timely from the point of view of the urgency of the problems of racial discrimination, but also timely for The Assembly to become more active in this area because of its reorganization. He pointed to the new Assembly's broadened scope and its greater emphasis on social policy development as being particularly relevant and said that he believed that now more than ever there was a need for organizations concerned with human welfare and social development to be effective in this area. Developing an up-to-date position statement for approval and dissemination by the Board of Directors was seen as an important beginning.

Mr. McNeil said that The Assembly would want to be careful not to duplicate or compete with other organizations concerned and committed to change in this area. He said that the task facing the Committee--that of seeking to define the best ongoing role and contribution for The Assembly in helping eliminate racial discrimination--was a difficult one, but one which would contribute heavily to the overall effort to define a new leadership fole for the total Assembly.

Following Mr. McNeil's presentation, there was considerable interest expressed in how the 300 incorporators would be involved in policy determination and in the work of The Assembly. In response to a question

about how issues would be brought to the attention of the new 300 members and the new Board, it was pointed out that in addition to formal requests or petitions by other individuals or organizations, the informal avenues would remain--discussions between laymen and staff members of various organizations with their counterparts at The Assembly, open discussion at various forums and meetings, etc.

All committees and other groups called together by The Assembly would continue to be an integral part of the new organization and as such they would operate within the policies agreed upon by the membership and the Board. By design, even in the past, these policies or positions have been broad enough to provide freedom for considerable action by committees. As a case in point, the breadth of concern of the Position Statement on Public Welfare was reviewed. Hopefully, this freedom will be broad enough to allow The Assembly to assert even more leadership in the future.

C. Previous Assembly Activities on this Subject

The chairman, Mrs. Jones, then described some of the efforts and activities of previous committees, and mentioned briefly a number of Assembly publications on intergroup relations which have appeared over the years. She indicated that the continuing concern had been for The Assembly to find a way to exercise consistent leadership in this area, both within and beyond its constituency of autonomous national agencies and local planning councils.

Referring to the letter of appointment sent by Mr. Winslow Carlton to each new Committee member, Mrs. Jones reminded the Committee that it had been urged to draft an up-to-date position statement on racial discrimination for the approval of the Board of Directors. It was readily agreed that the present statement, adopted by the Board of Directors on January 12, 1965, in order to meet the Federal requirements for fund raising among government employees, was negatively stated, narrow in focus and altogether quite inadequate for our needs.

D. Review of Statements from National Affiliates

A summary of statements on racial discrimination received from national agency affiliates was distributed by John Larberg, Staff Consultant. Forty-four or over one-half of the national agencies responded to the request for information by The Assembly, even though no follow-up had been attempted with those agencies that did not respond to the general mailing. Twenty-four of the agencies returned statements which, like the 1965 Assembly statement, could be described as limited in focus and typified by the standard required for Federal governmental participation in fund raising.

The remaining twenty statements contained a wider range of concerns and applicability. These agencies had adopted policies designed to effect their local constituents either as branches or extentions of a centrally administered and controlled organization, as semi-autonomous local units or chapters, or as autonomous agencies related to the national organization through standards for membership or affiliation.

Other significant attributes of these statements were: Their stating racial integration as a positive value to be achieved; setting forth plans for special services, aggressive recruiting program, etc., for members of minority groups; stating an intent to press for additional civil rights legislation at various levels of government; and the stress on the need for the agency to become involved in this issue, reaching beyond its regular constituency into the total community.

E. Discussion.

There was an active and far-ranging discussion by the Committee. Although it was soon agreed that The Assembly should attempt to assert its leadership in helping its constituency and others take action toward the elimination of racial discrimination, and that an up-to-date statement should be presented to the new Board of Directors as one of the first orders of business for the reorganized Assembly, there were many points raised in the discussion and a number of different viewpoints were expressed, among them the following:

1) The reconstituted Committee and the new Assembly must not limit its dealings to its established agency constituency, both national and local. Concerns and efforts to assert influence and bring about change should be extended into many other areas of the broader spectrum of society. This would include leaders of both large and small businesses, organized labor, and a growing segment called middle management or organizational bureaucracy, found in both government and private enterprise.

2) New coalitions are needed which will cut across previous organizational and special interest lines.

3) The development of a position statement must not be seen as the only or even the primary action of this Committee.

4) The staff of The Assembly should be urged to seek to influence the activities and policies of other agencies.

5) A number of other agencies have initiated projects and demonstrations. A much broader exchange of information and a much wider dissemination of success stories might be attempted by The Assembly.

6) One vast avenue for impact could and should be the many influential board members already serving with the local and national agencies affiliated with The Assembly. The new Assembly should seek to influence and enlist these people in its efforts. How these agencies interact with other institutions of the community, e.g. education, would be a case in point.

7) One way to comprehend the enormity of the problem is to see America as a racist society. The viewpoint was expressed that white America has achieved its cultural, educational and economic dominance at the expense of other racial groups.

8) It is more productive to concentrate on techniques, regulations, requirements, etc., which produce a change in behavior, than to set out to first change attitudes. Changes in attitudes will come later but they cannot be waited upon.

9) While there was some disagreement, it was nevertheless generally held that any statement to be proposed by this Committee should be explicitly cast against a background of the current conflicts and tensions that exist between racial groups in America. Positive references to hard efforts and some success could be made as examples of the kind of progress that is desperately needed. However, no effort should be made to diminish the size or the urgency of the problem facing our country.

10) Many agencies and organizations may well be genuinely wishing for someone to provide help and leadership in this area. Especially in the private sector there seems to be a readiness for leadership to be asserted at a national level by a national voluntary instrument that cuts across functional and institutional lines. Other organizations and local communities need to be backed up and supported in their efforts.

11) Movement and change will occur when the private sector--primarily the leadership of the business community--becomes convinced that change is essential to protect its interests and to ensure its survival.

12) The crisis is greatest in urban America, in the core cities of the large metropolitan areas. In spite of the shift in racial composition, these core cities are still largely controlled by a "white power structure". Regardless of the trends in population, the economic, political, social and cultural future of white America will be tied to the future of these cities.

13) The importance and dramatic urgency of the problems resulting from racial discrimination in the United States should be a chief concern of the Committee on Reorganization as it undertakes its task of helping to design and launch the new Assembly.

14) The new position statement for The Assembly should not be narrowly limited to the administrative and operative functions of the national office, nor The Assembly's dealings with its own committees, conferences, and Board of Directors. It must speak to The Assembly's organizational constituency and have relevance to their practices as well. Moreover, it should include reference to overall social goals.

In addition to the wide range of discussion described above, it was unanimously agreed by the Committee that the Chairman should write a letter in its behalf, expressing the depth of the Committee's concern of the problems of racial discrimination and the Committee's conviction that the composition of the governing bodies of the new Assembly, including both the new 300 members and the new

Board of Directors, must include representation of Negro leaders as well. This representation should closely approximate the number of Negroes in the total U. S. population, now about ten percent. The letter should be directed to the Chairman of the Board of Directors and to the Committee on Reorganization.

It was then agreed that the staff should work on drafting material for inclusion in an up-to-date statement on racial discrimination, that this work should be done in the months ahead, that selected members of the Committee should review this material, that a version then agreed upon should be mailed to all members of the Committee for reaction, and that a final form should be prepared with the chairman's approval to be submitted to the new Board of Directors. It was also agreed that a full scale meeting should be planned for a date in the fall.

Meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon.

Respectfully submitted,

John F. Larberg

:ah
8/1/67

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

NY trip

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

Rec'd 9/14/67

File

September 12th, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I'm really sorry to be so late in answering your generous gift of a number of back issues of New South with this thank you. I am really appreciative of your gesture and doubly embarrassed, for not only am I slow to write but I also have learned that on August 1st, I asked our office to subscribe and only today am I "assured" that you will be receiving our check!! I wonder how long it would take if we were a really big organization!

Anyhow, many thanks again. If you get to New York soon, I hope we can meet for lunch. I also hope we will soon have a date for the next meeting of the Committee.

Best wishes.

Very sincerely,

John

John F. Larberg
Staff Consultant

JFL:ms

See Nat'l Soc. Welfare Assembly, Inc.

November 9, 1967

Mr. Dwane Beck
Atlanta Community Council
1000 Glenn Building
120 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dwane:

I sincerely regret that I am so late in reacting to the position statement of the National Social Welfare Assembly. I regret even more that I will be unable to be with you on November 13th, because I think these deliberations of the ensuing position statement are very important.

The paper is a well written one. In lieu of being present to go into great detail with the group, I would like to share in writing one suggestion that occurs to me. Although it is inferred, I think some further emphasis might be given to the crisis of white misunderstanding. Perhaps under the headings of position statement and implementation a specific commitment might be made; to begin first in the white leadership

of our own organizations toward the ends of both creating greater understanding of the plight of minorities and getting action on the part of our leadership structure commensurate with the crisis and the need for speedy action.

This is not unrelated to the other matter we discussed on the telephone several days ago.

Please express to the members of the Committee my sincere regret that I cannot attend, and my eagerness to be of any possible help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

10/26/67 mj

October 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Intergroup Relations on Monday, November 13 from 10:00 a.m. to 4 p.m., in the Jackson Memorial Conference Room, third floor, 345 East 46th Street, New York City. A sandwich luncheon will be served.

Enclosed is a draft of a Position Statement on Racial Discrimination. This draft is obviously still an internal document and cannot yet be made public. Discussion of this document will be the major item on the agenda for our meeting, and I hope that you will review it carefully. You will be interested that work to date on this statement has included consultation, a series of staff discussions, and a preliminary review by members of the Committee primarily from the New York area. The next step is for consideration by the full Committee membership, so that a final version can be presented to the Board of Directors for approval and adoption.

As you study the proposed statement, you may be interested in the following. The question of specificity has been raised and I hope that we can deal with this issue in more detail in our meeting on November 13. The problem, of course, is the need to write a position statement which is broad enough for use as a charter or platform upon which to build future activity and program, and yet concrete enough to be meaningful and effective.

In this connection, there were additional points raised by members of the subcommittee which we believe the full Committee should consider in its discussion. Among these are: 1) Is it possible and feasible for the Assembly to establish, define, and enforce standards for other agencies and organizations?; 2) Should a position statement include the definition of specific program activities, such as developing a central listing of Negro and other non-white leadership to be identified and recruited to serve on Boards and staffs of various agencies both national, state, and local?; 3) Similarly, should specific research, education, training and other programs or projects be now defined and included in the statement?; 4) Should the new Assembly attempt directly to reach citizens groups and other organizations not defined as a part of its organizational constituencies in the past? And if so, how? What kind of services should and could it offer?

As you can see, there will be many important things for us to consider at our meeting, and their implications for the commitment of the Assembly resources are far-reaching. Your contribution of thoughtful concern and interest has been much appreciated in the past, and we look forward to your participation at our coming meeting.

Very sincerely,

Mildred F. H. Jones

Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones
Chairman

PMJ:ah
Enclosure: Revised Draft

Meeting: Committee on Intergroup Relations

I shall be present at the meeting to be

held Monday, November 13, 1967

Please do make a luncheon reservation for me. ($2.00)

Name _____

Organization _____

REVISED DRAFT - FOR INTERNAL DISCUSSION ONLY

National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

POSITION STATEMENT ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

PREAMBLE

This position statement grows out of a conviction that persistent and continued racial inequality constitute one of the major and most pressing social problems of our time. It is also based on positive social goals and values fundamental to our history and our sense of national purpose--social justice, freedom, equality of opportunity, and democratic participation for all. Exclusion or unequal treatment of minority groups has not only produced individual suffering and social injustice, but it has also deprived the nation of incalculable contributions in every aspect--social, cultural, economic.

The National Assembly believes that an expanding economy and a pluralistic but integrated society are realistic goals. These objectives, to be made real, require the full potential of all individuals and groups. Furthermore, in order for the American Dream to be more than empty words, we must, at long last, ensure full participation, self-determination, and recognition for all segments at all levels in our society.

BACKGROUND

The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development (and its predecessor, the National Social Welfare Assembly) has a history of concern and efforts in the area of intergroup relations and interracial understanding. Since its

inception in 1945, the growth and development of The Assembly has paralleled some of the most far-reaching developments and changes in the history of mankind. Crippling diseases have been conquered; whole new nations have been born and freedom yearned for for generations has come to millions. Man now manipulates his climate and travels in space; he has invented machines that "think" and he sends ideas around the world with the speed of light. Unbelievable sources of power and destruction have been thrust upon us and we knock at the door of the secret of life itself. This is the age that has defied all ancient conventions and man has come to expect anything.

These basic changes are altering the very style of life of people everywhere. Barriers of many kinds have begun to give way and even in the matter of racial discrimination, great steps have been taken and progress has been made. Unfortunately, this very progress by previously "have-not" groups, seems to have revealed deep-seated hostilities, fears, frustrations, and tensions. Man's human relationships have not kept pace with his technical and scientific advances.

Recent events in cities all across the United States, however, have forced the dual realization that 1) a basic change has occurred in all peoples' expectations, and 2) despite progress, the gap between the non-white and the white populations in this country has actually widened and continues to worsen. This disparity is dramatized by the statistics on employment, housing, education, health, crime and delinquency, mental health, family breakdown, poverty, etc. There is, moreover, a gap in communication and understanding that has produced alienation, distrust and a growing polarization. So great is the lack of communication and understanding, and so wide is the disparity

between reality and expectations, that America is confronted with a crisis and a national emergency in its cities. It is clear that a major portion of this crisis stems from the persistence of racial discrimination in our country.

It is in this context and for these reasons that the National Assembly articulates this policy statement at this time. To understate the problem of racial discrimination and to ignore its inter-relatedness with the other problems of our times would be a disservice to our constituency and the nation at large. We, therefore, address our concerns and attentions to The Assembly's own operations, to the practices of our national and local contituencies, and toward the structure and functioning of society itself.

POSITION STATEMENT

The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development is opposed to racial discrimination in all its forms. Racial discrimination stands in opposition to the values of growth, fulfillment, self-determination, and human worth, dignity and respect inherent in our national promise; it corrupts the perpetrator and inflicts immeasurable suffering on the victim. To the extent of its competence and resources, it will work actively to eliminate it, seeking to oppose, counter and discredit the efforts of those who advocate or practice this form of hatred, be it blatant or subtle.

The National Assembly reaffirms the previous position unanimously adopted by the Board of its predecessor, the National Social Welfare Assembly, on January 12, 1965, regarding its practices with its own governing body, staff, and participation in meetings, forums, conferences, workshops, institutes and other activities. It furthermore declares that the full range of its

corporate behavior will reflect this commitment. Moreover, any agency that wishes to become an associated organization with the National Assembly for Social Policy and Development will be expected to submit evidence of operating without racial discrimination in regard to its board, staff, and delivery of services.

IMPLEMENTATION

The intent of this policy statement is to establish for the National Assembly a platform for future social action and education, actively advocating and fostering interracial understanding and participation. This advocacy function will receive a substantial commitment of this agency's resources. Moreover, an understanding of the causes and effects of racial discrimination will underlie future Assembly decisions and actions in problem areas wherein discrimination is found to be a factor.

In implementation of this statement, the National Assembly will seek:

1) To ensure that all of its corporate responsibilities and actions reflect the objectives and philosophy of this statement, including its dealings with vendors, suppliers, printers, owners of rental facilities, its investment of funds, etc.

2) To sponsor various special programs and projects aimed at reducing racial polarization and tensions and increasing non-white participation in the affairs of social welfare organizations and the development of social policy.

3) To urge and help develop appropriate social, educational, and legislative measures directed to the objectives of this statement.

4) To advise and importune action consistent with the objectives of this statement on the part of various administrative governmental units.

5) To assist organizational constituents and others engaging in planning and carrying out steps to eliminate racially discriminatory practices where they may exist.

A special committee shall be appointed by the President of the National Assembly which shall aid in these activities and which shall also: 1) advise on and review the ongoing functions and activities of the entire effort against racial discrimination of the National Assembly, and 2) periodically review this statement and advise the Board of Directors as to additional implementative steps designed to ensure further fulfillment of its objectives.

10/19/67

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

file

file

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

December 15, 1967

To the Members of the Committee on Intergroup Relations

Dear Committee Member:

This is to report to you on the reactions on December 14 by the Board of Directors to my verbal report on progress on the Position Statement on Racial Discrimination.

The Board indicated general approval and support for our work and the direction of the Statement. However, there were certain suggestions made by members of the Board which seemed generally acceptable at this meeting. Since these were in line with comments made by the Committee and seemed intended to strengthen the Statement, we have taken the liberty of incorporating them now in the enclosed draft (marked #12) which is being sent for your further review.

You will be interested to note that it was felt that: 1) we must underline our opposition to all kinds of discrimination, even though we spotlight racial discrimination at this time; 2) it would be useful to enumerate some of the other problems in which race is a primary factor; and 3) since the whole Statement will be received as a recommendation to the Board, which has the ultimate responsibility to accept or reject any part of it, we might appropriately include our position on membership criteria in the body of the Statement, as we had originally wished to do.

To help you in your review and further reactions, note please that this version is directly based on draft #11. Those words or sections to be eliminated from that draft are in parentheses and that which is to be added is underscored.

Finally, would you please again give this your careful attention. If we can receive enough reactions by mail or phone, it may not be necessary to call another meeting before presenting an agreed upon version to the Board of Directors.

Once again, happy holiday!

Very sincerely,

Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones
Chairman

PMJ:ah
Enclosure: Draft #12 of
Position Statement

REVISED DRAFT #12 - FOR INTERNAL DISCUSSION ONLY

National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

POSITION STATEMENT ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

STATEMENT OF POSITION AND POLICY

The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development is opposed to (racial) discrimination in all its forms, be it racial, ethnic, class or religious. But out of a sense of crisis and urgency we now address this Statement to the problems of race. Racial discrimination stands in opposition to the values of growth, fulfillment, self-determination, and of human worth, dignity and respect inherent in our national promise; it corrupts the perpetrator and inflects immeasurable suffering on the victim.

The National Assembly will work actively to eliminate racial discrimination wherever it exists. It will seek to influence public policy and private behavior to the end that they are consistent with the ideals of equality of opportunity and full participation by all segments in society. To the extent of its competence and resources it shall oppose, counter and discredit the efforts of those who advocate or practice this form of hatred, be it blatant or subtle. Racial discrimination has had an insidious effect on all phases of our public and private life and has prohibited the attainment of full and equal opportunity and participation by all. Change is needed now to provide: 1) adequate employment opportunities and advancement; 2) effective job training; 3) quality housing in adequate amounts and on an open basis; 4) integrated and first-rate education at all levels and under all auspices; and 5) the full participation as peers by all minority groups in community life.

Furthermore, the National Assembly reaffirms the previous position against discrimination unanimously adopted by the Board of its predecessor, the National

Social Welfare Assembly, on January 12, 1965, regarding its practices with its own governing body, staff, and participation in meetings, forums, conferences, workshops, institutes and other activities. (Moreover) It declares that the full range of its corporate behavior will reflect this commitment. Moreover, any agency to become an associated organization with the National Assembly for Social Policy and Development must operate without racial discrimination in regard to its board, staff, and delivery of services.

BACKGROUND

Recent events in cities all across the United States have forced the dual realization that 1) a basic change has occurred in all peoples' expectations, and 2) despite limited progress in selected areas, the gap between great numbers of non-white citizens and the rest of society in this country continues to widen. Furthermore, in spite of significant legislative actions and judicial decisions, full participation by excluded groups is still unrealized. The battleground must shift to the arenas of administrative action, corporate decisions, implementation of human services, and day-to-day behavior of individual citizens--which are less dramatic and escape the public's attention and support. A lack of a sense of movement somehow belies both the daily gains and the enormity of the ground that remains to be covered. There is, moreover, a gap in communication and understanding that has produced alienation, distrust and a growing polarization. So great is the lack of communication and understanding, and so wide is the disparity between reality and expectations, that America is confronted with a monumental crisis and a national emergency in its cities.

Persistent and continued racial inequality constitutes the major and most pressing social problem of our time. Exclusion or unequal treatment of minority

groups has not only produced individual suffering and social injustice, but it has also 1) deprived the nation of incalculable contributions in every aspect--social, cultural, economic, and 2) created a false and perverted sense of superiority in the majority group.

The National Assembly believes that an expanding economy and a pluralistic and integrated society are realistic goals. Their attainment requires the fulfillment of the potential of all individuals and groups. Our society can be truly integrated only if those previously excluded are permitted to participate fully as peers on the basis of both self-determination and social responsibility.

To understate the problem of racial discrimination and to ignore its interrelatedness with the other problems of our times would be a disservice to our constituency and to the nation at large. The severity and urgency of this problem require immediate action, rather than due deliberate speed, and may demand massive changes designed to rectify and to compensate for the inaction, mistakes and willful wrongs of the past.

IMPLEMENTATION

The intent of this policy statement is to establish for the National Assembly for Social Policy and Development a platform for continuing social action and education. The National Assembly will work with and through its own leadership and that of its national and local organizational constituents, building a commitment to speedy, progressive action commensurate with an understanding of the crisis. This advocacy and leadership function will receive a substantial commitment of this agency's resources. We address our concerns and attention to the Assembly's own operations, to the practices of our national and local constituencies, and toward the structure and functioning of society itself. This may

call for developing recommendations aimed at 1) the redefinition and reorganization of services of all kinds, 2) the reordering of social systems, 3) the elimination of poverty, and 4) the redistribution of power.

In implementation of this statement, the National Assembly will seek:

1) To sponsor various special programs and projects aimed at reducing racial polarization and tensions and at increasing participation by minority groups in the affairs of social welfare organizations and in the development and implementation of social policy.

2) To urge and help develop appropriate social, educational, and legislative measures directed to the objectives of this statement.

3) To advise and importune administrative action consistent with the objectives of this statement on the part of various governmental units.

4) To influence and work with voluntary and governmental units involved in broad policy development consistent with the objectives of this statement, not only in social welfare, but also in such other areas as education, housing and physical planning, poverty, manpower, and police relations with minority groups.

5) To assist present organizational constituents and others engaging in planning and carrying out steps to eliminate racially discriminatory practices where they may exist.

6) To ensure that all the corporate responsibilities and actions of the National Assembly reflect the objectives and philosophy of this

statement, including its investments of funds, its dealings with vendors, suppliers, printers, owners of rental facilities, etc., and to urge that a similar commitment is made by other organizations.

A committee shall be appointed by the President of the National Assembly which shall aid in these activities and which shall also: 1) advise on and review the ongoing functions and activities of the entire effort against racial discrimination of the National Assembly, and 2) periodically review this statement and advise the Board of Directors as to additional steps required to ensure further fulfillment of its objectives.

345 East 46th Street / New York, New York 10017 / (212) 687-8300

file

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

for Social Policy and Development, INC.

formerly the National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

file

December 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On behalf of The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, I would like to thank you for your interesting and provocative presentation at the Southern Regional Field Staff Conference on December 8, 1967.

We have had many favorable comments about the morning session.

Thanks for your cooperation and time.

Sincerely yours,

Chester H. Jones

Chester H. Jones
Consultant

CHJ/gks

LWD
PR

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.

I-146
3/25/60

INFORMATION LETTER # 5

TO: Executive and Central Committee of the NSCF; Key Persons of Departments of College and University Work; Boards of Mission; YMCA-YWCA.

FROM: Herluf M. Jensen, General Secretary

Dear Friends:

It has been some time since I contacted you with Information Letter # 4 concerning the lunch counter sit-in demonstrations. It seems wise to me to send you another bulletin with information. I know many of you are perhaps finding it hard to share this with people but I trust you will persevere since it is really about the only way that the National Student Christian Federation has of getting this information out.

Since last Sunday's edition of the New York Times, in which you may note an article describes the NSCF as one of two national organizations which "serve as clearing houses, providing facts and counsel", we have been receiving a steady stream of information by mail and telephone and an overwhelming request for distribution of material that we have been sending. I hope you will continue to help us to get this information into the hands of students, student Christian groups, and others who may be able to use it in their work on the racial frontier of the Christian world mission.

I. TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

Today we received an urgent request that the eight students who are sitting in jail in Tallahassee and will be in jail until March 17th be sent letters from Christian students and others around the country, indicating that they have not been forgotten and seeking somehow to help them maintain spiritual morale while in jail.

These eight students were enrolled at Florida A & M and participated in the demonstrations there. Rather than pay a fine of $300., which in some cases was impossible, they chose to serve 60 days in jail. They were convicted on a charge of 'disturbing the peace'. Mail should be addressed to them c/o Leon County Jail, Tallahassee, Florida. Their names are as follows and ages are in parenthesis:

Barbara Broxton	(21)
John Broxton	(20)
Clement Carney	(21)
William Larkins	(23)
Angelina Nance	(19)
Henry Steele	(16)
Patricia Stephens	(20)
Pricilla Stephens	(21)

II. ATLANTA, GEORGIA

From Atlanta we received information that an Atlanta University System Steering Committee has been established, composed of 18 students, 3 from each of the six participating colleges. They have established an Appeal For Human Rights' Defense

Fund which is to be used to help pay the fines of the 70 or more students who were arrested there last week, and who are being apparently arbitrarily fined in varying but substantial amounts. If you wish to contribute directly to this Fund, you may do so by writing: Box 202, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

We also have indication from them that they would be very interested in white student participation in the Steering Committee.

III. LEGAL AID AND SCHOLARSHIP FUND

The Legal Aid and Scholarship Fund for arrested and/or expelled students which the National Student Christian Federation set up about ten days ago has begun to receive some income. So far, the largest single amount is $55.11 from students in New England. Will You Please Do Everything You Can To Encourage Contributions To This Fund. Particularly, we need to have it made known far and wide on the campus that it exists. We are in the process of establishing a small committee here in New York who will work out the principles for the administration of the Fund, but already it is quite clear that we have appeals coming to us for help, and we need a great deal more support before we can really make any helpful use of the Fund.

IV. PROPOSED STUDENT CONFERENCES

I have been in contact with the U.S. National Student Association. Apparently they are going to receive grants from several sources in order to hold on the weekend of April 8-9 a national conference of student body presidents. I have urged that they might reserve a place for a delegation of student Christian leaders from the NSCF. If they decide to do this, I shall want to be in contact with you immediately concerning how we could get some responsible student Christian leaders to the conference.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is also planning to hold a conference of Christian students who have been involved in the leadership of some of these demonstrations. It is tentatively scheduled to be held Easter weekend. I have also indicated informally to Dr. Martin Luther King that probably we would be interested in trying to have some students at the conference from the NSCF.

V. NATIONAL CHAIN STORE ADDRESSES

Several requests have come for information concerning the addresses of the national chain stores to whom letters encouraging an integrated store policy might be sent. These are:

F.W. Woolworth, 233 Broadway, New York, New York
S. H. Kress & Co., 114 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York
S. S. Kresge, 120 East 41st Street, New York, New York
W. T. Grant & Co., 1441 Broadway, New York, New York

VI. OTHER NATIONAL AGENCIES

Requests have also come for information concerning addresses of other national agencies which are distributing information. I list a few of these here:

Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Congress on Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, New York

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Shadowcliff, Upper Nyack, New York
N A A C P, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York
Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 208 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 522 Atlanta National Building, 50 Whitehall Street S.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.
U.S. National Student Ass'n, 3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

VII. STATEMENT OF CONVICTIONS

From a longer statement, signed by various ministers living in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, I extract a quotation adopted by a local group that has been involved in the demonstrations. I include it here because it seems to me to be a useful and self-interpreting statement.

(Extract from a STATEMENT OF CONVICTIONS, Chapel Hill, N.C.)

"We do NOT picket just because we want to eat. We can eat at home or walking down the street.

We do NOT picket just because students in many other cities are picketing.

We do NOT picket to express our anger or resentment at anyone.

We do NOT picket to humilate anyone or put anyone out of business."

"We DO picket to protest the lack of dignity and respect shown us as human beings.

We DO picket to enlist the support of all (whatever their color) in getting the services in business places that will grant us dignity and respect.

We DO picket to help the businessman make changes that will bring us closer to the Christian and democratic practices."

VIII. RESPONSES

Information is continuing to come in concerning response of student Christian groups around the country. Three hundred students and sixteen faculty members at Yale Divinity School were engaged in sign-carrying demonstrations in New Haven on March 23. We understand they are also seeking to effect the integration of private student housing in the New Haven community. The New York Times also reports that three hundred students at Occidental College in California had their supper standing up the other night in protest at the expulsion of Negro students from Alabama State College. Students at Oberlin College have raised over $2,000. for the defense of Jim Lawson.

The March 22nd issue of the Daily Princetonian devoted an entire page to the publication of our LETTER TO CHRISTIAN STUDENTS.

One of the most encouraging aspects of this whole business is that the student Christian movement in place after place seems suddenly to have come passionately alive.

Praise be to God!

IX. TRAVEL PLANS

By the time you receive this I myself will be making a visit to various cities in the South to confer with a number of people concerning the actual situation, and what responsibility the NSCF ought to assume. I expect to visit in Richmond, Va.; Durham, N.C.; Atlanta, Ga.; Montgomery, Ala.; and Nashville, Tenn. When I come back I hope to share with you more information concerning what I have found out.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of a letter that Allan Burry and I drafted and sent to the heads of all the Communions related to the National Council of Churches. You may be interested to know that we are already beginning to receive very grateful response and encouragement from the heads of the Communions.

HMJ:lm

enclosure: Letter to Communion Heads

FLASH FROM NASHVILLE --

Word has just been received that the three week respite from sit-in demonstrations students have been voluntarily observing is just now in the process of being ended. In the meantime, a report from the major's Bi-Racial Committee, which met this morning, is eagerly being awaited. What the relationship between the two events is remains unclear. Some observers, however, expect that students this afternoon will again be arrested in Nashville.

Also received from Nashville is a report that last Sunday approximately 50 Negro students went to 11 White Churches and passed out leaflets asking church go-ers to pray for an end to racial segregation. From the reports received about this, it appears that some of the students were admitted to some of the churches, but that they either did not try to worship with the congregation or if they tried were dissuaded from doing so in most of the congregations. This effort apparently has been organized by the Nashville Christian Leadership Council. A Reverend Mr. Vivian, according to the Tennessean, described the effort as "completely different" from the recent sit-in demonstrations by students opposed to lunch counter segregation. The leaflet that was distributed was described as "a message to Christian conscience". Among other things it said, "the recent developments toward racial understanding must be rooted in a spiritual comprehension of the situation. This can be done in prayer".

We want to call to your attention the concern and actions of the National Student Christian Federation in respect of the lunch counter sit-in demonstrations that are taking place in so many places in our country these days. Since February 2nd, to our knowledge nearly 1000 students have been arrested and either undergone trial or are awaiting trial.

Enclosed you will find four pieces of literature which we have been distributing in fairly substantial quantities. I hope you will have the time to glance over these, and particularly to read the LETTER TO CHRISTIAN STUDENTS.

The sit-in demonstrations have been conducted by both Negro and White students, but primarily Negro. The demonstrators in most cases have observed a rigorous self-discipline in the techniques of non-violent resistance. When, as in most cases, violence has resulted, with rare exception it has not been perpetrated by any of those engaged in the demonstration itself. Again, with rare exceptions, the police have chosen to ignore those actually guilty of perpetrating the violence and have chosen to arrest the non-violent demonstrators.

The arrest of so substantial a number of students; the continuance of demonstrations of protest of particular segregationist laws and customs, which demonstrations no one expects to abate before the end of the academic year; the fact that many of the demonstrators are acting from deep and sincere Christian motives-- these facts, when taken all together, pose a major responsibility not only for the National Student Christian Federation and its constituent student movements and church agencies, but in our estimation, also a major responsibility for all of the Christian Churches.

In behalf of the National Student Christian Federation may we urge you to call to the attention of the churches in our country the action of students in the cause of improving conditions of social justice and racial equality. This movement is very much being led by students with the deepest of Christian motives, and we are told that one of the most powerful factors in the whole country was the conference that we held at Athens, Ohio this past Christmas on the Christian World Mission. In this Conference, you will recall, nearly 4000 students participated, of whom nearly half were non-White students. One of the major themes of the conference was the racial frontier of the Church. Several thousand more students were involved prior to the conference in Study and Involvement groups using a book entitled Outside The Camp, written for us by Charles West. These Study and Involvement groups were

composed interdemoninationally, internationally, and interracially. For some situations in the country, this meant that they had to be organized intercollegiately.

Our reason for drawing this to your attention is: (1) to remind you that as Christian students we are inevitably involved, and (2) that many of the students involved in the demonstrations while professing to be Christian consider themselves to be outside the camp of either the church or society. With reference to the church, we again and again are receiving evidence that there is a growing impatience about the continued segregation of the churches, and a growing feeling that the churches are not taking seriously the demand for social justice and racial equality.

In behalf of the National Student Christian Federation may we express to you the pledge that thousands of students have in effect taken to work toward the desegregation of the churches and to accept this as one of the primary and specific responsibilities in the racial frontier of the Christian World Mission.

May we also call your attention to our action in establishing a Legal Aid and Scholarship Fund to be used in behalf of the students arrested and/or expelled from colleges and universities in the United States.

Finally, we ask you to call these matters to the attention of the churches. We need the prayers of the churches -we need positive action by the congregations which expresses concretely that the churches are opposed to continued segregation, -and we need financial aid for arrested and expelled students.

Sincerely yours,

Allan J. Burry
Allan J. Burry
President

Herluf M. Jensen
Herluf M. Jensen
General Secretary

AJB/HMJ:lm
enclosures: (4)

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION

The United States affiliated member of the World's Student Christian Federation and the Student Movement related to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK · RIVERSIDE 9-2200 · CABLE: UNISTUD

May 4, 1960

HCF ✓ comment?

PR

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

The National Student Christian Federation has been very much interested and concerned with the students who have been or are being arrested and/or expelled because of their participation in the current student non-violent movement. Some time ago we established a Legal Aid and Scholarship Fund, to be administered by the Officers of the NSCF in conjunction with a special Advisory Committee.

The enclosed document has been prepared with the advice of this special Committee, and has been approved by the Executive Committee of NSCF for circulation to trusted key persons.

You are one of these trusted key persons whom we are asking to work with us as closely as possible in rendering actual practical, and if possibe immediate, assistance to such students. Would you therefore please read the enclosed document carefully, and if you are willing, drop me a little note giving me information where you can be reached by telephone. I would appreciate both your office and home phone number, and will treat it confidentially. While we do not expect that any great burden will be put upon you if you accept to do this, it should be understood that what in fact may happen no one really knows. We, of course, expect to reimburse you for any expenses which you may incur in connection with this responsibility.

Due to the nature of this document, we are giving it only a restricted circulation. It should not be re-duplicated without our permission, nor should it be shown to persons who have no real business seeing it. Here, however, we must trust your own judgement about these matters.

I sincerely hope that we can count on you to help us in the event that that becomes necessary.

With best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Herluf M. Jensen
General Secretary

HMJ:lm

enclosure

The National Student Christian Federation is a continuing organization resulting from the unification of the Interseminary Committee, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the United Student Christian Council.

I-1
5/3/60

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.

SUBJECT: LEGAL DEFENSE, EMERGENCY AID, AND SCHOLARSHIP ASSISTANCE TO ARRESTED AND/OR EXPELLED STUDENTS

TO: Selected Persons Working in Relation to NSCF

FROM: Herluf M. Jensen, General Secretary

I. LEGAL AID AND SCHOLARSHIP FUND OF NSCF

Early in March the National Student Christian Federation established a special Legal Aid and Scholarship Fund for the purpose of assisting college and university students who because of their participation in the student non-violent movement were arrested and/or expelled from their academic institutions.

This Legal Aid and Scholarship Fund now amounts to a few thousand dollars, and is daily receiving contributions. In addition there are certain other funds available for emergency aid purposes to students which we can use. We are hoping and expecting that more funds will be received as collections are taken by student Christian groups on campus.

This Fund is to be operated by the Officers of NSCF acting in accordance with advice and guidance of a special advisory committee appointed for this purpose. This paper is being circulated to you to guide you in the event that students turn to you for information and advice.

II. BAIL

When students are arrested they are almost immediately confronted with the problem of posting bail bond, although some prefer staying in jail rather than getting released on bail. According to present experience bail bond can usually be procured from local sources. In most cases certain agencies such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are prepared to post bail bond for students. We suggest that you may wish to determine who local officers of such organizations are, and how they may be reached quickly in an emergency.

In the event that local resources prove to be non-existent or inadequate for this purpose you may want to contact our office, and we may be able to help you.

III. LEGAL COUNSEL

According to what we have heard, in most communities voluntary legal counsel is available to arrested students. The NAACP has indicated its willingness to give legal counsel to arrested students. In some states, however, the NAACP is in effect outlawed. Another agency interested in legal counsel is the American Civil Liberties Union.

Again, if difficulties are incurred contact with us, or national or state headquarters of these bodies may be helpful to you.

In the event that financial help is required to retain legal counsel, the NSCF will entertain requests for such assistance. When requesting help from NSCF, information concerning the situation will be required, including the names of persons to be aided, the legal counsel being retained, the circumstances and charges leading to the arrest, what other agencies or the local community is prepared to do, to where or whom funds should be directed, and who will be responsible for such funds and there use. When time permits we will seek to send one of our designated representatives to check with you the situation and advise us what to do, but some kind of help will be made immediately available if possible.

Probably the more difficult problems will come when sentences are appealed to higher courts, where more specialized legal counsel may be required. Consequently, we wish to be somewhat "tight fisted" since it may not at that time be quite so easy to raise funds.

IV. PENALTIES AND FINES

If eventually penalties or fines are imposed, and if the convicted elect to pay rather than serving a prison term or appealing the decision, we would hope to be somewhat helpful. Again we would depend upon accurate and detailed information being received.

V. EMERGENCY AID AND RELIEF

In some situations when students have been expelled they have found themselves cut off from adequate food and lodging, in need of medical aid, in need of transportatiin home, and in danger of arrest on vagrancy charges. In some cases apparently they have also become objects of physical violence and various kinds of harassment.

In such cases, and if it seems advisable, the NSCF would help in sustaining them, in procuring medical aid, and when in danger of arrest getting them transported to safe areas, and perhaps be hostelled in student Christian centers.

VI. SCHOLARSHIP ASSISTANCE

The NSCF is concerned about students who are expelled, who for disciplinary reasons related to their activities in the student non-violent movement have scholarships withdrawn, or who may feel compelled to withdraw from their academic institution.

We are concerned that they should be given an opportunity to continue their education, and are hoping to be able to offer some assistance. Some northern schools are making scholarships available, and some funds have been received by the NSCF and alao other agencies. In order to be most helpful we will work in close relation to the National Service and Scholarship Fund for Negro Students and with World University Service in certain situations.

We will be interested in the names and addresses of both white and Negro students who may be in such difficulties. We shall also be interested in colleges and universities who may offer scholarships, or be otherwise helpful. We would welcome information from colleges and universities concerning availability of scholarships.

VII. SCHOLARSHIPS FOR SUMMER CONFERENCES

The NSCF has been given some funds to be used to help Negro students who have been involved in the student non-violent movement to attend and participate in the more than twenty student conferences being held this summer under the auspices of NSCF and/or its member movements and agencies. If you know of such students (names and addresses) we will be appreciative if you could help us establish contact with them. The Rev. Robert Abrams has been assigned to us by the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Cjurch in the USA particularly to help organize this program.

VIII. SCHOLARSHIPS FOR ECUMENICAL WORK CAMPS AND VOLUNTARY SERVICE PROJECTS

Some of the Negro students involved in the non-violent movement might be interested in participating in an ecumenical work camp or in one of the denominatiinal work camps. The NSCF has a small Minority Students Scholarship Fund, and we know of other funds that can be tapped for helping interested and qualified Negro students. Again we need information and recommendations concerning such students.

IX. IN EMERGENCY

In an emergency you may wish to contact the NSCF or myself by telephone. Our office number is: RIverside 9-2200, Extension 2366. My home number is New Brunswick, New Jersey, CHarter 6,2135. If I am at neither place, my secretary or my wife will know how I can be reached. Other persons who can be contacted in emergency are: Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Natl. Council of Churches, Dept. of Racial & Cultural Relations (NYC: Riverside 9-2200, Ext. 2387; home GL 2-0797), The Rev. Will Campbell, NCCC, Dept. of Racial & Cultural Relations, Nashville, Tennessee(office: Alpine 5-3842, home TUCKERS 3-1901); The Rev. Jack Marion and the Rev. Metz Rollins, United Presbyterian Church, Dept. of Social Actiin in Nashville (ALpine 6-6232).

May 12, 1960

Mr. Herluf Jensen
General Secretary
National Student Christian Federation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Herluf:

I very much appreciate receiving your recent memorandum on legal defense emergency aid and scholarship assistance. It seems to be a very excellent document which will be of considerable assistance to all of us who are working with this problem.

I will of course be happy to work with you whenever possible in "rendering actual practical, and if possible, immediate assistance to such students." My office telephone number is JAckson 2-8764, my home telephone, POplar 1-1406.

I will be away from my desk from May 20 until approximately June 27. I am sailing to Europe on an assignment with the Council on Student Travel. If you need help from this office or in this area during this period, I hope you will feel free to contact Paul Anthony, office telephone as above, home telephone, POplar 7-7668.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.

INFORMATION LETTER # 7

June 1, 1960

TO: Executive and Central Committee of NSCF; Key Persons of Departments of College and University Work; Boards of Mission; YMCA/YWCA.

FROM: Herluf M. Jensen, General Secretary

Dear Friends:

On Monday afternoon, May 30, Dr. J. Robert Nelson, a member of our Central and Executive Committee and Dean of the Vanderbilt University Divinity School, submitted his resignation to Chancellor Harvie Branscomb of Vanderbilt University. A few hours later, nine members of the faculty of the Divinity School likewise submitted their resignations.

The resignations came as a further development in the efforts on the part of the Divinity School faculty to have the Reverend James Lawson re-admitted to Vanderbilt Divinity School. You will recall that Jim Lawson was expelled from Vanderbilt on March 3 by the Executive Committee of the Board of Trust of Vanderbilt. On March 15, Chancellor Branscomb indicated that Jim could re-apply in the normal fashion. On May 26, the Admissions Committee of the Divinity School, having reviewed an application for admission of Jim's to the summer school, recommended that he be re-admitted. Jim was in his final semester of a B.D. Degree program at the time of his dismissal, and presumably could have finished degree requirements by attendance at a summer term.

When the Admissions Committee made its recommendations they requested Chancellor Branscomb to act upon it by the morning of May 28. This he refused to do.

On Sunday, May 29, graduation excercises were held and on Monday, May 30, Chancellor Branscomb met with the Admissions Committee and gave a negative answer to the request for re-admission. It was upon receipt of this negative answer that Dr. Nelson and the members of the faculty took their action, of resigning from the Divinity School.

In Dr. Nelson's letter of resignation, which is attached to this Information Letter, he made his resignation effective as of August 31, 1960. In the subsequent action of the nine members of the Divinity School faculty, their resignations are to be effective not later than the end of the next academic year. In explaining this provision, faculty members have indicated that they had regard for the difficulty which sudden departure would pose for graduate students in the Divinity School.

The nine members of the faculty are the following:

James D. Sellers, Assistant Dean and Assistant Professor of Theology;
James D. Glasse, Associate Professor of Practical Theology;
Lou H. Silberman, Hillel Professor of Jewish Literature and Thought;
Gordon D. Kaufman, Associate Professor of Theology;
Bard Thompson, Professor of Church History;
Langdon B. Gilkey, Professor of Theology;

Leander Keck, Assistant Professor of Theology;
Roland E. Sleeth, Professor of Preaching;
Arthur L. Foster, Assistant Professor of Pastoral Theology.

Of the remaining members of the faculty, two professors had resigned earlier in the year, namely, Everett Tilson and Paul Sanders; two are paid by agencies other than Vanderbilt and will have to follow some other procedure for resignation; and one, Dr. Kendrick Grobal, is on leave in Germany. Two faculty members have decided not to resign, J. Philip Hyatt, Professor of Old Testament and George N. Mayhew, Professor of History of Religions.

Yesterday afternoon, May 31, fourteen students withdrew from the University, including the remaining three Negro students and also including among them several of the top graduate students of the Divinity School. Also, yesterday afternoon, three students who had gone through graduation excercises on Sunday in the expectation that Lawson would be re-admitted returned as 'unwanted under the circumstances' their diplomas to the University. These three students are: Richard F. Dickenson - G. Richard Dulin - Wilson T. Boots.

This Information Letter is being dictated by telephone from Nashville, where I went as quickly as I could after learning of the situation Monday afternoon. Yesterday I spent my time interviewing most of the students who have decided to withdraw and trying to be helpful to them in relocating in other theological seminaries in our country. The letter of resignation of Dr. Nelson is attached herewith as an appendix. As further developments take place I may try to communicate to you what these are. For the moment, I merely want you to know that I am doing everything in my power to express the concern and interest of the National Student Christian Federation for the educational and spiritual welfare of the students who have taken the actions indicated above - and all of them, as you may know, have been involved in the student non-violent movement.

/lm

-Dictated, Nashville

C O P Y . . of Dr. J. Robert Nelson's Letter of Resignation to Vanderbilt University:

Chencellor Harvie Branscomb
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Chancellor Branscomb:

I hereby submit my resignation as Dean of the Divinity School and Professor of Theology, effective August 31, 1960.

The reason for my decision is your flat refusal to grant the faculty of the Divinity School the privilege of admitting Mr. James Lawson, Jr., for further study to earn his degree. You have thus forbidden the Dean and faculty to admit a student who is well known and endorsed by them, by condemnation by yourself and members of the Board of Trust who have not even met him.

In accord with your own statement of March 15, saying he could apply in the normal manner, Mr. Lawson has applied for admission. His application papers satisfied the members of our Admissions Committee that there was no reason whatsoever for not admitting him to the school. Only your own approval was required. I asked for this. You would not give it.

The destructive effect of your decision upon the confidence and morale of the Divinity faculty and others in the University is clearly evident. Equally damaging is the effect upon numerous students.

The future of the Divinity School is now gravely imperilled. No one can predict how long it will take for the damage to be repaired. In spite of all the excellent things you have done to build up the school in recent years, the responsibility for this critical situation is your own. Only you, sir, could have restored the sense of integrity to this school by making a right of what had been wrong. What was the wrong needing to be rectified?

It was the feable acquiescence by University authorities to a public image of Mr. Lawson which was both distorted and defamatory.

It was a disciplinary measure of grave proportion applied to a man of widely recognized moral character because of an accusation which he has never yet admitted, namely, that he was committed to a "planned campaign of civil disobedience."

It was a clear repudiation of the freedom of expression and action of a mature person, acting upon the motivation of Christian moral conviction.

It was a pre-judging and legally guilty of a man who, so far as the public law is concerned, is still recognized as innocent.

It was tacitly a condemnation of the non-violent demonstrations which have since been vindicated in Nashville by the peaceable achievement of our immediate purpose, namely, the non-discriminatory service of all persons at lunch counters.

It was a decision reached under conditions of steam and emotion, following a disciplinary procedure which was by your own admission without any precedent in the University's history, and which has publicly been shown by the deliberations of the University Senate to have been grossly improper.

Lastly, it was a wrong action which brought much shameful criticism on the University from numerous respected persons and groups in the national realm of higher education and religion, and which caused within the ranks of Vanderbilt faculty and student body a deep and persistent sense of outrage.

All aspects of this grievous wrong could have been rectified calmly and effectively by your approval of the decision of the Admissions Committee of the Divinity School.

Since you chose not to grant this approval, I find it inappropriate to continue as Dean and Professor in the school for which I have had much loyalty and affection.

Sincerely yours,

S/ J. Robert Nelson

-Dictated via telephone,
Nashville

File - wep.

October 30, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Leslie W. Dunbar

From: Jack Minnis

Re: YWCA National Student Christian Federation Project

Wiley has asked me to reply to your question regarding the results of the Nashville project.

I understand from Rosetta Gardner of YWCA, that the results of the survey were placed in the hands of the Davidson County Independent Political Council to be used as the council sees fit.

Rosetta also informs me that approximately 200 persons were registered. Obviously, registration was not the primary objective of this project.

Jack

Jack Minnis

JM:js

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

V J ✓ they get anyone registered?

W B ✓

J M is anybody in Nashville using results of their survey?

J.M.
Please reply to
L W P

LWD ✓

SURVEY OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND AWARENESS

District 21, N ashville, Tennessee

by

The Voter Education and Registration Project

Sponsored by the National Student Christian Federation
and the National Student YWCA of the Southern Region

SPONSORSHIP, PURPOSE AND PARTICIPANTS

The Voter Education-Registration Project for the summer of '63 in Nashville, Tennessee, from June 23 to August 17, was co-sponsored by the National Student Christian Federation and the National Student YWCA of the Southern Region.

The purpose of the project was to work toward voter registration and education in the defined political area known as Councilmanic District 21, with the main objective to stimulate and encourage qualified Negro voters to register. Additional purposes were:

(1) to give assistance in developing citizenship education and organization within the given area;

(2) to gather data and opinions on lower socio-economic Negroes' political interests for more effective voter education and registration efforts and achievement, and

(3) to reveal and communicate a concern by our presence as participants.

The project aimed to survey the councilmanic district mostly to find non-registered citizens, to find out:

(1) what various issues interest and arouse the people;

(2) their immediate interests and concerns whether directly or indirectly, and

(3) the extensiveness of political apathy and reasons for its existence.

The participants in the project included students from the North, South and West, which covered a geographic area of 13 states. The group composition was 5 males and 8 females, of whom 3 were Negro students (2 females and 1 male) and the remainder being white students (4 males and 6 females). These participants, being from varied religious backgrounds and cultural distinctions, were elected by a joint committee representing both organizations. They were:

The Leaders - MR. AND MRS. WILSON YATES, Mr. Yates a native of Missouri and Mrs. Yates a native of Mississippi, presently residing in Nashville. They will return to Boston in early September.

Assistant Leader - DAVID DANSBY, Greensboro, North Carolina and second year law student at the University of North Carolina.

RALEIGH BAILEY - Miami, Florida; Junior at Florida Southern College in Lakeland, Florida.

MERRIE-LOU DOUGLAS - Manhattan, Kansas; Junior at Washington State University.

MARY SUE GELLATLY - Portland, Oregon; Senior at Willamette College, Salem, Oregon.

DAN MARSTON - Eau Claire, Wisconsin; Junior at Wisconsin State College, Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

MARY M. MILLS - Spartanburg, South Carolina; Junior at Delaware State College, Dover, Delaware.

ROBERTA MOSELY - Bronx, New York; '63 graduate of Pembroke College, Providence, Rhode Island.

ROSEMARY SMITH - East Orange, New Jersey; Senior at Albion College, Albion, Michigan.

CAROL TUCKER - Ligonier, Pennsylvania; Senior at Pennsylvania State University.

IRENE WYLIE - Boston, Massachusetts; Junior at Pembroke College, Providence, Rhode Island.

DEAN ZIMMERMANN - Carrington, North Dakota; Junior at Valley City State Teachers' College, Valley City, North Dakota.

Each had had direct or indirect experience in the civil rights movement and shared the same concern which is "the struggle for the betterment of society." During the project the participants analyzed their activities and survey work, shared reactions and reflections upon the entire experience.

Although we were from various states and with different religious beliefs we were participants to aid equality.

COMMUNITY LIFE

The Voter Education-Registration project officially began on June 23, 1963, and ran through August 17, 1963. The housing for the group was located in a white residential area and was selected basically on availability. Two adjacent buildings were used for sleeping with one of the buildings also serving as general meeting and eating place.

The first three days were devoted to orientation, determining schedules and procedures, meeting with civic leaders, and general planning of community life. On the fourth day the group went into a rough schedule which was generally followed throughout the project up until the last few days which were used for evaluation.

During the orientation the participants studied such literature as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail" and various types of sociological and civil rights data as provided through such means as the Southern Regional Council.

On a typical week day the group would rise at 7:30 and eat at 8:00. Then would follow worship, chores, and/or seminar. At 12:30 the group would eat lunch and then prepare for actual district work which would begin around 3:00 and take the rest of the day and evening, with the exception of 5:30 to 7:00 which was used for a picnic supper at a public park in the area.

Worship each morning was presented by different members of the group who organized and led the services. This provided a wide variety of worship experiences due to a diverse religious background of the group. On Sunday mornings the group generally visited different churches within the voting district.

All domestic duties were performed by the project participants themselves on a two-man team rotation basis daily with a couple of mornings a week devoted specifically to chores.

The seminars and study groups were a significant part of the project. They were generally held in the morning for a period of one to two hours but were occasionally held in the evening for the convenience of outside speakers. There were two basic types of seminars. The first type was devoted to themes of race relations and Nashville political, economic and social structures. These were led by civil rights leaders, sociologists, and politicians. The second type of seminar ran along the lines of Bible study and Christian ethics and how these related to the purpose and goals of the project. These study groups were usually led by Vanderbilt Divinity School students and professors.

The group had free time Saturday afternoons and evenings, Sundays, and some Wednesday afternoons. Most of this time was used in informal activities such as movies, swimming and campus visiting. There were also group planned activities such as visiting Cheekwood Estate and Montgomery Bell State Park. A number of activities were shared with an interracial student group working in the city for the summer under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee. Some people of the white community who were known through church activities had the group to their homes for visiting and for dinner. There was a good deal of communication with persons of student age in the Negro district, and quite a bit of informal recreation was experienced in this area.

Another significant aspect of the project was a field trip the group made to Atlanta. This three day trip was spent in discussions with various civil rights leaders.

FIELD WORK

Description of the District

In the recent change to metropolitan government the city of Nashville was merged politically with Davidson County. The new area has been redivided into 35 political districts, each having a population of approximately 10- to 12,000, and each represented by a metropolitan councilman. In addition there are 5 councilmen at large.

Our project was concerned with only one of these districts, number 21. The councilmanic seat for District 21 was until the recent election controlled by a single political machine headed by a Negro woman. With the election of November, 1962, this control was broken by Mr. John Driver, who is now the councilman for the district.

District 21 is located in the northwest section of Nashville, and is roughly bounded on the south by Charlotte Avenue, on the north by Centennial Boulevard, on the west by 42nd Avenue North and on the east by 24th and 27th Avenues North.

The area has a high Negro concentration (96.7%). There is no uniform socio-economic character to the community, although it might be said that upper lower-class families predominate. Residential patterns within the district reflect this variety to the extent that extremes of income tend to be found in different portions of the district. On the other hand, in several of the blocks it is not uncommon to see both very nice homes and considerably less attractive dwellings.

Physically District 21 contains three elementary schools, one major park and one small shopping center. Small businesses are scattered throughout the area. The northern edge of the district is the location of Tennessee State Agricultural and Industrial University.

There are two housing projects of which particular mention should be made. One, known as Preston Taylor, is a low-rent federal housing project. The other is a private housing project, College Hill.

Description of our Procedure

Method: The approach we used in working within the district consisted of a door-to-door canvas of homes in the area. Our primary instrument was an interview schedule (copy attached and data included) which proved to be a very effective means of involving respondents in the concern of the project. Although we were primarily interested in the gathering of data we found the schedule to be an important part of the educational process. For example, people who could not name their governmental representatives when asked to do so (Question 7) would often write down the names when informed who they were. Moreover, the open-end questions (Questions 8, 9 and 10) were particularly conducive to arousing discussion.

Finally, Question 8 provided a handy lever in the process of convincing people of the advantages of voting. In connection with this a brochure (enclosed) entitled "Register to Vote" was used both to point out the simplicity of the registration and voting procedures and to emphasize the practical consequences to be gained from use of the ballot.

These two instruments (the schedule and the brochure) were used exclusively for almost the entire project. However, toward the end of the project and particularly as a result of insights we gained into the educational needs of the community during the process of interviewing we developed a pamphlet entitled "You and Your Vote." This pamphlet contained a brief description of metropolitan government, sections on how to vote and how to get the government to act, and a survey of the public

records of the district's representatives at all levels of government. It was distributed in the homes we had already visited as well as in new areas.

Another means by which we sought to respond to the educational needs of the community was a series of two citizenship workshops held in the district. Actually the workshops were closely connected with the pamphlet, as the former were primarily attempts to expand and elaborate on the material condensed in "You and Your Vote."

Hours: Our work in the district was confined to the hours of 3:30 to 5:30 in the afternoons and 7:00 to 9:00 in the evenings. The afternoon hours were chosen on the assumption that we would find considerably fewer people at home earlier in the day. This assumption was supported by our experience on those days toward the end of the project when we started canvassing between 2:30 and 3 :30. Many people who were home at the later hour were not home at 2:30. Moreover, on several occasions we awoke people from afternoon naps. The evening hours proved most fruitful in terms of finding the largest number of people at home.

Transportation: Transportation posed a unique problem for the project. One inconvenience was the fact that District 21 is a 45-minute round trip from the County Courthouse where the Registrar's Office is located. Of even greater significance was the fact that the farthest portions of the district were over 15 minutes away from the housing accommodations for the project. In solving this problem we used private cars to transport our group to the district and also in carrying people down to the Registrar's Office.

Registration

In Nashville there is no problem of intimidation of persons seeking to register. The major difficulties we encountered in registering voters revolved around the inaccessibility of the Office, both as to hours and as to location. In compliance with Tennessee law the Registrar's Office is open from 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. five days a week. Forty-five days before an election the Office is opened on Saturday mornings and for certain hours during the evening.

The problem this poses for the working man is that he must wait to register until the additional hours are available to him right before an election. In our own registration work this meant that we were able to transport only housewives, people whose jobs enabled them to be home by 3:00 p.m., and persons temporarily unemployed.

A second problem arose from the fact that the location of the Courthouse in the heart of the downtown area added to its inaccessibility. It is true that supplemental registration booths are established along the ten major highways leading into the city 45 days before an election. But no such booths, by order of the Election Commission, are available at other times during the year.

When the project first arrived we hoped that a mobile registration unit might be made available in order to facilitate our work. This would have made a significant difference in the number of people we were able to register, particularly if the hours of such units had been more flexible. (It should be noted that the Committee on Political Education of the A.F. of L.-CIO, which is beginning a mass voter-registration drive, is also interested in obtaining mobile units for use in the factories and other places where large numbers of workers are concentrated.)

We went to the Election Commissioner to see if such units could be established. The Commissioner was uncertain as to whether the law would allow additional units to the ten already provided immediately prior to an election. He was able to secure for us a legal interpretation which said such units were within the confines of the law.

This legal clearance was then presented to the Election Commission. However, it was the opinion of the Commission that mobile units were still not feasible. With the A.F. of L.-CIO Committee on Political Education this same request was presented before the Councilmanic Committee on elections. These and other suggestions were taken under advisement by that committee. At the time of the writing of this report their recommendations had not yet been made.

VOLUNTEER VOTER EDUCATION AND VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

COUNCILMANIC DIST. 21 NASHVILLE, TENN.

SUMMER 196 3

I.

Respondent

Name_____ Race____ Age____ Sex____

Address_____(from house #)

Does the respondent live in a housing project? _____ if so, which one? P.T. __C

Phone number_____

II.

1. What church do you attend?_____

Are you a member of that church?_____

2. How many persons 21 years old or older live here?____

3. What are their names? (insert names in blank below)

4. (a) Are you registered to vote? (ask for all persons 21 years old or older)

(b)(If respondent is not registered)-- How is it that you have never registered?

Names	Age	Registered	Non-Regis.	Years of school completed
(1)				
(2)				
(3)				
(4)				
(5)				

5. (a) Did you vote in the Nov. 6 Metro Election? Yes____ No____

(b) Were you living here at that time? Yes____ No____

6. (a) Did you vote in the 1960 Presidential Election? Yes____ No____

(b) Were you living here at that time? Yes____ No____

7. (a) Who is your representative on the city council?

response_____ knows____ doesn't know____

(b) Who is your mayor?

response_____ knows____ doesn't know____

(c) Who is your representative in the U.S. Congress?

response_____ knows____ doesn't know____

(d) Who are your senators?

response_____ knows____ doesn't know____

III.

8. What would you like to see the government do most in the next few years?

9. Do you think President Kennedy has done enough for the Negro? Yes____ No____

Why?

10. Who do you think is the most influential person in your community?

Why?

REGISTRATION STATUS

The purpose of this survey is two-fold: (1.) to ascertain the percentage of the persons of voting age in each household that were registered to vote and (2.) after ascertaining the registration status of the qualified voters to try to persuade the non-registered persons to register. Significant is that the district at the inception was chosen because of its reputation as a low registration district. In the run-off election for councilman from the 21st councilmanic district only slightly more than 1,200 votes were cast, the winning margin being some 400 votes.

Since the major interest of the project was to register voters, an effort was made to determine the reasons for non-registration, though no similar effort was made to determine the reasons for registration. The reason for the concentration on the non-registered voters is that our interest centered mainly on determining ways of encouraging people to register which necessitates some awareness of why people did not register.

Each respondent was asked about the registration status of each person in the household 21 years old or older. Of the 1,960 persons 21 years of age or older in the households visited 1,164 were registered and 728 were not registered. These figures indicate that 58.97% of the people of voting age were registered and may tend to indicate that similar figures may be true for the district as a whole. Non-registered were 37.14%. The registration status of 3.46% of the persons over 21 could not be ascertained because the respondent was uncertain as to the registration status of the other members of their households.

If these figures represent the district as a whole, the registration status is not low as expected. Rather, the seemingly low registration status may be reflected in the large number of children in the neighborhood especially in that the district is largely lower class with a federal low-rent housing project and some near-slum areas. The district has long been under the influence of a ward politician, Mrs. Mabel Suggs, which may account for the relatively high registration.

In a recent study of the Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project, a majority of the respondents who were not registered indicated that their reasons for not being registered was that they just never got around to it, never thought of it , or that they never registered. The major reason in short being apathy. The sample used in that section of the Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project study was 91 respondents.

Of the 356 respondents approached here 25.56% indicated that they are unregistered because they have never gotten around to it. Another 19.67% had no reason for being unregistered. Roughly this is 45% or slightly less than half of the total responding to this question. Hence apathy remains a major reason for not registering.

Some 12.64% of the non-registered respondents were unregistered because their registration had been cancelled due to change of address or due to failure to vote for four successive years. This 12.64% represents those who have been previously registered, but for some reason have had their registration cancelled. It is significant that this group at one time thought politics important enough to register.

Why People Are Not Registered

Reasons	Number	Per Centage
Just haven't gotten around to it	91	25.56%
Cancellation as result of changing residence or failure to vote for four successive years	45	12.64%
Haven't had time due to working and other reasons	36	10.11%
Sick or disabled	22	6.17%
Not old enough or just turned 21		5.33%
Other miscellaneous reasons	64	17.97%
Don't know or no idea	70	19.67%

As to those who have recently moved, no effort was made to determine how long they had been relocated, but their response suggests an intention to register. The situation of those who have allowed their registration to lapse due to failure to vote however suggest some apathy. The number of people unregistered because of a change in residence indicates that a ward politician could greatly benefit by knocking on doors of newcomers in the district and helping them re-register.

Twenty-two respondents indicated that they were either permanently disabled or that other illness has prevented them from registering. This number is small, representing only 6.17%, but these people seem unaware of the fact that the Elections Commission can come to their homes to register them under these unusual circumstances. If this percentage is the same for the county as a whole it could be very decisive in a national election or in the election of a councilman-at-large.

A number of younger respondents indicated that their reason for not being registered was that they had just recently become 21. Several indicated that they were not registered because they were not yet 21. Of course those who are 21 are aware that they a eligible to register, but those under 21 are apparently not aware that they do not have to be 21 in order to register provided that they will be 21 on the date of the next general election. This tends to indicate that a program is needed to educate young 20-year-olds as to their right to register prior to their 21st birthday under circumstances where they would otherwise be of voting age on election day.

Miscellaneous reasons were given by 17.97% of the respondents and another 19.67% did not have any reason for not being registered.

Image of the President

During his campaign in 1960, President Kennedy indicated that he supported picketing and sit-ins as legitimate forms of protesting racial discriminations. He has more recently issued an executive order banning racial discrimination in federal housing projects and in private housing developments financed by F.H.A. loans. During the year the President has also submitted to Congress a bill aimed at eliminating discrimination against Negro voters through intimidation on the part of private citizens and also through the discriminatory administration of the literacy test. Finally in June, 1963, the President submitted to Congress an omnibus civil rights bill including sections on voting rights, public accommodations and school desegregation. It can be safely said that Kennedy is making an attempt to alleviate some of the oppressive evils of segregation.

The purpose here is to determine the impact the President has made on the Negro community in the district under investigation. It is noted at the outset that a great deal of the President's action has been as a result of political rather than as the result of a moral commitment on his part. The purpose here, however, is not to investigate the motivation of the President, but to determine what kind of image he has in the minds of the Negro citizens. Also investigated is the knowledge of the specific acts of the President responsible for creating these images.

THINK KENNEDY HAS DONE ENOUGH

	Number	Percentage
No	83	9.29%
Qualified	362	40.53%
Yes	448	51.70%

WHY PEOPLE SAY KENNEDY HAS DONE ENOUGH

Provided Job Opportunities	68
Working for Civil Rights	192
Thinks President is doing all he can; is wonderful	188
Total	448

A majority of the respondents said without qualification that they think President Kennedy had done enough for the Negro. There were 448 such unqualified responses. This represented 51.70% of all of the respondents.

The major reason assigned for the positive attitude toward the President's program was that he has been working for Civil Rights. This feeling is closely associated with Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill, his several fireside chats on Civil Rights, and his recent action in getting Negroes enrolled in

the University of Alabama. There was however, among this group of respondents, no indication of awareness that the President's Civil Rights program has come about largely as a response to Negro agitation and litigation.

A second group of respondents indicating a positive attitude toward Kennedy thinks that the President is "wonderful" or doing all he can. This positive attitude is not based upon any specific act that the President has done. However, it indicates a sort of latent awareness that the President has been acting in areas beneficial to the Negro even though they cannot recall any specific thing the President has done to give them a favorable image of him.

A smaller number think Kennedy has done enough because of his efforts to raise wages and to give the Negro better job opportunities. Just prior to this survey, the President had urged the Postmaster General to issue an order to the Lewisville and Nashville Railroad Company to end discrimination or risk a cancellation of all future mail contracts. The Lewisville and Nashville story was given wide coverage in the local newspapers, and this may have influenced those assigning creation of job opportunities as a reason for a positive view of Kennedy's program.

FAVORABLE ATTITUDE TOWARD KENNEDY BY
PEOPLE WHO THINK THAT HE HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH

Working for Civil Rights	80
Think the President is doing a great deal for the Negro, though not enough	290
Rated over most Presidents	56
Has helped Negro economically	16
Has not done enough is Civil Rights	11

Note: Many respondents gave more than one reason for their view of the President which accounts for the disparity between the number of qualified responses and the reasons given.

WHY PEOPLE THINK THE PRESIDENT HAS NOT
DONE ENOUGH FOR THE NEGRO

Has not provided adequate jobs and salaries	20
Could do more in area of Civil Rights	27
Works too slow on Civil Rights problem	14
Other reasons	23

A large number (40.53 %) say that the President has not done enough, but they indicated that they felt he had done a great deal toward the advancement of the Negro. This group felt that one cannot do enough for the Negro until all segregation is eradicated.

Of the 362 subjects making qualified responses 290 indicated that they

think Kennedy has done a great deal.

56 respondents felt that the President compared favorably with Presidents Lincoln and Roosevelt and felt that he was better than most.

84 felt that the President himself could do enough only with the help of the people and the Congress. These people demonstrate an understanding that many dimensions of the Civil Rights problem must be dealt with by people other than the President.

80 persons indicated that they felt the President had made considerable strides in the area of Civil Rights, but adhered to the position that he is not doing enough.

Some 29 respondents indicated that the President had not done enough for the Negro in the area of job and civil rights.

PEOPLE WHO THINK THE PRESIDENT HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH FOR THE NEGRO

Has not provided adequate jobs and salaries	20
Could do more in area of Civil Rights	27
Wouks too slowly on Civil Rights problem	14
Other reasons	23

The number saying flatly that the President had not done enough was very small, representing only 9.29%. They said he had not provided enough jobs and high enough salaries, that he could do a great deal more, or that he was too slow in acting.

Conclusion

Many respondents indicate an awareness of what Kennedy has done to improve the Negro situation. There seems however, to be a need for interpretation of Kennedy's actions in terms of the various factors which have influenced his Civil Rights program. The Negro has power in his ability to swing close political elections with the vote, and in his ability to invoke change through mass demonstrations. What seems lacking is the knowledge that the President is responding to the exercise of this power on their part and that there is a direct positive correlation between the vigor with which the Negro makes his demands and what he gets.

Another significant factor is that the President has not yet been successful in getting any meaningful Civil Rights legislation through Congress this year. The mere proposal of a bill favorable to Civil Rights does not automatically guarantee that such a bill will become law.

Question 8--What would you like to see the government do most i[illegible] few years?

This question was designed to find out the major concerns of the Negro community of District 21 with the hope that this information could be used to interest members of the community in active political participation. It seems that much of the community is not aware of the role which it can play in determoning government action to meet its needs. The intent of the survey was to provide organizations which are attempting to increase political awareness with specific information about the areas in which the community feels that government action is necessary.

This study seems to indicate that the primary needs of this community are economic- the largest number of respondents indicate a desire for better and equal job opportunities, the highest frequency of references to the need for higher wages, for lower taxes, and for lower cost of living reinforce the impression that economics is of major importance. Several attitudes seem to explain partially the fact that the specific concern for job opportunity appears far more often than an inclusive demand for equal rights in all areas. First, there is the feeling that the Negro cannot take advantage of integration in areas of life from which he is barred by his low economic status. For instance, the integration of restaurant facilities is a practical advantage only for those Negroes who have enough money to eat in restaurants. Secondly, there is a confidence that economic advance will give the Negro a position which he can use to overcome either the effects of segregation or segregation itself.

A distinction can be noted between the demands for better and equal job opportunity and a desire for higher salaries and a lower cost of living. The first seems to indicate a desire for status improvement. It shows a concern about the quality and class implications of a job as well as for economic needs. Interest in higher salaries and lower living expenses on the other hand seems to indicate a desire for more money rather than a higher status job.

The second major area of concern seems to be equal rights. This general category includes complete desegregation of public facilities and schools, equal job opportunities, and a variety of miscellaneous amplifications. It may be significant that only 32 references were made to civil rights legislation despite the widespread concern about equal rights.

The demand for improvement of schools appeared with the third highest frequency. It is in keeping with the general recognition of the necessity of education in preparation for better jobs. There seems to be a concern both to meet the rising qualification standards for low status jobs and to prepare students to take advantage of the increasing opportunity to apply for superior jobs.

It is interesting to note that very few respondents specifically expressed interest in integration of the schools. This fact may indicate that most of the community feels that the issue was settled when Nashville adopted a grade a year plan seven years ago. It may also indicate that some people see good education as a necessity in preparing for jobs while, for them, integration is a less immediate concern.

A demand for improved streets appeared almost as often as a desire for better schools. Reference to the need for lighting, sewerage, and drainage reinforce the impression that community improvement is a major concern.

Better housing and increased recreation facilities were the last two desires expressed with any frequency. There were two hundred fifty responses which appeared in small quantities and are classes as miscellaneous. One hundred twenty respondents refused to answer the question or replied that they had no idea what they wanted the government to do.

Summary of responses to Question 8-

1. Provide better and equal job opportunities----------296.
2. Raise wages----------183.
3. Lower taxes----------143.
4. Lower cost of living----------53.
5. Provide equal rights in all areas----------184.
6. Pass civil rights legislation----------32.
7. Improve schools----------124.
8. Improve streets----------103.
9. Provide better housing----------76.
10. Build new and reopen closed recreation centers----------55.
11. Miscellaneous----------250.
12. No answer----------120.

CONCEPT OF LINES OF INFLUENCE

To gain further information on political awareness, respondents were asked "Who do you think is the most influential person in your community?" This question was designed to test the awareness of the informal lines of influence exercized by the leaders in the Negro community. The question did indicate some awareness of this, but it also indicated that many people in naming the most influential person in their community must at the same time define their community.

The results are more meaningful in determining what kind of community the respondents indentify whith, than who really had power, for the respondents responses given suggest that in a lot of instances the persons named were not persons of influence, but of prestige or popularity. The choice of the influential person, however, did indicate with which community the person identified, whether the neighborhood centered around the grocery store, the church, the political district with its councilman, or with the Negroes of Nashville as a whole, led by the civil rights leaders whose scope of operation is the entire city.

There are more responses than the number of respondents, because some respondents named more than one person of influence.

Category	% of total	number of responses	number of names
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	75
1. no idea, no one	44.84	508	0
[illegible]	[illegible]		
2. active in politics and elections	10.50	119	25
3. councilman	8.30	94	1
4. good neighbors & good people	8.21	93	73
5. civil rights leaders	6.71	76	12
6. ministers	5.12	58	31
7. business people	4.32	49	30
8. educators & P.T.A. leaders	3.71	42	19
9. housing project managers	2.03	23	2
10. church laymen	1.06	22	17
11. miscellaneous	4.32	49	28
total	99.12%	1133	238

Probably the most significant of all the answers to this question are the ones which say they have no idea as to who is the most influential person. There seems to be no feeling of power structure in the community which is most likely one of the main reasons for the type of response given by 44.84% or almost half of the respondents. The responses in this group were mainly of two types, (1) "I don't know" or "I can't think of anyone", and (2) "No one is influential" or "We are all the same, no one is more important than anyone else". As accurately as can be determined the following breakdown is possible:"I don't know", 443 responses, 30.27% of the total, and "No one is influential", 65 responses, 5.74% of the total.

Councilman John L. Driver was listed by 95 people as most influential, even though he has only been in office since April, 1963. He is a businessman and a newcomer to the council. Mr. Driver's opponent in the election, Mrs. Mable Suggs , was listed by 44 persons. This was a significant election, since Mr. Driver, new to the political scene, defeated Mrs. Suggs who, as a ward politician, has been active for many years.

Only six of the 27 political workers named hold or have held an elective office. Several of the others are those who help on election days by transporting voters to the polls and try to influence voting.

The high number of people who listed those in the category of good neighbors or good people as influential is significant. One reason good neighbors and good people were listed was because the people usually identify with the people in their immediate area, their own street, or dwelling unit it in the housing project. For these reasons, many of the responses were not political, but rather were a listing of one's very close neighbors because they were respectable, understanding, helped one another, or similar reasons. Not only does the community with which these people identify seem to be rather small, but also there is a lack of the awareness of the power structure of the community in which they live. The concept of influence seems to be more or less that of prestige or status.

Of the civil rights leaders mentioned, Attorney Z. Alexander Looby, a Negro, was listed 39 times. He has taken many civil rights cases to court in Nashville, and is a councilman. Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, next with 16 responses, is the president of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council. Although there was a great amount of interest in the community in gaining equal rights, there seemed to be relatively little participation in or identification with the Nashville direct action.

It may be that business people were listed mainly because they were well known, rather than because of the degree of influence they may have, although this is not so of all cases. It may also be assumed that the ranking of some persons was due to their economic power.

Mr. Lorenza Dennis, the director of the Preston Taylor housing project was listed as most influential by 24 persons in the project. He is in position to have a great deal of influence over all of the activities of the housing project which houses over 500 families.

T he fact that nearly half of the respondents had no idea who the most influential person in the community was, suggests a widespread lack of contact with political workers who work to influence decision making in the community and rather, resign themselves to accepting as a way of life the fact that city hall controls the community free and independent of human actions. These findings suggest a need for education of a large number of people as to the ways decisions are made. This type of education is also the first step on the road to participation in community decision making.

KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL OFFICALS

In an attempt to get some idea as to the level of political awarness respondents were asked questions designed to determine whet her or no they knew their political leaders. Each respondent was asked to name his councilman, his mayor, his congressman and his senators.

The number of respondents knowing their local officals was about double the number knowing their national representatives. Local officals are more widely known than national officals because of their closeness to the community and because their actions directly affect the lives of the local citizens. National officals on the other hand exert a more indirect influence on the local populace and for that reason are likely to be less widely known. Less than 30% of the respondents knew their national officals while almost 50% know their local officals.

Question 7--Knowledge of Political Officals

	Total responding	#knows	%knows	#doesn't know	%doesn't know
Councilman	989	490	49.55	499	50.45
Mayor	983	666	67.75	317	32.25
Congressman	982	223	22.61	759	77.39
Senators:					
Kefauver	982	278	28.32	704	71.68
Gore	987	195	19.76	792	80.24

The councilman was known by 49.55% of the respondents. This is a higher figure than for the national officials, but it is surprising that a much higher percentage of the people did not know him because he is a freshman councilman and the first Negro to be elected in that district. The councilman, John L. Driver, is a businessman in the community who operates a strategically located service station and drive-in restaurant which should expose him to much of the public. Another reason it is surprising that Driver is not known by nearly everyone in his district is that his electi n campaign was a heated one necessitating a run-off between him and a long-time female ward politician, Mrs. Mabel Suggs.

More people knew the may or was the most widely known official. It is understandable that the mayor is so widely known because of his position as chief executive office in the new government which is popular because it is a reform in terms of structure and also because the mayor himself is somewhat of a reformer, noted primarily for his fights against graft and vice. The mayor also gets a great deal of exposure to the public as a result of his name and picture appearing regularly in the newspaper and because of his weekly Sunday afternoon Television Show. The mayor was known b 67.75% of the respondents.

On the national level the late Senator Kefauver was most widely known even though he was known by slightly more than 28.4% of the respondents. Kefauver seemingly would be more widely known due to his long and illustrous political career. He was the man who beat the enemy's machine, who was famous for wearing a coonskin cap, and who was once a candidate for vice president of the United States.

Albert Gore, the other senator, was known by only 19.76% of the respondents.

Richard Fulton, the Congressman was known slightly more than Gore (22.61%). It was expected that more people would know him because in his campaign he promised to hire a Negro secretary and on being elected he became the first Southern Congressman to hire a Negro secretary.

Over all there seems to be a need to undertake a program to raise the level of awareness of national political officials in the Negro community, especially since so much vital civil rights legislation is currently before the Congress.

Register to Vote

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GOVERNMENT is YOUR BUSINESS

To VOTE in Tennessee:

YOU must be:

1. a citizen of the United States
2. 21 years of age or older, on or before the date of the next election (August, 1964)
3. a legal resident of Tennessee for one year
4. a resident of Davidson County for three ~~years~~ months
5. REGISTERED

How to REGISTER:

Register at least 30 days before the election

Once you are registered you need to re-register ONLY in case of:

1. change of name by marriage or otherwise
2. change of address
3. failure to vote in at least one general or primary election during 4 successive calendar years
4. loss of legal right to VOTE by court judgment

Where to REGISTER:

Register at the COURT HOUSE OFFICE OF THE ELECTION COMMISSION—Room 15, ground floor

It Costs Nothing to REGISTER

Register and qualify to VOTE

1. Register yourself
2. Get every member of your family 21 years and older to register
3. Get your neighbor, every member of your church, union, lodge, club, PTA to register

WHERE DO you VOTE?

You must VOTE in the precinct in which you are registered according to your legal address. The addresses of polling places are printed in the newspapers at election time.

WHEN CAN you VOTE?

Employees can legally receive up to 3 hours on election day from their employers for voting.

WHY VOTE?

Voting . . .

Makes it possible for you to help choose the local, state and federal officials who govern you—

Gives you a voice in determining:

- the kind of school YOUR children attend
- the kind of treatment YOU receive at the hands of the police
- the kind of justice YOU get in courts
- the kind of welfare service YOU can get for YOUR FAMILY in time of need
- the kind of hospital treatment YOU get when you are sick
- the kind of job YOUR CHILDREN can get with your city, state or country

Improve housing and neighborhood conditions such as streets, lighting, playgrounds and sanitation

If you fail to REGISTER you cannot VOTE

If You Are To Be Out Of The City

You may vote by absentee ballot

You may register by mail upon filing a sworn statement of the necessary information with the ELECTION COMMISSION

remember

VOTING LEADS TO ACTION!

REGISTER AND VOTE

■

REGISTER!

YOUR REGISTRATION APPOINTMENT

IS AT .....

ON .....

VOTE!

■

VOTER EDUCATION AND REGISTRATION PROJECT

sponsored by the

National Student Christian Federation and the Southern Region of the National Student YWCA

PHONE: 291-0634

YOU and your VOTE

FREEDOM

EQUALITY

OPPORTUNITY

FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP

CONTENTS of this PAMPHLET

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WHY READ THIS PAMPHLET

The purpose of this pamphlet is to inform you, as registered voters, of the power and responsibility of your vote. It explains what you should expect from your elected officials, what you can demand from them, and how you can make those demands heard.

YOUR METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

The new Nashville-Davidson County Metropolitan Government is an experiment in local government being watched throughout the nation. It combines the formerly separate county and city governments into one unit of operation with a new charter and new plans for expanding services to the community. The Metro government has complete or partial control over all of the following community services:

* *schools*
* *roads and streetlights*
* *garbage collection and sanitation*
* *buses and taxis*
* *creation of jobs*
* *regulation of taxes*
* *public power*
* *hospitals and public health facilities*
* *public welfare services*
* *police protection*
* *parks and recreation*

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HOW TO GET THE GOVERNMENT TO ACT

Many people feel that it is very difficult to get the government to act; consequently, when problems arise they never try to approach their elected officials to see what can be done. The truth, however, is this:

it is easy to get your representative in the local and national government to hear your complaints and to act!

Your mayor, your councilman, your congressional representative, your governor and your senators are all elected by the people and must be sensitive to what the people want.

In short:

they are looking for your vote!

HOW TO GET METRO TO ACT

It is easy to tell Metro what your community needs. To get Metro to pave a street in your neighborhood or to compel the Nashville Transit Authority, for example, to establish a route through your neighborhood you simply follow these easy steps.

* Write to your Councilman: Mr. John Driver
  1018 35th Ave., N.
  Nashville, Tenn.

* Tell him you are a registered voter and explain to him what you want done. (For example, state that you want more recreational facilities for your children).

* If you get other neighbors to sign the letter your councilman will act faster. "There is strength in numbers."

EXAMPLE OF A LETTER OF PETITION TO YOUR COUNCILMAN

Dear Councilman Driver:

We the undersigned are registered voters living in Councilmanic District 21.

We have for some time been inconvenienced by the lack of any good roads or sidewalks down Lena Street. Our children have to walk in the roads and the road is so poor that it is almost impossible to drive on it.

Since we are working people and must use these roads and sidewalks every day, we would like you to have Metro government repair and/or construct these facilities.

(name and address) *(name and address)*

This is just a sample letter. You need not worry about whether the letter is worded fancy or whether the words are spelled correctly. Your councilman should act anyway.

If you are unsure about the authority of the government to do something, ask your councilman. He is YOUR paid representative and HE IS PAID TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS!

HOW TO GET YOUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO ACT

To get the national government to act you should write your congressman *Richard Fulton* and your senators *Albert Gore* and *Estes Kefauver*. Tell your senators and congressman what you want done.

Also, if a bill is before Congress and you want your congressman or senators to vote for it or to vote against it tell them so.

Remember:

The more neighbors and friends that you can get to write similar letters, the greater are your chances of success. Remember to tell your senators and congressman that you are REGISTERED TO VOTE.

HOW YOU VOTE

REGISTERED CITIZENS MAY VOTE

* You must register at least 30 days before an election.

* Register at the Court House Office, Room 15, ground floor. Hours are 8-4, Monday through Friday.

* 45 days before an election the registration office will be opened on Saturdays and some evenings, in addition to the regular hours. Extra registration booths will be set up and you can check your newspaper for specific hours and locations. But don't forget: *You must be registered at least 30 days before an election!*

WHERE TO VOTE

The precinct lines which determine where you vote are being redrawn. Most of you who voted at Hadley Park will continue to vote there under the new Metro government. *Check your newspaper before an election for the exact location of your poll!*

WHEN TO VOTE

Employers are required by law to give employees up to three hours to vote on election day.

HOW TO VOTE

A model voting machine or a large diagram will be available at the polls to teach citizens how to use a voting machine. Most voting machines have a panel with levers which you

pull for particular candidates or the party of your choice.

Ask for instruction and for an opportunity to fill out a sample ballot before entering the voting booth. *The attendants are there to help you--DO NOT BE AFRAID TO ASK QUESTIONS!*

IF YOU WILL BE OUT OF THE CITY:

Notify the Court House Office not more than 40 nor less than 5 days before an election. They will send you a ballot which you can use to vote by mail.

Many people tend to think of politics as something beyond their control and politicians as "being full of promises but never really doing anything."

* Yet *how many of us,* after an election is over, check up on these men who we have elected and see if they are sticking to their promises (whether we voted for them or not)?
* *How many of us* write and offer our suggestions or remind them of their duties to every citizen?
* And *how many of us* use our vote as a just power in influencing politicians to act for us?

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MEN IN YOUR GOVERNMENT:
MEN WHO SHOULD BE ACTING FOR YOU!

GOVERNOR: *Frank Clement,* Democrat, is Governor of Tennessee. He went into office November, 1962, and his term expires November, 1966. He has served as governor before. In campaigning this time he "stood on his record" in regard to Civil Rights, pointing to Clinton

Tennessee where he called in the National Guard to enforce desegregation of a school.

He has promised a number of times to form a human relations commission for Tennessee, but at the writing of this, the commission has still not been formed. In some instances, where pressure has been brought, he has acted for Civil Rights.

You can write him at the following address:

Governor Clement
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee

MAYOR: *Beverly Briley*, Democrat, is Mayor of Metropolitan Nashville. He went into office in 1962, and his term expires in 1966. Prior to this, Briley was a County Judge. In his campaign he made no civil rights promises and ran as the more conservative candidate. Since being in office, however, he has formed a city bi-racial committee and has given some Negroes positions on city council boards. His address is:

Mayor Beverly Briley
Court House
Nashville, Tennessee

CITY COUNCILMAN: *John Driver*, Democrat, is Representative on the City Council for District 21. He went into office this April, and his term expires in 1967. This is Driver's first venture into politics. He is and has been a businessman in the community. In his campaign he emphasized better schools and streets, more and better paying jobs, increase in teachers' pay, and clean economical government. There have been community improvements. However, it is still too early in his administration to make an overall judgment.

Mr. Driver serves on four committees in the city council. They are:

* health, hospitals and welfare
* highways, traffic and parking
* planning and urban renewal
* aviation

Mr. Driver's home address and business address are:

Councilman John Driver
1018 35th Ave., N. *or* *Shell Service*
Nashville, Tenn. *28th and Jefferson*

The best way to decide whether your elected official is doing a good job is to check his voting record on issues that concern you. Just as a man's actions speak louder than his words, the way your congressman or senators vote on different bills is going to speak louder than any campaign promise. The CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, or a good local newspaper can provide this information.

HOW HAVE YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS VOTED?

YOUR CONGRESSMAN: Richard Fulton was elected in November, 1962, and his term expires in November, 1964. So far Fulton has not had the opportunity to vote on any important bills in the area of civil rights, employment, and health, education and welfare.

Because he is a "liberal" Democrat, it is hoped that he will vote for President Kennedy*s proposals in these areas. Nashville newspapers will carry accounts of how he has voted when important bills come up. Besure to follow Fulton's actions closely between now and his time for re-election.

YOUR SENATORS: Estes Kefauver was reelected to the Senate in November, 1960, and his term expires in November, 1966. He is a Democrat.

Albert Gore was reelected to the Senate in November, 1958, and his term runs out in November 1964. Gore is also a Democrat.

THEIR VOTING RECORD IN MAJOR AREA OF LEGISLATION

CIVIL RIGHTS

The most important forms which civil rights legislation has taken under Kennedy has been:

* measures to limit use of the filibuster (when a minority of the senators, usually Southern senators, try to kill a bill they oppose by talking about it endlessly). The filibuster is most often used against civil rights legislation.
* attempts to withhold federal funds from public accomodations which discriminate on the basis of race in any of their facilities (for example, withhold money from segregated schools and hospitals); and to increase national government action in situations where discrimination is most likely to occur (for example, in registration and voting).

But what have your senators done about these things? Are they for you or against you?

* Both GORE and KEFAUVER voted AGAINST STOPPING the FILIBUSTER in 1962. In 1963, however Gore supported the effort to cut off debate.
* Both senators are generally against putting restrictions on the use of government money by public facilities. This is because Southern politicians as a whole are afraid of increased "interference" on the part of

the national government, and would like to decrease rather than increase its role in almost every field.

* Both men did vote to continue the Civil Rights Commission and end poll taxes in federal elections.

EMPLOYMENT

* Supported Kennedy's Fair Labor Standards Ammendment of 1961 which added 15¢ and 4 1/2 million workers to the old bill's coverage.

* Both voted for a training program for unemployed workers. 1961 and 1962 measures.
* Kefauver in 1961 co-sponsored a bill to ease unemployment where crisis economic conditions existed.

HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

* Both voted for Public Works Act of 1962.
* Both supported the creation of an Urban Affairs Housing Department at the Cabinet level.
* Both Senators have introduced legislation in this area with specific concern for *hospitals, *health services for the aged; *scholarships for students of medicine and public health; * the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency; *and the expansion of public loan programs.

Senators Kefauver and Gore are in Washington to serve the registered voters of Tennessee. They are paid from your taxes. Check up on their performances by reading your newspapers. If what they are doing pleases or displeases you, let them know. If you want them to vote FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, WRITE THEM TO DO SO!

Their address is SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

AIDS TO BECOMING BETTER INFORMED CITIZENS

* Watch Mayor Briley's show, Ask the Mayor, Sunday night, 10:15, WLAC-TV, Channel 5, on which the Mayor answers questions about the new Metro government.

* Watch news programs and reports on world affairs always listed ahead of tim in the paper.

* Watch for information from the Davidson County Independent Political Council--it is helpful and important.

* Attend the community meetings with Councilman Driver at Hadley Park center the third Wednesday of each month at 8:00 p.m.

* Join an organization such as the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, all of which are working hard on the problem of gaining first class citizenship for Negroes.

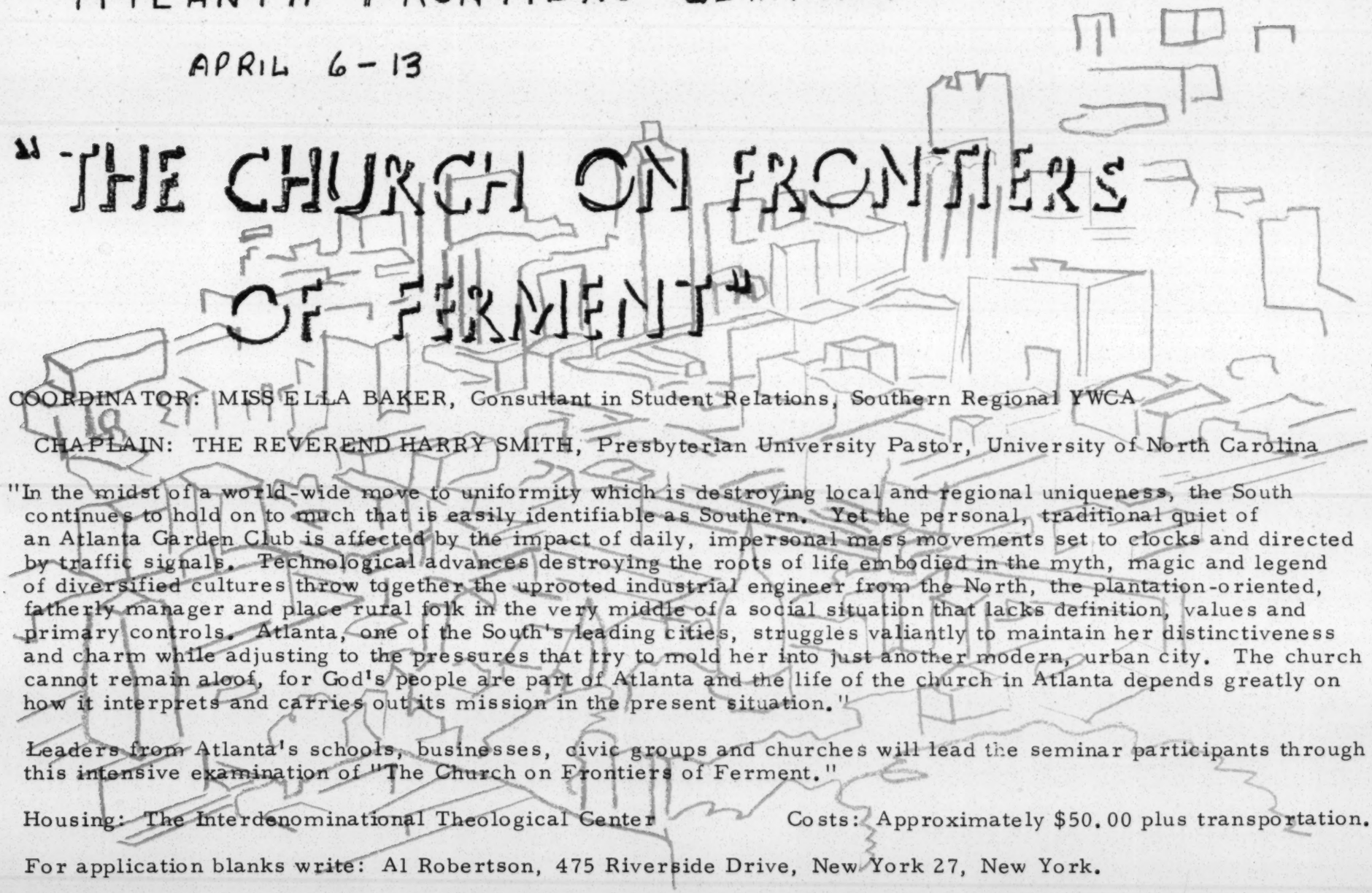
!oooooooooooooooooooo

This pamphlet has been published by the Nashville Voter Education and Registration Project; a project sponsored by the National Student Christian Federation and the National Student YWCA. The participants in the project are thirteen students from throughout the United States who have worked as an integrated group towards the goal of voter education and registration.

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION → LWD

ATLANTA FRONTIERS SEMINAR

APRIL 6-13



"THE CHURCH ON FRONTIERS OF FERMENT"

COORDINATOR: MISS ELLA BAKER, Consultant in Student Relations, Southern Regional YWCA

CHAPLAIN: THE REVEREND HARRY SMITH, Presbyterian University Pastor, University of North Carolina

"In the midst of a world-wide move to uniformity which is destroying local and regional uniqueness, the South continues to hold on to much that is easily identifiable as Southern. Yet the personal, traditional quiet of an Atlanta Garden Club is affected by the impact of daily, impersonal mass movements set to clocks and directed by traffic signals. Technological advances destroying the roots of life embodied in the myth, magic and legend of diversified cultures throw together the uprooted industrial engineer from the North, the plantation-oriented, fatherly manager and place rural folk in the very middle of a social situation that lacks definition, values and primary controls. Atlanta, one of the South's leading cities, struggles valiantly to maintain her distinctiveness and charm while adjusting to the pressures that try to mold her into just another modern, urban city. The church cannot remain aloof, for God's people are part of Atlanta and the life of the church in Atlanta depends greatly on how it interprets and carries out its mission in the present situation."

Leaders from Atlanta's schools, businesses, civic groups and churches will lead the seminar participants through this intensive examination of "The Church on Frontiers of Ferment."

Housing: The Interdenominational Theological Center

Costs: Approximately $50.00 plus transportation.

For application blanks write: Al Robertson, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

Granger

July 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO LESTER B. GRANGER, Executive Secretary, National Urban League

FROM GUY B. JOHNSON, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(1). The Southern Regional Council is a voluntary organization. Membership is on an individual basis, but many members are heads of institutions or organizations. We try to get a wide range of occupational representation. Since we began operation as an organized body only six months ago and have been busy with organizational details, we are just beginning to expand our membership. We have at present about 350 members, but we expect to have about 1,000 before the year is out. For further information on membership and structure, see Part II, page 5 of the Southern Regional Council Pamphlet No. 1.

(2). Our overall program is, of course, broader than the problem of race relations, but we realize that every major Southern problem is definitely intertwined with the race problem. Our specific interests for the near future are the following:

(a) To promote the observance of the letter and spirit of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case.

(b) To stimulate state and local interest and action in the problem of planning for interracial justice and peace in the post-war period.

(c) To promote a greater measure of fairness in employment practices in the South in the post-war era.

(d) To initiate studies and recommendations on fair standards of wages and hours in the field of household employment.

(e) To develop studies, conferences, and a handbook on the relation of the police to interracial problems.

For further points, see Part III, page 6 of the SRC Pamphlet No. 1.

(3). Our By-laws provide for an annual meeting of members. This meeting will take place on the second Wednesday of October. Since we have had no member meeting except the charter meeting, we can not say what proportion of our membership attends. We have a Board of Directors which will meet at the same time as the annual meeting of members, but which may hold as many other regular or special meetings as it desires. We also have an Executive Committee which meets on call of the chairman or of any three Committee members, and which, of course, serves as the planning and advisory group in the intervals between member or Board meetings. For composition of the Board of Directors, see Appendix G of the pamphlet. The Executive Committee is composed of the officers listed

on page 20 of the pamphlet, plus the following elected members: Charles S. Johnson, Chairman, Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Rufus E. Clement, Leonard Haas, Gordon B. Hancock, Msgr. T. James McNamara, and Josephine Wilkins. Other Committees of the Council are Membership, Publications, Finance, Fellows, and Public Relations.

(4) We have a working budget and a paid staff. Our income is derived from membership dues and contributions, foundation grants, and gifts from various organized bodies, particularly church groups.

(5) Our Council is definitely concerned over "racial tension." In the short time that we have been operating, we have tried in a broad way to relieve tensions. For example, just before the Alabama and Florida primaries, we issued a resolution which had been adopted unanimously by the Board of Directors condemning the race-baiting which was being used in political campaigns. (For the text of this resolution, see the SOUTHERN FRONTIER of May, 1944.) Working quietly with other organizations and with individuals, we have stimulated a number of public statements, feature articles, editorials, open letters, etc., which are calculated to lift the morale of liberal and progressive people in the South.

(6) Since we are still very young, we can not point to very many definite accomplishments as yet. However, we are on the way. In addition to the sort of thing which I pointed out under (5), we have been concerned with the revitalization of existing state or local interracial groups, and have encouraged the formation of new groups which are interested in human relations, democracy, etc. We have been successful in cultivating friendly relations with numerous organizations and agencies such as the liberal church groups in the South, the Urban League, the NAACP, the Associated Press, TIME and LIFE, etc. I might add that we did some intensive work to prevent race friction on the occasion of the July 4 primary in Georgia. There was a great deal of tension built up, particularly in Atlanta. We kept out of the limelight, but we worked hard to get some constructive things in the newspapers and at getting the "right people" to use some personal influence where it would do the most good. We are positive that our efforts were in large measure responsible for the fact that there were no incidents on July 4. Of course, a part of the success of this sort of technique lay in our willingness to keep in the background, so if you use this Atlanta dope in your article, use it in a general way as an example of a technique. I am sure that at this stage of the game, certain people who were influenced could not have been influenced as easily if we, as an organization, had been making a direct approach.

July 26, 1944

Mr. Lester B. Granger
Executive Secretary
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Granger:

Thank you for your request for certain information concerning the Southern Regional Council for use in the article which you are preparing for the SURVEY GRAPHIC. The enclosed memorandum will, I hope, serve your purposes. I am sending under separate cover a copy of our pamphlet entitled "The Southern Regional Council, Its Origin and Purpose," and some other material which might be of use to you in the preparation of your article. If you need any additional information, do not hesitate to call on me.

I am sorry that I could not be at the Fisk Institute of Race Relations at the same time you were there. Dr. Alexander, who was here for a committee meeting last Saturday, reported that you made an outstanding contribution to the Institute.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure
Separate cover

No. 1, May and June Frontiers,
White Primary, Sibley, Common Ground reprint,
I Never Knowed.

m
7/26/44

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY Room 826 NEW YORK CITY

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EUGENE KINCKLE JONES
General Secretary

LESTER B. GRANGER
Executive Secretary

July 17, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Doctor Johnson:

I have been asked by the SURVEY GRAPHIC to prepare for its fall issue an article on national developments in the field of race relations, giving a critical evaluation of the numerous approaches being made to this important problem. I am anxious, of course, to give as complete coverage as possible to the work of the various interracial committees engaged in such activity. In this connection, I am seeking your assistance.

Would you be good enough to let me have a statement on your committee giving as much of the following information as may be applicable to its organization and program:

1. From whom is the authority of your committee derived, e.g., was it appointed by a public official or is it a voluntary association of individuals? If the latter is true, do the members represent various organizations or do they serve as individuals?

2. Do you have a specific program outlined with objectives and techniques for achieving these objectives, or do you merely "hold a watching brief" for the state of race relations? If the latter is true, are you organized so as to take official action in case of "incidents"? What form would such action take?

3. How often do you meet? What proportion of the membership attends? Do you have an executive committee or any central planning group, or are all meetings of the entire membership?

4. Do you have a working budget or paid staff? If not, has any professional personnel been loaned to your committee by other organizations or agencies?

5. Is your committee concerned over "racial tension"? If so, what definite steps have been taken to relieve tensions?

6. Can you relate any definite accomplishments that may be listed to the credit of your committee during the past year?

If you have any additional facts, statistics or reports which you wish to send along to supplement your statement, I shall be ever so happy to have them.

The article is due early in September. I should be grateful, therefore, if you could let me have this information by the 15th of August.

I shall be deeply appreciative of your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Lester B. Granger

LBG/y

Lester B. Granger
Executive Secretary
National Urban League

COPY FOR DR. REID

September 29, 1944

Mr. Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary
National Urban League
1133 Broadway, Room 826
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Granger:

Some time ago the New York Times carried a story of the National Urban League's proposed community project to help improve race relations and avoid postwar conflict in industrial centers. We noted that the initial plan called for demonstration in five urban areas with a possible final coverage of thirty industrial areas. I am writing to commend to the national agencies sponsoring this study the necessity for conducting one of these long range projects in a Southern city.

All of the agencies at work in this region are aware of the necessity for a specialized job in the field of the project's interest. Certainly, if the project's emphasis is to be placed upon eliminating "racial friction from postwar reconversion and redevelopment programs" there is need for doing such a demonstration in the South where race relations are tautest and where the industrial reconversion program may be more drastic. Furthermore, the South has a much larger percentage of war facility contracts than other regions. This fact in itself bespeaks the need for some special study or action.

In view of these facts, as well as our interest in the matter, would the National Urban League be willing to include in its initial study such an industrial center as Birmingham, Alabama? Would it consider working on this problem in one of the following areas: New Orleans, Louisiana; Charleston, South Carolina; Houston, Texas; Memphis, Tennessee; or Atlanta, Georgia? The Southern Regional Council is willing to cooperate with the agencies in making such a study effective in this region. Meanwhile, I shall be pleased to have your reaction to this suggestion.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Copies to: Mr. W. Y. Bell and Mr. Jackson Davis

NEW GROUP TO EASE NEGRO'S PROBLEMS

N.Y. Times 8/28/44

Will Organize Local Leaders in Five Demonstration Cities to Remove Racial Tension

The National Urban League announced yesterday from its headquarters, 1133 Broadway, the start of a new community project to help improve race relations and avoid post-war racial conflict. Financed by the General Education Board, the project is one of the league's efforts to eliminate racial friction from post-war reconversion and redevelopment programs of American industrial centers.

Five demonstration cities will be selected in the Midwest and East in which local leaders will be organized for removal of racial tension by eliminating its causes. As the project develops, its findings and results will be shared with leaders in other cities that are faced by signs of rising racial disturbance.

A number of other national agencies with local contacts in the cities studied will be associated with the Urban League in the project. Among the organizations invited to cooperate are the Boy Scouts of America, Child Welfare League, Family Welfare Association, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, National Committee on Housing, National Federation of Settlements, and National Tuberculosis Association. An advisory committee, representing participating agencies, will be headed by Mrs. Alfred H. Schoellkopf, treasurer of the National Urban League.

Supervisors of Project Named

The project will be supervised and administered by Warren M. Banner, director of research and community projects for the league, and William H. Dean, Professor of Sociology at Atlanta University.

A professional staff assisting in the project will include specialists in employment, housing, health, recreation and group work and family and child care. These specialists will give advisory service in each community, guided by analyses of social and economic conditions already prepared by an advance research staff. Studies will be made upon invitation of local social work and inter-racial leaders, who also will assume responsibility for carrying out recommendations of the visiting specialists. The project is intended to demonstrate the responsibility and opportunity of organized social work in improving race relations and adjusting Negro newcomers in the life of the community.

Though only five cities have been chosen for intensive work during the first year of the project, the National Urban League plans to continue its program until at least thirty industrial centers have been covered.

Value of Project Stressed

The importance of the project was emphasized in a statement made to the General Education Board by William H. Baldwin, president of the National Urban League, in which he declared:

"Approximately 600,000 Negroes have been included in the migration of war workers from rural to urban and from Southern to Northern areas. Their entry into these areas has been accompanied by rising signs of community hostility against their presence. Community leadership has been unprepared both from the standpoint of emotional attitudes and from that of community facilities to welcome and adjust the Negro increases. A significant factor, also, is the hysteria which the community experiences because of the uncertainty and stress of war. Most of these racial problems can be traced directly back to lack of planning for housing, health, recreation, child care and education of Negro newcomers. In general, all of these problems result from an absence of instructed and intelligently organized community leadership."

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES FOR THE YEAR 1944

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The Third Full Year of War

The year 1944 was a year of important developments in race relations. Premature hopes of early victory in the European war faded as Germany dug in to protect her "inner fortress". A drift of workers from war industries to seek peacetime jobs with greater security was strongly condemned by national spokesmen. In a revulsion of public opinion against the disastrous race riots of 1943, hundreds of American communities organized official or unofficial committees to promote better race relations and public morale. The year also witnessed further closing of the gap between an effective "all-out" war program and participation of Negro citizens in that program.

An Important American Movement

In all of these developments, the National Urban League further justified its position as an important American movement - a war-service agency linking the welfare of Negroes to that of the whole American people, and integrating the efforts of Negro citizens into the total victory program.

The League has been even more than this. It is a constant and impressive demonstration of the fact that without thought of selfish group interests Negro and white Americans not only can, but do work together for the "common good of our common city, our common country". In the League's national headquarters, and in fifty cities of the country, there are more than two thousand active members of Urban League boards and committees attacking problems of employment, housing, health, recreation, education and racial tension. The number of full-time employed staff members has risen to three hundred - thirty of them in the national office. A sum of $100,000 expended by the National Office in 1944 was supplemented by an additional $700,000 expended by local Leagues.

How the Money was Spent

How was this money spent? What definite results have come from the organized activities of these thousands of public-spirited citizens? A detailed report is too long even for our formal printed report which will appear early in 1945. This summary points to only a few of the highlights of the 1944 program.

National staff and board members travelled far and wide over the country. They visited war industry communities, investigated problem situations, sat in conferences with local leadership, made recommendations involving improvement of governmental services and social welfare programs. They advised on policies and programs in race relations, assisted management representatives in war plants and spokesmen for labor groups in those same plants in disposing of vexatious racial questions.

Working with Government

There was steady travel and extensive correspondence between the National Office and Washington, D. C. Heads of federal war agencies acknowledged the value of Urban League advice and turned to the League for support in order to develop the utmost cooperation between Government and Negro citizens during a time of national emergency. Out of these conferences came the commissioning of Negro specialists by the War

Department in its Industrial Personnel Division and in its Separation and Classification Centers. There was special indoctrination of Army guidance counselors to insure the best possible advice for Negro soldiers about to be separated from the armed services and returned to civilian life. Much of the League's printed material has been used by army officials in developing this training program. The Office of Price Administration has several times mentioned outstanding service rendered by the League in the fight against black markets and inflation. The National Housing Agency, the Fair Employment Practice Committee, the Selective Service Bureau and the War Emergency Commission have also received and warmly acknowledged the League's advisory and cooperating services.

Working in War Industry

In two thousand war plants distributed throughout the country, League staff members have worked for the unrestricted use of Negro workers at their fullest possible skills. The Industrial Relations Laboratory of the National Urban League concentrated on three hundred of these plants in which more than 150,000 Negro workers are employed. Located in twenty-five states and 102 cities, these plants furnish a true sample of war industry.

National field staff have visited and corresponded with plant management, labor leadership and the Negro workers themselves in these "Laboratory plants". Racial problems have been ironed out, often as soon as they appear. The performance of Negro labor has been improved because of advice on personnel policies and in-plant situations. From among these three hundred employers, written commitments from 247 indicate continued post-war employment of Negroes at skilled and semi-skilled jobs. In only eleven plants has management reported unsatisfactory experience with Negro workers, and from only twenty-two have reports come of serious racial difficulties. The Industrial Relations Laboratory project, made possible through a grant by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, is the first case of its kind in American industrial history. Its findings stand as an authentic report, verified by industrial management itself, on the successful use of Negro workers and their outstanding contribution to production-for-victory.

Social Statesmanship in Community Relations

Social pioneering, such as this, has always been a characteristic of the Urban League program, and this period of wartime change has stimulated similar efforts in other fields. A grant from the General Education Board has made possible another planning project - this one in the field of community relations. With the cooperation of twelve other national social service agencies, the National Urban League has chosen certain war industry centers in which racial tensions and other social problems have resulted from the migration of Negro workers and from failure to provide for their social needs.

Into these communities the League is sending staffs of survey and consultant specialists. Community studies are carried on to reveal the causes and extent of social maladjustments. Interracial and social service committees are formed to help devise plans and recommendations for the removal of these problems. Specialists in such fields as employment, housing, health, recreation, and family service remain behind to assist local leadership in carrying the recommendations out.

As each community is studied and progress made toward correction of problem situations, the findings are shared with other industrial centers similarly plagued by racial problems. The importance of this project can best be measured by remembering the bloody and costly race riots that followed the last World War in such cities as Chicago and East St. Louis, Illinois, and even in Washington, D. C. Here again, the Urban League has established a "first" in social planning and community organization.

Building Public Opinion

The League's attention has also been turned towards the great opinion makers of the country - national radio networks, important metropolitan newspapers, the Negro weekly press, journals of scientific and professional interest and the League's own special publications. Through all of these channels the League constantly emphasizes the urgent necessity of interracial cooperation toward winning the war and solving the problems of racial inequality. For the second consecutive year "Victory Through Unity Week" was set aside by Governors of a number of states and Mayors of numerous cities in observance of the National Urban League's Annual Conference. Messages from the President of the United States and the Governors matched by equally strong statements made by leaders of American industry, organized labor, and governmental departments constituted another powerful factor affecting public opinion on war-time race relations.

The Southern Field

The racial trouble center of the nation - the Deep South - has steadily shifted northward as large numbers of Negroes and whites from southern areas have migrated into border states and northern industrial communities. Urban League action has been aimed not only at protecting democratic standards in northern areas but also at ameliorating conditions and removing causes of racial conflict in the Deep South itself. The Southern Field Division of the National Urban League has been reorganized, and the results of that reorganization have already been seen in the establishment of the first Urban League in the State of Texas in Fort Worth.

New Leagues and Service Councils

Not only in the South, but also throughout the country, there has been a call for increased guidance and service from the League movement. As the result of those calls, new Urban Leagues have been established in points as far separated as Elizabeth, New Jersey; Portland, Oregon; Phoenix, Arizona; as well as Fort Worth, Texas. Urban League organizing committees are now busy in half a dozen other industrial centers. In other cities not yet ready for formal Urban League affiliation, Service Councils have been established as volunteer interracial groups which carry on in the Urban League tradition under guidance from our field staff.

. . . . .

Problems and Plans for 1945

The year 1945 promises no let-up in the responsibilities placed upon League leadership. As more and more citizens of both races become aware of the importance of League service, the number and urgency of additional calls for advice and assistance steadily rise. These calls will continuously increase as the closing war effort becomes more extreme. Splits will grow between special

interest groups, racial conflict will threaten more and more frequently, demobilization and reconstruction plans for the post-war period will lay a heavy accent upon the factor of race. Whether Negro workers remain in their new homes and seek to retain industrial employment, or whether they re-migrate back to the areas from which they came in such large numbers, this Negro group of demobilized industrial veterans will require guidance, support and inspiration. The return of discharged service men, already in process, will swell by the thousands and hundreds of thousands. Problems of re-employment, adjustment to civilian status, reorganization of permanent family life, rehabilitation of the handicapped - these are only a few of the problems in which Urban League leadership will be badly needed. There must be, and there will be no lessening of League activity. There must be no weakening of League influence.

A Larger Budget for a Bigger Job

All of this calls for financial expenditures greatly exceeding those of 1944. The past year has called for the largest budget in the League's history, simply because the job which the League has undertaken is the biggest in our entire experience. The job ahead will progressively increase and until that job is completed we will not desist from our task. During 1944, we spent approximately $100,000 - every dollar of which yielded inestimable dividend. Our budget for 1945 is set at $152,000 - a minimum figure in view of the needs to be served. We ask for support of every member and friend of the National Urban League in making 1945 a year of unparalleled service to the Nation and one of fulfilled opportunity for interracial betterment.

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file -

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY Room 826 NEW YORK CITY

EUGENE KINCKLE JONES
General Secretary

TELEPHONES: CHELSEA 3-1838-39

LESTER B. GRANGER
Executive Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
Alphonse Heningburg—Director

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January 8, 1945

My dear Doctor Johnson:

The current issue of OPPORTUNITY, Journal of Negro Life, presents an accurate, comprehensive account of the Negro in the Armed Forces of this Nation. This is the most complete account now available on the contributions made by almost a million Negro men and women to the prosecution of the war. Profusely illustrated, this issue of OPPORTUNITY presents a clear-cut, attractive picture which will be interesting to all who wish to keep abreast of important activities on the American scene.

In order to promote as wide reading as possible of this important material, we have prepared a fly-leaf which we are asking a number of organizations to distribute through their regular channels. A copy of the fly-leaf is attached to this letter.

Will you be good enough to let me know as soon as you can, how many of these you would like to have sent to your desk in order that you may supply them to interested persons or organizations on your regular mailing list? We are in position to send these to you in whatever quantity you may wish to have them.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Heningburg

Alphonse Heningburg, Director
Department of Public Education.

Dr. Guy Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

SRJ - ordered 3500 of these for distribution

Nat'l Urban League

PLANNING FOR VETERANS IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

By Julius A. Thomas
Director, Department of Industrial Relations
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N. Y.

To what extent are American communities preparing for the return of some 8,000,000 service men and women to civilian life? This important question is raised primarily to emphasize an equally important fact. Mainly, readjustment for the vast majority of veterans means returning to St. Paul, or Buffalo, or Birmingham, where family and relatives live. It means getting a job, finding a house, and re-establishing community relationships, returning to school, and a hundred other things that identify people with their immediate environment. How, then, should communities plan so that the veteran's task can be simplified? What resources in the community should be lined up behind the over-all program of veterans' services?

It is probably too early to evaluate such progress as has been noted in this connection, but it is clearly evident that there are many different plans - some good and others not so good. For example, in one midwestern city, the Civilian Defense organization has taken over the problems of returning veterans, thus excluding many other agencies whose services will eventually be needed. In still another town, a battle royal is raging over the selection of the appropriate organization to coordinate services for veterans. It is reported that sharps and slickers in some communities are angling for control of certain services and preparing to "take 'em for a ride" as soon as they get back. Perhaps the most pathetic situation to be observed is the unorganized community in which every public-spirited group has singled out a certain kind of veteran for special attention. In these towns, we may expect the veteran to be literally "torn to

Industrial Press [illegible]

Frank Austin
To see Sec. for job
was NLB - Veterans
Ch of Comm.

Red Cross
Boy
Octavia
was in
Navy
Reference
Health
Vocational

pieces" before he is readjusted or rehabilitated. Undoubtedly, a number of groups and organizations, motivated by sincere desires to help and spurred by a sense of patriotic responsibility, are at this moment making plans to aid veterans when they return. A few suggestions may, therefore, serve a useful purpose.

To begin with, it will be an unfortunate occurrence if, in our zeal to help, we overlook certain fundamentals. The majority of veterans don't want to talk too much about their war experiences. Neither are they too anxious to be lionized as heroes. They would prefer forgetting much of the horrible nightmare from which they have only partially awakened. This will be especially true of wounded veterans.

From the most reliable sources of information about veterans' post-war plans, their chief concern seems to be returning to a job. The possibility that there will not be enough jobs appears to be the most disturbing prospect when the war is over. It would seem, therefore, that every community should be planning now for jobs. This means that employer groups, business leaders, government agencies, labor groups, social work organizations and other interested groups should thoroughly examine community resources that may afford work opportunities. G. I. Joe will appreciate this bit of help and he will remember it long after the big public reception that was given in his honor.

Another important service the veteran will need is related to one of the nation's most pressing problems - housing. Few communities have adequate housing even before the veteran returns. That this problem will be accentuated after the war is almost certain. The up-and-doing community that plans for the construction of substantial moderately priced houses that can be purchased by veterans will be performing a real service.

The Veterans Administration and its related agencies will be expected to assist veterans with many of their problems. The quality of this service is, therefore, very important since local offices will become the point of actual contact with veterans. Community groups may well interest themselves in certain aspects of the establishment of these agencies. Close cooperation between these official or public agencies and voluntary or private agencies will be both desirable and necessary. Among other things, this kind of teamwork can eliminate a number of headaches when there are differences of opinion as to who does what. Veterans have already complained that they are "referred" too often and to too many places because they were given incorrect information about the agency which was expected to assist them. Some communities are successfully meeting this problem by establishing "one-stop" Veterans' Information Centers. This procedure cannot be too strongly recommended.

It is almost impossible to complete any discussion of broad social or public programs without some pointed comments regarding the participation of Negroes. There is no other justification for them, except the fact that America has thought bi-racially and lived bi-racially so long that it is difficult to plan without racial bi-focals. Of course, Negro veterans will require and are entitled to exactly the same services and assistance that other veterans are expecting. Is there any reason to feel that the factor of race will affect adversely the Negro veteran's chances for getting these services on a fair and impartial manner? To answer this question affirmatively is not a pleasant task, but in the light of past experiences, one must be realistic. It is highly probable that in many communities, the needs of Negro veterans will not be satisfactorily met unless there is better planning than is evident at this point.

Take the matter of employment, for example. Is there any reason to believe many employers will continue their war-time employment policies once the war is won and government regulations are relaxed? Does anyone believe the average community will change its attitudes and practices in the matter of renting or selling houses to Negro veterans? Have you heard any restaurant or theater operator say he will change his discriminatory business practices when the war is over? These are but a few of the community problems that must be faced and solved before we can truthfully say we are planning to receive our returning heroes. Has your community tackled them?

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For release: February 28, 1945.

This is the fifth in a series of articles prepared by the National Urban League.

Negro Press

Nat'l Urban League

FOR RELEASE: Wednesday Morning Papers
March 14, 1945

Address of

BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANK T. HINES

Administrator of Veterans' Affairs
and
Administrator of Retraining and Reemployment

before the Forum
"PLANNING NOW FOR JOBS AHEAD"
sponsored by the
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

New York Times Hall Tuesday Evening, March 13, 1945

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VETERANS' EMPLOYMENT

I am pleased to take part in this Forum because I have always been a firm believer in the adage that "The Lord helps those who help themselves." That has been the policy of the National Urban League and I congratulate you for taking definite, affirmative and positive steps to solve the problems with which you have charged yourself. I have studied many of your reports. I am acquainted with your purposes and your work. I have observed that you offer no remedy until you have made a thorough study of the problem. This is always an honest approach, and I hope that the work of your organization will continue to be as productive of the good results you seek as your splendid efforts deserve.

For almost a quarter of a century as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, it has been my privilege as well as my official responsibility to carry out the laws of the Nation as they provide various rights, benefits and privileges for former members of the military and naval forces of the United States and for their dependents and survivors. No distinction has ever been made by that Administration between veterans because of race, color or creed. This is, of course, as it should be. It is one of the things for which America is now fighting. Indeed, any distinction between veterans, or between any citizens, veterans or non-veterans, in face of the glorious record of achievement recorded by fighting men of all creeds and colors, would be not only a betrayal of our trust, but a desecration of the graves of those who died that tolerance and freedom of opportunity might be forever established as a fundamental precept in the life of our Nation. One cannot know contemporary history, one cannot read the story of our troops in the present war, one cannot visualize the look of dismay, surprise and defeat on the faces of the Nazi "supermen" in Italy when, having chosen our colored regiments as "easy pickings", they suddenly found themselves engulfed in a maelstrom of death and destruction, without a feeling that to deny equal opportunity to all is to deny truth itself. It is, therefore, only from an abundance of caution, and not from a question of right or justice, that we study the future employment problem of the Negro.

In order to understand the problem of tomorrow, it is necessary to think back on the situation as it was yesterday, and as it is today. It is estimated that after the war there will be a Negro veteran load of

at least a million men and women to be served in our reemployment problem. The records of the Selective Service System indicate that the percentage of Negroes deferred as occupying essential jobs in industry jumped in three years from .7 of 1 percent to 4.4 percent. Those deferred as occupying essential jobs, important to our national health, safety and interest, jumped in three years from 1.5 percent to 5.2 percent.

One of the significant changes that has taken place in the character of Negro employment is in its shift from the farm to industry. About 13 percent of Negro labor left the farm, and about the same percentage entered industry. This increased volume of employment in industry is significant, but even more significant than the volume is the fact that this increase represents, to a large extent, labor which in three years has been upgraded so that now it is a part of the skilled and trained service in the various mechanical, commercial and industrial fields of endeavor.

Negro employment in government has increased from 60,000 to 273,000 from 1940 to 1944. More than 4,000 Negro women, many of them officers, are now in the Army and the Navy.

The upgrading of the Negro in all fields of employment was due first, to the opportunities presented because of war's necessities, and secondly, because of the ability of those men and women to seize upon and take advantage of the opportunities presented. Those who would bar further progress in this direction and those who would attempt to wipe out the gains already made, would outrage not only our sense of justice and our appreciation of a task well done, but would deny to postwar America a live, potent force, capable of a very substantial contribution to successful conversion

from a war to a peacetime economy. Speaking now as a veteran, as well as in my official capacity, and bespeaking, I am sure, the feeling of all veterans, it is my hope that American industry which appears so well satisfied with the performance of Negro labor in war time, will continue its employment policy in time of peace.

One of the important factors to be considered in connection with the postwar employment of the Negro veteran is that of the experience and training acquired by him in the armed forces. In the Army and the Navy, in the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard, the Negro has displayed great courage, valor and heroism as a fighting man on land, on sea, and in the air.

In addition to his skill as a fighting man, the Negro has acquired many skills which have their counterpart in civil life. At the Separation Centers, before these men are returned to civil life, they are advised of the civilian occupations which are the equivalent of the activities in which they were engaged in various military capacities. It is normal, therefore, that these men should seek employment where they can utilize those skills. This is a right which should not be denied them.

In many cases those men who left the farm to enter upon military service may not wish to return to farm life. They may seek employment in industry and may attempt to establish themselves in industrial centers, which under normal conditions, cannot absorb them either in employment or in proper housing. Without denying any veteran an equal opportunity of employment, it is well that you, as well as the Government, study this problem with a view of preventing, for the sake of the veteran as well as the community, adding to over-congestion in already over-crowded centers

of population. It is hoped that there will be jobs for everybody and that every veteran may find work and suitable living conditions wherever it is his desire to settle. However, in this connection it is well to recognize that of the million Negroes who have been inducted into the armed forces, 750,000 came from the South and that about 70 percent of these came from the farms of the South. It is, of course, unlikely that all will wish to return to the South or to the farm. It is recommended, therefore, that studies be made as to the best place and method of utilizing and the placement of the new skills which they have acquired.

I have been asked to discuss with you the question of the retraining and reemployment of veterans.

While I have but one head, and sometimes in these busy days I experience a little difficulty in keeping that head on my shoulders, I have, nevertheless, many hats - one hat as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, another as the Administrator of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration, another as the Chairman of the Veterans Placement Service Board, and innumerable hats to carry out my various responsibilities as doctor, lawyer, banker, teacher, employment manager, and agricultural consultant under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the "G. I. Bill of Rights." But each hat represents the expressed desire on the part of Congress, representing the voice of America, to give help, assistance and preference to the veteran. I am glad to say, that which I am sure you already know, that in all legislation affecting veterans, no distinction is ever made either in the letter or spirit of the law, between veterans because of race, color or creed.

It is my hope that American business and industry will endeavor to prevent any discrimination in meeting their employment problems, not because of any compulsion by law, or by reason of any mandate issued by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, but in appreciation of the service rendered by the Negro in time of war.

The Selective Service System, in carrying out its responsibility to render aid to veterans seeking reinstatement in their former position, has appointed many Negro reemployment committee-men. General Hershey, as Director of the Selective Service System, has designated Negro officers with the specific responsibility of cooperating with other officers in solving the over-all employment problem. Discrimination which did not exist in the Selective Service System in the induction of men into the armed forces, will not be tolerated by General Hershey in meeting the problem of their reemployment when their term of military service has ended. The Honorable Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, employs many Negroes in the United States Employment Service offices throughout the country. All veterans applying to the public Employment Offices for job placement assistance will be given the maximum of service without regard to race, creed or color. More Negroes will be added to the personnel of these and other Government agencies as the work load increases.

I have heretofore spoken of the large number of Negroes who left the farm to enter the armed services - of the new skills which they had acquired - and of their understandable reluctance to return as farm laborers. Military service broadens the intellect as well as the shoulders. Veterns return with new ambitions and envision new horizons. They are

filled with a desire to make greater contributions to the Nation. They desire also to provide for their dependents, some of the more abundant life of which many have heard so much and have tasted so little. One of the most prinitive instincts of man is the urge to own land. This opportunity is now available to the Negro farmer. The tenant farmer of yesterday may now become, with Government aid, a landowner as well as a land tiller, a landlord today, if you please, in place of the tenant of yesterday. This is a laudable ambition and one which is made possible by the "G. I. Bill," and you have the assurance of the Nation that the Negro will be given the same opportunity to fulfill this ambition as is given to every other veteran.

To the city dweller also, to the veteran who wishes to own his home, to a mechanic who wants to own a garage or a machine shop, to the erstwhile salesman or to the erstwhile clerk who would now be a merchant in his own right and in his own store, the Government offers the same opportunities through the provisions of that law.

To the veteran who seeks employment with a Government agency, to the widow of a deceased solder or sailor, and to the wife of those who are disabled, is given a preference in all federal employment. In fact, many jobs are, by law, set aside exclusively for veterans' employment.

For those who, in order to engage in business, desire to purchase surplus war property the Government is planning to give preference in purchase and loans and special considerstion in methods of payment for property purchased and repayment of loans made. The Nation's cup of gratitude is indeed overflowing.

Honesty and candor prevent a denial of the fact that the Negro has not always had a full opportunity to receive education commensurate with his ability to absorb and utilize advanced learning in scientific, commercial and professional pursuits. Your doctors, lawyers, scientists, artists and musicians, your representatives in every field of endeavor have demonstrated an unusual capacity to serve the Nation. Who can think of the miracle of Doctor George Washington Carver without contemplating the wealth of light and learning which lies dormant because of the lack of opportunity. Here again the "G. I. Bill" opens doors and books heretofore closed. High schools, colleges, laboratories, science, professions, the arts, learning for learning's sake alone, all lie within the grasp of the veteran, and if the future is to be judged by the past, it paints a picture of hopes to be realized and of long-denied ambition for many about to be fulfilled.

So far as the Government is concerned, so far as my official responsibilities are concerned in the administration of the laws which have been made for the benefit of all veterans, so far as employment for all veterans is concerned, there will be established and carried out "Four Freedoms". These freedoms are based upon programs which have already been adopted by many of your leaders in their consideration of the problem of Negro employment:

1. FREEDOM FROM DISCRIMINATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW.

2. FREEDOM FROM INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION.

3. FREEDOM FROM INEQUALITY IN EXPENDITURES FOR HEALTH, HOSPITALIZATION AND REHABILITATION.

4. FREEDOM FROM OBSTACLES AND PREJUDICES WHICH PREVENT EQUAL WORK OPPORTUNITY AND EQUAL PAY.

I do not pretend that these freedoms are always easy to attain. Indeed, the present conflict proves that those rights to which we are often most entitled are the most difficult to attain. But in the administration of my responsibilities it shall be my continued official and personal policy to secure for all veterans, irrespective of race, color or creed, the full measure of right to which they are entitled by reason of the laws which Congress has written and by reason of the glorious pages of our history which the veteran himself has written.

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See P.6

Nat'l Urban League

Department of Industrial Relations
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 ~~Broadway~~
New York City

May 26, 1945

TO: EXECUTIVE and INDUSTRIAL SECRETARIES
of Affiliated Organizations.

FROM: Julius A. Thomas

VICTORY IN EUROPE - NEW PROBLEMS AT HOME

Memorandum on Programming to Meet Post-War Problems
of Negro Workers and Veterans

The end of the war in Europe has precipitated a new set of problems to be faced by the Urban League movement. The implications, I am sure, are well known to all of us. While there will be variations in the extent to which the drastic changes in our national economy will affect each local community, the outstanding developments to be expected during the coming months may be listed as follows:

I. CUTBACKS OF 30% TO 40% IN WAR PRODUCTION

This estimate is based on reports recently released by the War Production Board. Shipbuilding, aircraft production, and munitions industries will experience sharp cutbacks in certain areas. Clothing, textiles, and a few other industries supplying essential materials for the armed forces will also be cut back substantially. Communications equipment, and radio production are scheduled for early revision of production schedules to meet reduced military requirements. Shifts in production schedules are now being planned to prevent extreme hardship in some one-industry towns and to continue in operation government-built plants. This procedure will release many industries from war contracts, thus permitting an early resumption of peace-time operations.

II. CUTBACKS OF 30% TO 40% IN THE WORK FORCE NOW ENGAGED IN WAR PRODUCTION

The estimated number of workers to be dropped from war industry payrolls within a year varies from 2½ to 3 million. Should Negro workers be released in proportion to their numbers in the labor force, it is expected that 300 to 400 thousand Negroes will be affected by the first post-war cutbacks. Further, since the majority of Negro war workers have found employment in congested war industry centers, many of these areas will have a disproportionate number of displaced Negro workers seeking employment in a saturated labor market.

Another important effect of the probable change in the tempo of war production will be the reduction in the work week in certain industries and the consequent cut in weekly earnings. The aircraft industry has already announced a plan to "downgrade" many workers and cut the work week to 40 or 44 hours. Other industries are expected to follow suit, despite vigorous objections from labor.

III. PARTIAL DEMOBILIZATION OF THE MILITARY

It is reliably estimated that approximately 2,000,000 men and women will be released from the armed forces during the next twelve months. It is very probable that the Army will discharge more than half of this total. If Negroes are discharged in the proportion that they bear to the total strength of the military (about 10%), we may expect the demobilization of 200,000 Negro service men. It is very probable that Negroes will not be released as quickly as white soldiers because of their concentration in Engineer, Quartermaster, Transport, and other non-combat units. These units are expected to remain in Europe for a much longer period. Under any circumstances, the number of veterans returning to civilian life will increase steadily during the months immediately ahead.

IV. DEVELOPMENT OF PROJECTS TO CUSHION TRANSITION PERIOD

Reports of progress in this direction are spotty and not at all impressive. It is estimated that projects now ready to move from the planning to the action stage will afford employment for approximately 1,000,000 workers within the next year. We may expect some rather feverish planning in some communities in order to get things started as soon as possible. Construction, road building, and street repairs will probably get the "green light" first. A serious lag in planning for housing development is said to exist in most communities.

V. RE-TOOLING AND RESUMPTION OF PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER COMMODITIES

Certain industries will lose little or no time in this operation, inasmuch as they will be producing the same products for consumer use. Automobiles, farm equipment, certain durable goods, and other metal work industries will require more time to re-tool and reconvert. Steel and heavy metals are not expected to be seriously affected, at least for several months. Chemicals will be reducing output within 30 to 60 days, it is reported.

VI. RELAXATION OF WAR-TIME CONTROLS ON HIRING PRACTICES

The FEPC and the WMC do not at present have authority to regulate hiring policies in converted or peace-time industries. While New York, New Jersey, and Indiana have enacted anti-discrimination legislation, prospects for early favorable action in other states are none too good. There is growing concern over the failure of Congress to consider legislation to create a permanent FEPC, at least during this session. Strong opposition has recently crystallized in the South as well as in other areas, and proponents of the bill are uncertain about the chances of getting favorable action on the bill now under consideration.

This brief appraisal of developments in the Urban League's areas of direct interest points up several problems on which we must be prepared to act. In the first place, it is likely that 500 to 600 thousand Negro workers and veterans will be changing jobs or looking for jobs. Displaced war workers will turn first to the local USES - a requirement for making application for unemployment benefits. Should they fail to get proper consideration, they will be making the rounds of all likely sources of information regarding jobs. Most of us will remember the days of the depression when the "regular visitors" could be expected every morning. Although local Leagues in the larger industrial centers will be partially prepared to handle the increased load, it is reasonable to anticipate a serious strain on the resources of practically all League offices. In the light of this possibility, it would

seem advisable that several steps be taken to give the greatest possible assistance and counsel to these displaced workers:

1. As soon as possible, every League should prepare an estimate of the number of Negro workers to be affected by cutbacks in local industries.

   It is assumed that all local affiliates have access to information concerning employment in their communities. Classification of industries by products manufactured will provide a basis for determining the extent to which cutbacks may occur. Local CED committees, Chamber of Commerce Industrial Relations Departments, Post-War Planning Committees, and WMC offices will be collecting such information. This should not be a difficult job. In two communities (non-League cities), an energetic committee on post-war jobs has already organized a large committee made up of Negro workers in the major industries in the city. These key men are reporting regularly to the planning committee, on developments in the plants where they are employed. They are checking thoroughly all lay-off schedules, dismissals, plans for post-war employment, operation of seniority provisions in contracts, etc. Obviously, these two groups are on top of their problems, at least for the present.

2. Every local affiliate should begin now to tighten up machinery for careful policing of the performance of USES offices.

   Many Negro workers do not believe they will get a square deal in these offices. They have not forgotten the shabby treatment they received when the Defense Program started, and there isn't much evidence that the Service has improved materially. In Toledo, Newark, Cleveland, and a few other Urban League cities, committees have been formed (Urban League-USES) to see that the USES functions impartially. It is worth noting in this connection that local USES offices will increase personnel in anticipation of the post-war worker load. Veterans will receive service preferences and should be encouraged to qualify if they are eligible. Other qualified persons should take examinations for jobs that will be opening in the months ahead. WMC has already announced (unofficially) that 3,000 veterans will be employed for counselling, interviewing, and job-finding programs to be initiated within the next 30 days.

3. Many war workers have acquired single skills or experiences as simple machine operators. To find a market for the particular skill which they have developed during the war may not be easy. Consequently, there is much talk about refresher and supplementary training for

dislocated workers. Any programming in this field should be planned with several factors in mind:

(a) Availability of training.
(b) Interest in further training.
(c) Possibility of securing training facilities, etc.

Obviously, this activity suggests an energetic program of group and individual counselling which can be undertaken by local affiliates having staff persons qualified to organize and develop the program. Local unions, educational institutions, and a number of industries are already planning programs to meet the needs of persons who must be re-trained.

4. It is very evident that the vast majority of Negro workers will have to be rehired. This simple fact brings into focus all of the factors that determine when, where and how they get jobs. Mention has already been made of the role of the USES in channeling workers. From such observations as we have been able to make, many industries are not planning to use the USES after the war, just as they declined to use it before the war. This means that Negro workers will be taking their chances at plant-hiring offices, along with thousands of other job-seekers. It means, also, that we should be prepared to get accurate information regarding the experiences of Negro workers in applying for jobs. In addition, we must be in a position to check this information with plant managers or personnel directors and effect such changes in hiring policies as will be necessary to insure proper consideration for Negro job-seekers.

It is already apparent that a number of unions will seek contract changes that will insure rehiring of their members first. In these instances, workers will be referred to employers from union hiring halls or by business agents or other representatives of the union.

Discrimination against Negro members can be practiced with reckless abandon unless the workers themselves are thoroughly acquainted with the procedure. This problem suggests some type of "off the record" relationship with Negro union workers to further acquaint them with the role of the union in placing workers. It suggests, also, a series of conferences and meetings with top union representatives to discuss union practices in this connection.

The building trades may be expected to revive much of their activity as the post-war construction program develops. Most of us recall the experiences of Negro construction workers during PWA days. The questions of union affiliation, veterans' preferences, etc., will be with us again. Local affiliates should review their experiences with building trades unions, renew their contacts with central labor councils, building trades councils, licensing bodies, and business agents

of local unions. They should urge qualified Negro mechanics to re-establish their membership with their respective craft unions.

In this same connection, we may expect acceleration in the expansion of transportation and communications industries requiring additional workers trained as linemen, electrical construction workers, engineers, and other technicians. This work should be especially desirable to veterans with experience in the Signal Corps, Engineers, and other technical fields. Displaced war workers whose war-time experiences were obtained in the production of communications equipment and aircraft production may also qualify for this type of work.

Our further observation is that responsible employer groups do not mind discussing the post-war job problems of Negroes if they are properly informed about the situation. Profitable conferences have been held in several League cities on the problem, and top management has agreed to take an active part in seeing that Negroes are not turned away at their plant employment offices. The organization of such conferences is an excellent project for your industrial committee. The CED and other planning groups will be sponsoring similar conferences on the over-all local situation. They will always welcome a speaker who can discuss authoritatively the position of minority group workers. A recent conference of this nature in Newark was responsible for "highlighting" building trades union discrimination against Negro mechanics. This problem is now a hot issue, and we believe something will be done about it.

To summarize this analysis, we think it can be safely said that:

THE URBAN LEAGUE IS EXPECTED TO TAKE A POSITION OF UNQUESTIONED LEADERSHIP IN PRESENTING THE JOB PROBLEMS OF DISPLACED NEGRO WORKERS. WE MUST DEVELOP THE KIND OF ORGANIZATION STRATEGY THAT WILL EFFECTIVELY REACH MANAGEMENT, LABOR, THE GENERAL PUBLIC, PLANNING GROUPS, AND THE NEGRO WORKER. THIS IS A MUST ON OUR POST-WAR AGENDA!

Problems of the Negro Veteran

The provisions of the G. I. Bill of Rights should be well known to every League staff person in the United States. We shall not dwell upon them in this memorandum. The problems which we face where Negro veterans are concerned grow out of the administration and implementation of the bill. The specific questions we must be prepared to answer are:

1. Will Negro veterans get maximum service from established agencies such as the Veterans Administration, the Veterans' Employment Division of the USES, etc.?

2. Will Negro veterans get equitable consideration when applying for jobs in these and other agencies (government) which will be employing veterans during the coming months?

3. Will local unions give impartial consideration to Negro veterans who will be eligible for membership under special conditions adopted by organized labor?

4. Will local business and industrial establishments employ Negro veterans as apprentices under the provisions of the G. I. Bill?

5. Will Negro veterans get their "old jobs" back under the recent interpretation released by the War Department? Are local draft boards assisting Negro veterans in this respect?

6. Is there an organization or agency equipped to give Negro veterans sound information about loans for business purposes, loans for home purchases, etc.?

7. What organization or agency is prepared to counsel Negro veterans about returning to schools or colleges which offer special interest courses? (To date the majority of Negro colleges have done very little on this question, particularly in expanding offerings in technical or professional work. By no means are we depending upon them to absorb an estimated 50,000 Negro veterans who will be eligible for college or other educational work under the provisions of the G. I. Bill.)

   A related problem grows out of the inadequacy of secondary schools in most communities. What steps have been taken to expand offerings that will attract Negro veterans who may wish to pursue special work in a specific field?

8. Is the Veterans' Information Center equipped to give proper guidance and advice to Negro veterans? Are Negroes employed on the staff? Are Negro volunteers used as counsellors? Do Negro veterans have confidence in the Center? These questions can be answered only by careful inquiry and policing, but every local League should know exactly what the score is.

9. How much of a veterans' load can the League carry? The chances are that many veterans will turn to the League when other agencies fail to serve them satisfactorily. Are we prepared to give them the kind of help they need? Do we have a staff member qualified to do this job, or can we recruit volunteers to supplement League staff?

10. What are the attitudes and practices of veterans' organizations in the local community? Has the American Legion assumed any responsibility for protecting the interests of Negro members and veterans? Have local Negro Posts been encouraged to become more articulate and interested in what's going on around them?

These questions immediately suggest areas of operation for every local League. Of course, we can not undertake all of the jobs to be done, but an important part of the League program is geared around community organization designed to improve the economic well-being of Negro people. Our correspondence on these questions indicates that several affiliates have already moved in on some aspects of the program. Undoubtedly, all of us will be called upon to function vigorously when the crisis comes. In preparation for this job, we should know every person responsible for the administration of a local, state, and area Veterans' Service in our immediate vicinity. We should be prepared to get information about the experiences of Negro veterans in their contacts with these agencies as a basis for realistic programming. This is a big order, but, after all, THE URBAN LEAGUE IS ACCUSTOMED TO BIG ORDERS!

National Office Plans and Programs

The National Office is keenly conscious of its responsibility and obligations to do an effective job during the months ahead. Articulation of National and local programs is, therefore, of great importance and should be a matter of immediate concern to every affiliate. At the moment, we are concentrating our activities around the following objectives:

Role of Government

Interpretation of the problems and needs of Negro war workers and veterans to appropriate government and private agencies. In this connection, we have established satisfactory relationships with the National Offices of the Veterans Administration, the Selective Service Office, the Veterans' Employment Division of the War Manpower Commission, the War Production Board, the Civil Service Commission, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Agriculture.

We are preparing memoranda to be sent to General Frank T. Hines, Paul McNutt, Henry Wallace, General Lewis B. Hershey, and other Government officials. In this memoranda, we shall define and analyze the problem as we see it and suggest such administrative policies and practices as will insure proper implementation of the G. I. Bill and other legislation. We are requesting conferences with each of these officials for full discussion of the recommendations. We may mention several recent developments which have grown out of previous discussions:

(a) The Selective Service System has assigned 6 Negro officers as specialists in job finding for Negro veterans. They will work closely with Veterans' Placement officers in the several states. The plan is to assign an officer to each industrial state. We are working out details for close cooperation between League offices and the Veterans' Placement Officer in the states to which they have already been assigned.

(b) The Veterans Administration has appointed a contact representative, adjudicator, and loan advisor (all Negroes) in the Boston area through efforts of the regional office of the WMC. We have written all regional WMC Minority Group Specialists, asking them to secure similar appointments. Dick Walker of Region I is holding conferences with regional representatives in other regions to assist in getting similar action. Larry Duncan, Sidney Williams, and Dick Walker have already discussed the situation in Region V. Bill Smith in Region III has reported substantial progress in Philadelphia.

(c) We are scheduling conferences with Robert C. Goodwin, Executive Director of the WMC, and General Hines for next week to review the entire national picture and to discuss personnel for several key jobs that should be filled.

Working With Management

We are strengthening our contacts with large industries. Many well known corporations have endorsed and supported the United Urban League Service Fund. Our contacts have been established with vice presidents in charge of industrial relations, and we expect to discuss post-war employment prospects with them as soon as the campaign is over. For your information, we are mentioning a few of those corporations:

American Telephone & Telegraph
Standard Oil
Western Electric
Bethlehem Steel
National Supply
Westinghouse Electric & Mfg.
General Motors
Sperry Corporation
Shell Oil
Curtiss-Wright
General Electric
Radio Corporation of America
United States Rubber
Goodyear Rubber
Doehler Die Casting
Allis-Chalmers
DuPont Company

We hope to get clear-cut statements of policy from top management and proper implementation of policy in all branch or subsidiary plants. We can then channel these contacts to both the local League and the local plant in the community. This is one of the very helpful results of the financial campaign which we intend to follow up.

Working With Labor — We have been fortunate in getting excellent sponsorship and endorsement of the financial campaign from top labor leadership as well as from rank and file union officers. We plan to follow up this relationship with labor just as we are with industry. We shall schedule conferences with top leadership in the AFofL and the CIO as soon as this phase of the campaign is completed.

Public Relations — We are intensifying our entire public relations program. The Industrial Relations News Letter will be issued monthly. The second report of the Industrial Relations Laboratory will be published after the campaign. We are moving now to get feature stories and articles in industrial and business journals as well as in other publications. Civic groups and interracial committees all over the country are requesting information and discussion leaders on the problems of reconversion. We have more requests of this nature than we can fill.

The Industrial Relations News Letter has received wide approval, and we may have to prepare as many as 5,000 copies each month. Industrial firms, personnel and management organizations are requesting them by the scores.

Southern Picture — In the South a number of colleges are sponsoring conferences on post-war problems, and we have been invited to serve as consultants and discussion leaders. One such conference was held recently at Dillard University, and one has been planned at Hampton Institute for the middle of June. We are going to take the initiative in organizing similar conferences in other areas. The Director of the Southern Field Division is working out an extensive program for the fall, and we will cooperate fully with his plans.

Field Service — We are initiating an expanded field service to local affiliates and in the Southern cities early in the fall. To be most effective, the field visits must be carefully planned around a few specific objectives. They will be properly scheduled in order to save time and travel expense. More about this later.

Information to Affiliates — We will continue to send pertinent information released by Government and private planning organizations to be used in planning and implementing local programs. Meanwhile, we must have important information regarding local developments in order to be most helpful with problems which are bound to arise in the coming months. In this connection, we are discussing the possibilities for another series of releases similar to the series carried by the CHICAGO DEFENDER two years ago. The title will probably be: "How V-E Day Affected Our City".

CONCLUSION

The conclusion to this analysis of our post-war responsibility can be stated in these final remarks. The Urban League, nationally and locally, is the best equipped, best informed agency in America on the job problems of Negro workers. In 35 years, we have accumulated a wealth of experience and "know-how" which has not been utilized to its fullest extent. Organized labor, industrial management, and the general public have a better knowledge of our objectives and methods than ever before. At the same time, the problem of full employment has become a major concern of many organizations, and the Negro workers' job problems are recognized as an important aspect of the over-all problem. The next few years will, therefore, be "crucial" for the Urban League. We must make the most of them!

Chicago Urban League

LABOR RELATIONS BULLETIN

An Informational Service for Labor Unions

Nat'l Urban League

Published by the Chicago Urban League, 3032 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 16, August, 1945

LITTLE WORLD, WHAT NOW?

The war in the Pacific has ended. Once more, our shaken world looks toward peace. But many baffling problems loom ahead before this dream of peace can become a reality.

Statesmen will struggle to put into effect the principles of international cooperation formulated by the United Nations security council.

Can we leave it to them - this task of insuring security?

Can we, the people, wash our hands of the entire matter - go about our everyday business confident that the peacemakers will evolve a formula for security and that we need play no role besides that of the onlooker?

Progressive citizens - and that means labor leaders, of course - know that we cannot. They know that no formula for world security is more than a myth unless security is assured for the individual worker - the right to a job commensurate with his abilities, at a wage that will enable him to support himself and his family at a decent standard of living.

Labor's victory in the recent British election is concrete evidence that the people of that nation are placing their faith in progressive leadership.

Here in America, encouraged by the turn of events in Britain, labor is continuing its efforts to make its voice felt in shaping the nation's policies.

American labor leaders know that the victory over foreign fascists will be an empty one if the forces of intolerance - playing upon distinctions of race, religion, and national background - continue to divide the workers and blind them to their common interests.

CARRYING OUT THOSE POST-WAR PLANS

Realizing all this, it is not surprising that the problem of the Negro worker is high on the list of considerations for the post-war plans of labor leaders.

Quite naturally, the men and women who guide the destinies of the labor movement are concerned with problems that reach to the very heart of economic security. Such a problem is that of the Negro worker.

The war years have brought hundreds of thousands of new Negro workers into the great industries of our country. For the first time these workers have been in a position to join the labor movement and to share in its benefits. Many white people, in turn, through work contacts have for the first time really learned to know their colored neighbors and to judge them as individuals rather than as a racial group.

Now that the war is over and the high level of employment is rapidly decreasing, labor leaders must recognize the dangers of losing these gains.

As production drops and workers are released from their jobs, they know, the Negro will suffer disproportionately. And so, along with the struggle for full employment, labor is especially diligent in using its influence to work toward the full and complete integration of Negroes into the union movement.

A BASIC APPROACH - THE WORKERS COUNCILS

To carry out this objective most effectively, a thorough understanding of the background of the Negro worker is essential. Those who have an opportunity would do well to study the exhaustive analysis of the racial problem made by Gunnar Myrdal and his associates for the Carnegie Foundation. The two-volume study, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, contains an excellent chapter on the Negro's role in the labor movement.

In this bulletin, however, we shall rely on the presentations of the Workers Bureau of the National Urban League, which has been concerned with these problems ever since the early days of the depression.

Through its Workers Councils the bureau has been studying the basic questions involved in the Negro worker's relationship to the labor movement. It has been concerned on the one hand with the attitudes of labor unions and their members toward Negroes; on the other hand, with the Negro's point of view toward the labor movement.

The program was launched in the midst of the depression era. It was highly essential, the League believed, that the people understand the basic causes of the depression which was so greatly affecting their lives. Especially was the League concerned with interpreting to Negroes the reason for their disproportionate suffering - and the one outstanding remedy for such a condition - the full participation of Negroes in the labor movement.

CONSIDER THESE FACTS

To accomplish this end, the League published a series of pamphlets directing the attention of the workers to some very important considerations.

For example:

Negroes were losing jobs two or three times as fast as whites - with little or no opportunity to find work again.

In October 1933 - 2,117,000 Negroes were on relief!
By January 1935 - 3,300,000 Negroes were on relief!

The Negro's lack of participation in the union movement left him virtually without leadership or protection.

Three out of every 100 Negroes belonged to labor unions.
The other 97 were left to fend for themselves as best they could.
In an overflooded labor market with no effective controls over job discrimination, they were at the mercy of the employers, the majority of whom overlooked them for a more "desirable" group of workers.

The Negro remained outside of the union movement largely for two reasons:

Many unions would not admit Negroes.
Negroes worked mainly in occupations that were not well organized - in agriculture, unskilled labor, and domestic service.

Without the benefit of organization to protect their rights, Negroes were completely overlooked in the NRA codes and received little protection under the Labor Relations Act or the National Recovery Act.

Over 75 per cent of Negro workers were ineligible for unemployment insurance under the provisions of the social security act - and this only 10 years ago!

The only "way out" for the Negro - the only force that could help him to escape from suffering a disproportionate share of the evils of the depression - was organized action.

He must wage an unrelenting fight for full participation in the labor movement!

Logical though it was, the realization that organized labor was his salvation came slowly to the Negro. His background of unemployment and despair had embittered him. Seeing organized white workers get the jobs, while he was left unemployed, he too often allowed his frustrations to overcome appeals to his intelligence. He blamed the unions for his plight instead of seeing in them his solution.

In this background lies the explanation of the traditional attitude of Negro workers regarding labor unions. Through the efforts of such organizations as the Workers Bureau, much progress has been made in breaking down this attitude. Yet it is still prevalent among many Negroes. The facts are well known to labor leaders; but they deserve to be re-emphasized, for in them rests the key to the present situation.

LESSONS OF THE PAST

The past has other lessons, too, for labor leaders, as the Workers Bureau pointed out.

Two hundred years of bitter economic competition between white and Negro workers could not fail to leave its scars. Many analysts believe that much of the bitter feeling still existing in the South is a carry-over from slavery days, when free white men went jobless and hungry while black slaves had work and bread.

And in the North, it was the desperate rivalry of the foreign-born whites and Negroes, fighting for the same jobs, that led first to tensions and then to the riots of the war years - as witness Detroit on June 20, 1943.

THE PARADOX OF PREJUDICE

Such racial conflict is not only tragic for the Negro but is disastrous for the white worker as well. He may believe he is increasing his own security when he tries to bar Negroes from a union or refuses to work with them. Yet, paradoxically, he is only destroying his security. His attitude encourages the formation of a dangerous supply of underpaid, unorganized Negro labor which regards unionism as an enemy.

Every ninth worker in the United States is a Negro. When eight whites combine to exclude the ninth worker from union protection, from better paid jobs in prosperous times and from any jobs at all in depression periods - then all nine are the losers. Penniless and hungry, the unorganized and unemployed worker is willing to work at any wage under any conditions. Inevitably he becomes a threat to the security of every employed worker.

UNITED FOR THE FUTURE

Shortsighted leadership in the labor movement forced Negroes into this position for fifty years. Fortunately that time is past. Since the depression, more enlightened

leadership has recognized the dangers of racial division in the ranks of labor and has fought persistently against discrimination. Under such leadership - and the leaders are of all racial groups - hundreds of thousands of Negroes have been brought into the labor movement in the last decade.

In the war years, millions of black and white people have worked together - have learned more about one another, have lost their long-standing prejudices based on ignorance and misunderstanding. They have come to realize that, regardless of the record of the past, they share a common struggle and a common destiny.

The war with its emphasis on the need for joint participation in the defense of our country undoubtedly deserves major credit for effecting this change. Yet the groundwork had been laid by the National Urban League. It was the League which had impressed on the Negro the fact that he must win his way into the house of organized labor, and given him the assurance that many white workers, once they had an opportunity to do so, would join with him in reaching this goal.

THE PEOPLE VS. DISCRIMINATION

The problems of 1936 might well serve as an indication of the problems of 1946 and the years to come. There is, however, this advantage - during the last decade Negro and white workers have learned to pull together to give every worker a share in the opportunity that is rightly his.

In facing the future, forward-looking leaders recognize the imperative need for bringing even more Negro workers into full participation in the labor movement. Furthermore, with the prospect of greater cutbacks during reconversion and enemployment in the post-war years, they are preparing to meet the scramble for jobs which is likely to result in ill feeling and racial friction.

Thus labor leaders will insist upon union members making a concerted effort against any development of the dog-eat-dog philosophy of the depression years. In case of widespread unemployment, labor leaders must insist on the right of every person to an equal opportunity for work, regardless of color.

These questions, of course, all involve such serious problems as reconversion, full employment, adequate unemployment compensation, and perhaps public works. If labor's gains are to be preserved, these are problems that must be tackled with courage by all progressive labor leaders.

Labor has indicated its recognition of these basic issues by its active work on behalf of fair employment legislation. However, it is extremely important not only that the leaders themselves understand and work for these objectives, but that the rank and file union members take up the fight for an effective democracy.

Prepared by

Industrial Relations and Public Relations Departments

Nat'l Urban League

Notes to be taken

RACIAL ASPECTS

of

RECONVERSION

A Memorandum Prepared for the

President of the United States

by the

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

New York City

fc.

August 27, 1945

Chicago Urban League

LABOR RELATIONS BULLETIN

An Informational Service for Labor Unions

Natl Urban League

Published by the Chicago Urban League, 3032 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 16, October 1945

Three short stories will be presented in this bulletin. They're true accounts of situations on the labor front, showing how three different unions - all affiliated with the same large group - have met the problem of race prejudice.

Each of them has a moral, and each must be interpreted in the light of the war's end and the present period of uncertainty about employment.

A PARADOX

On the West Side of Chicago, a huge manufacturing plant opened its doors to Negroes. This company held a closed shop contract with a union which up until the war period had prevented the management from employing Negro workers. The demand for war workers forced the union to concede that Negroes be employed for specific war production jobs. However, instead of strengthening its position and prestige by welcoming the newcomers, the union granted them only "working permits" and refused to allow them to attend meetings or exercise any of the privileges of members. Moreover, an agreement was made with management that when the war work ended, all these new workers - whether white or Negro - were to be laid off.

With the end of the war, the company proceeded to make heavy reductions in its working force. The majority of the new workers, both Negroes and whites, hired during the war had to be dismissed. Among the group, however, were several exceptional workers - seven of whom happened to be Negroes. These workers remained on the job finishing the necessary items in the war contracts. Before they had completed this task the company was back in peacetime production, and management found other capacities in which these especially competent workers could be used permanently.

But when management made this suggestion, the union officials objected - to the seven Negroes. No question was raised about retaining the white workers who had proven especially competent. When the matter of keeping on the Negro workers arose, however, the union conveniently recalled that it had a closed shop contract with the company.

MANAGEMENT REPORTS DISCRIMINATION

Here, indeed, was a paradox. The union - the worker's friend - in this case was actively engaged in opposing the interests of the Negro workers.

Management - too often at odds with the working man - in this case took action to protest against such injustice. It was through management that the Urban League heard about the discrimination on the part of the union.

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices and several other agencies had made many efforts to persuade local and international officials of this union to set aside their barriers against Negro workers. Thus the union had become well aware of the problems involved before the Urban League entered the picture.

The Urban League investigated management's charges and found them true. Then we conferred with the union officials. They admitted there was no valid reason why the Negro workers should not be retained on the job and allowed to become union members - no reason at all <u>except</u> the prejudices of the rank and file union members.

Fortunately, we were able to convince these union leaders that if they themselves took a strong stand in favor of equal privileges for Negroes, their members would accept them, too. The officials finally worked out an agreement with the company whereby the Negroes were to be retained.

"FOR WHITES ONLY"

This is not the only example in the Chicago area of a union which discriminated against Negroes while the company pursued a fair-minded policy.

At a neighboring firm, another union in the same group as the one cited above held a closed shop contract. A large number of Negroes was added to the working force during the war period. These new workers were ignored - no effort was made to welcome them into the union. This only cemented the too prevalent feeling that unions were "for whites only."

Meanwhile, with the considerable increase in non-union members among the employees, management observed that the union was losing its majority. Management began to take the attitude that the union's position was becoming so weak there was no need to worry about renewing the contract.

Belatedly, the union became concerned about the Negro workers. At first it reacted with hostility. Hadn't the union's position been strong until the Negro workers appeared to weaken its majority? Instead of realizing where the responsibility lay, it blamed the Negroes.

In spite of this feeling of antagonism, the union was forced to recognize the fact that at least some of the Negro workers must be unionized if labor was to retain any power whatever in the company. And so, in the midst of a tense situation, with feeling running high between the white and Negro workers, the union had to begin a campaign to enlist the support of the Negroes. It is still carrying on this campaign, trying to make up for lost time in an effort to renew its dwindling power.

BY WAY OF CONTRAST

On the positive side we can present the story of a third union, affiliated with the same group as the other two, which has had a good record in integrating Negroes during the war.

Early in the war period, this union took stock of its record and made plans to remedy its past defects - its exclusion of certain minority groups. As Negroes joined the production lines, it immediately welcomed them and took steps to bring them into the union. Not only did the Negroes join, but several were elected to office.

At present there are two Negroes on the executive committee of this union - a significant achievement in an organization which five years ago had not a single Negro member.

Vigorous objections had been voiced by the membership when the question of Negro membership first arose. But through the efforts of the leaders, a policy of non-discrimination was adopted and new members were clearly informed of this policy.

Here is an example of a union which has been quite successful both in obtaining Negro members and in carrying out its anti-discriminatory policy - because it recognized early enough the importance of such a policy.

This union draws its membership from plants which were operating nearly 100 per cent on war contracts. With the end of the war, there was bound to be a great reduction in the working force. The only fair policy - and the one which would in the long run prove to be to the interests of the members - was to open its privileges to all workers, regardless of racial or national origin.

THE MORALS?

Perhaps they're obvious - but they may well be reinforced by an interpretation.

"THE EVIL THAT MEN DO. . ."

The evil deeds that men do are remembered. And so it is with unions. Of the three situations described, it is the first two which have received publicity in the Negro community. The fact that a third union has a good record with regard to the Negro worker is completely overlooked in the face of these other, inflammatory incidents.

The seven Negroes in the first story who feared that the prejudices of union members would deprive them of their jobs despite their excellent records could hardly be expected not to explain the circumstances to their friends. During the war when Negroes were going to work in the plant with the permission of the union, even though they were denied the opportunity to attend union meetings, they and their friends could at least hope that democracy might find its way into this union.

However, when the war ended, their hopes were dashed with the union's insistence that both employment and union privileges should be "for whites only." True, later on the union revised its policy - but the damage had been done, and could not be wiped out by a mere reversal of position. It will take much time and effort to undo that damage.

Likewise, the ostracized Negroes in the second story did not keep to themselves their suspicions about the white union members. Ignored at first, they could not be too sure of the union's sincerity when it finally made a belated effort to win their favor.

Both instances fomented a wave of suspicion, resentment, and distrust of unions in the Negro community which will only encourage race antagonisms Thus a few carelessly considered acts on the part of unions can easily aggravate all the old hostilities of Negroes and serve to widen the gap between white and Negro workers.

"A STITCH IN TIME. . ."

How much wiser in the long run was the policy of the third union! Its "stitch in time" - its policy, adopted early in the war period, of opening its ranks to all workers on a basis of equality - has had the happy result of cementing friendly relationships among the workers of various racial and nationality groups.

Now, when less fortunate unions face the problem of overcoming such antagonisms at a time when labor's position is precarious and union cohesion is essential, it does not have these additional worries. As cutbacks occur and some workers inevitably lose their jobs, this union will guard against the entrance of race discrimination into the picture. Thus it is doing its part in assuring the Negro worker that organized labor can be his friend.

"A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF. . ."

Even more important than the preceding considerations, however, is the role of race discrimination in further widening the distance between the great groups of labor.

All three of the unions cited here are affiliated with the same labor group. Since acts of discrimination gain wider publicity than do fair policies, the entire labor group with which these unions are associated will receive criticism as being unfair to Negro workers. The fascist-minded, watchful for any evidence of dissension in the ranks of labor, will seize on such a situation and exploit it for all it is worth. Thus will they kill two birds with one stone - they will incite racial strife and will promote further disunity in the labor movement.

It is indeed unfortunate when certain unions give the opponents of labor a talking point by their own acts of discrimination against segments of the working group who happen to be racial minorities.

What To Do About It?

What can other unions do to counteract the damage that has been done by such acts of discrimination as those described above?

Any union that still retains a vestige of racial discrimination, either in principle or in practice, should adopt a general policy stating that such discrimination is highly inimical to the best interests of labor. And then - be vigilant in carrying out that policy.

In our changing society, no group can continue simply to regard incidents of discrimination as "unfortunate," expressing the pious hope that "time" will bring a solution.

Time cannot bring any solution for which we ourselves are not responsible. In a world clamoring for democracy, either the labor movement must make its claims of democracy into more than mere words or it must face destruction.

Prepared by

Industrial Relations and Public Relations Departments.

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INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS News Letter

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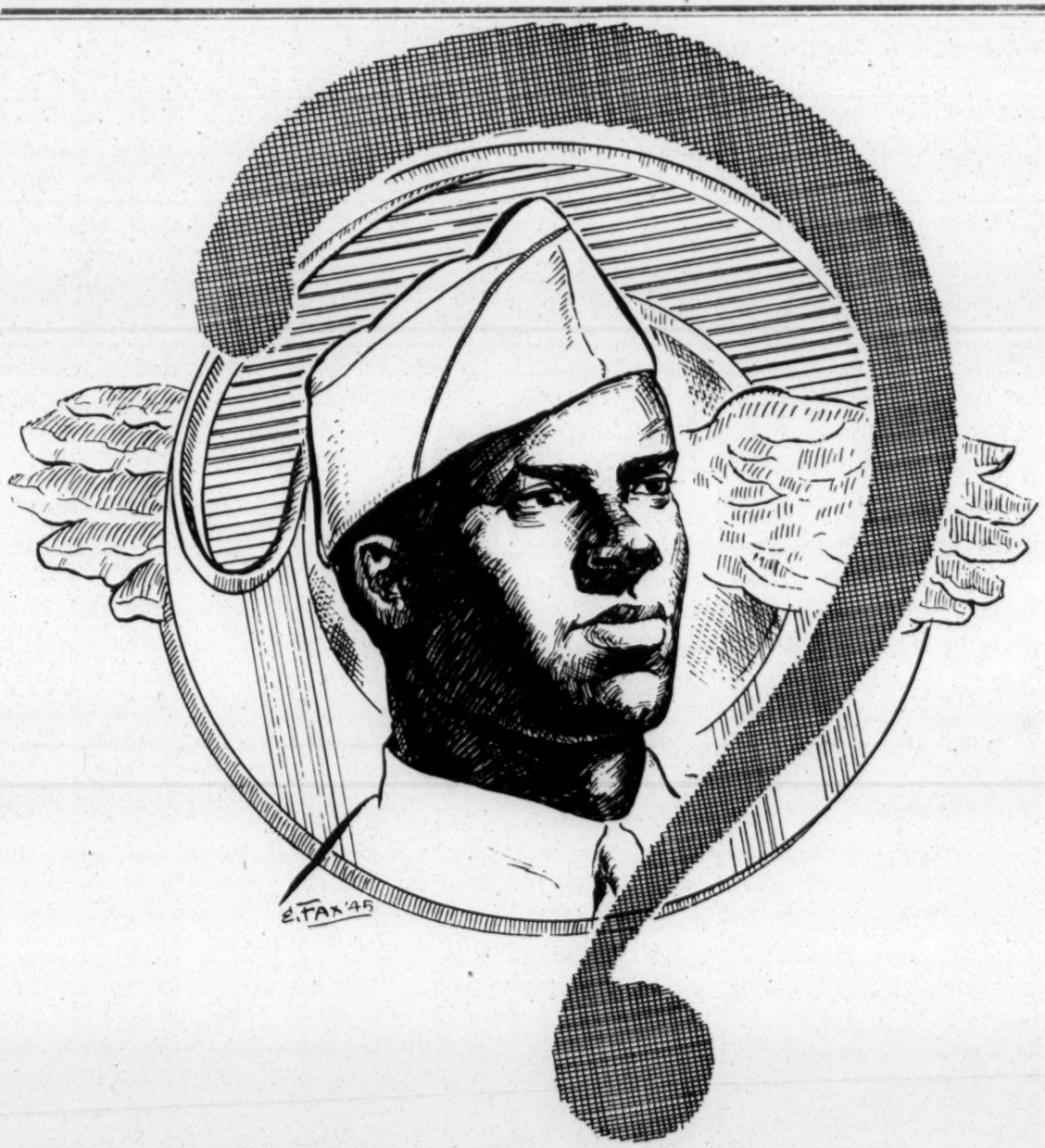

— The Negro Veteran Returns —

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THE NEGRO VETERAN RETURNS

They are coming home by the thousands to Wylie Avenue in Pittsburgh, Lenox Avenue in New York, Walnut Street in Louisville, and to hundreds of other cities and villages. Fresh new service stripes and bright-colored service ribbons tell their part in World War II. Honorable discharge buttons remind us that these men served well.

On V-J Day, more than a million Negro men and women had been inducted into the armed forces. Half saw foreign service. They followed the flag in every theatre of war from Iceland to Australia, from Alaska to Africa. They fought and worked in the China-Burma-India theatre and the Middle East, in England, France, Italy, and the South Pacific. They helped to hasten the day of victory.

Assignment Without Glamor

The exploits of their service units seldom made the headlines. Engineer units fought disease and tropical heat in the Central Pacific where they created bomber bases and runways in record time. They built B-29 bases deep in the wastes of India, and they fashioned ports, docks, bridges, and highways in remote islands and outposts in every battle area. Quartermaster and transport units kept supplies rolling up to the front line, despite machine gun and artillery fire. A signal corps unit installed and maintained thousands of miles of wire and cable during their four months in Italy. Another unit, in England, handled wire communications for the invasion forces. Maybe there wasn't much glamor in some of these jobs, but General Dwight D. Eisenhower thought enough of one truck company's service in the invasion of France to say: "I want you to know that I appreciate your splendid work. Your accomplishments are a source of gratification to me and to your Army Commander."

They Were Fighters, Too!

TIME's correspondent, Robert Martin, cabled this story (TIME—May 29, 1944): "In the Bougainville jungles, white and colored troops live together in soldierly understanding. Units of the 93rd Division, first all-Negro infantry division to be sent overseas in this war, had fought and acquitted themselves with honor . . ."

In November 1943, it was announced that "Negro troops of Uncle Sam's fighting forces were winning their spurs in the battle for Italy. They were right up in front when Lt. General Mark W. Clark's Fifth Army over-ran the toe of the Italian Boot and fanned out in the direction of Rome."

Then in December 1943, the 450th Anti-Aircraft Artillery Automatic Weapons Battalion, the first Negro combat force to land on European soil, was cited by Lt. General Clark when he declared: " I am proud of the outstanding performance of duty of these soldiers in this baptism of fire. Their conduct was excellent and reflects the training and discipline of their units."

In the air corps, Negro pilots of the 99th Squadron, led by Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., slugged it out with Nazi planes in the battle of Italy. General Henry H. Arnold reported to the War Department: "The results of the 99th Fighter Squadron during the past two weeks, particularly since the Nettuno landing, are very commendable. My best wishes for their continued success." In the summer of 1944, the 332d Fighter Group, successor to the 99th Squadron, shot down five German planes in a single day's action with the 15th Air Force, escorting heavy bombers in the Munich area.

These are only a few examples of the performance of Negro servicemen. In every theatre and in every phase of the war, they demonstrated resourcefulness, efficiency, and bravery.

Heroes Today — But What of Tomorrow?

Every thoughtful American agrees that our veterans should get all possible assistance as they return to civilian life. The veterans themselves want to forget the war as soon as they can. They want to get back to work—useful and productive work that pays a living wage, challenging work that gives promise of bettering the nation's standard of living.

For Negro veterans, the job is all important. Before the war they had a tough struggle as wage-earners. Ten years of pre-war depression, coupled with a stubborn reluctance to hire Negroes in the early days of the defense program, deprived many Negro young people of the chance to discover their latent talents and abilities. Then, too, almost a third of all Negro servicemen came from rural areas in the South where educational and employment opportunities were extremely limited. A vast number of these men received special training in the armed forces and are now ready to hold civilian skilled jobs for the first time.

He Is Better Trained

Hundreds of veterans learned cooking and baking in Army and Navy schools. Radio and electronics were mastered by scores of men in signal and communications units. Thousands of veterans in mechanized units learned how to repair and service all kinds of motor equipment and motors. Engineer and construction units were taught to build the roads, landing fields, bridges, and docks required to keep the Army moving. Machinists, chemists, engineers, clerks, and specialists of all kinds will be found among the men who served in the various supply and maintenance branches of the Army and Navy.

He Is Better Disciplined

The Negro veteran learned teamwork and cooperation as a part of his overall training. He was taught to accept his responsibility and to look at his job in relation to a larger objective. He knows what is meant by "morale" and "production." The "sloppy, indifferent, ambitionless" youngster stereotyped by legend and tradition is now more of a myth than ever. The veteran has had the feel of a dynamic organization, and this experience has prepared him for a new role in the American economy.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway *New York 10, N. Y.*
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS NEWS LETTER

Prepared by the
DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
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What Are the Negro Veterans' Job Prospects?

The whole point of this *Newsletter* can be summed up in this question: *How shall we now utilize the skills and capacities with which we have equipped some* 1,000,000 *Negro youths?*

First reports are that Negro veterans are not getting available jobs for which they are qualified. Too many employers are looking at the so-called "race problem" and ignoring what the skilled Negro veteran can offer. Apprenticeship opportunities are practically non-existent for Negro veterans whose war-time training fits them for productive work. Some labor unions are guilty of bias and discrimination. And many government officials in agencies serving veterans are fumbling helplessly with the job problems of men who ask only an equal chance to prove their worth. The inevitable result is that Negro veterans will become bitter and frustrated as they trudge from office to office and factory to factory in search of employment.

Some Employers Are Concerned

It should not be said that all employers are indifferent to the Negro veteran's job problems. In our discussions with representatives of management, we have noted that many of them are intensely interested in this situation. Among the specific commitments we have been able to secure we consider the following unusually significant:

1. An official of a large public utility said: "This company plans to use the skills of veterans without regard to race or color. We are carefully reviewing the qualifications of Negro veterans applying for employment. The union has agreed to go along 100% in our plans."

2. A construction company executive who was an officer in an engineer unit in the South Pacific observed: "I see no reason why this company cannot cooperate fully in providing jobs for Negro veterans. There were Negro soldiers in my regiment, and they did a swell job under terrific pressure. They'll get a fair share of work with us."

3. A department store executive, back on his job after months of Army service, said his company would employ Negro veterans in any jobs for which they could qualify. The company has recently initiated a program of upgrading Negro workers to clerical and sales jobs.

4. The personnel officer of a concern manufacturing electrical equipment has employed Negro veterans with training in electrical wiring and installation. The company's production schedules will require many more workers with skills in this field.

5. A trucking company, engaged in inter-state transportation, has agreed to employ Negro drivers, preferably those with experience in Army transport service.

6. A large company, specializing in the repair of adding machines, typewriters, and other equipment, has employed Negro veterans with machine shop training.

7. A nationally known merchandising establishment has employed and trained Negro veterans to fill jobs as junior executives.

8. A prominent manufacturer of farm implements has indicated that Negro veterans with mechanical training will be employed in all of its plants.

To the growing list of progressive employers now being contacted by Urban League representatives in 53 cities, we must add many more firms before the majority of Negro veterans can be absorbed in the labor force. Other agencies, including the Veterans Administration and the Veterans' Employment Division of the USES, are seeking jobs for Negro veterans. As we move toward our goal of full production and full employment, we want to remind our readers that Negro veterans are prepared to make an important contribution to the fulfillment of this objective. All they ask is a fair chance.

Nat'l Urban League

ADJUSTMENT OF NEGRO VETERANS

A Report of the Adjustment
Problems of Negro Veterans
in 50 Cities

RECEIVED
APR 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Prepared by
Department of Industrial Relations
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway, Room 826
New York 10, N. Y.

(In Collaboration with Local League Affiliates, Service Councils,
and Negro Schools and Colleges)

March 1946

ADJUSTMENT OF NEGRO VETERANS

by

Julius A. Thomas, Director
Department of Industrial Relations
National Urban League

—

This report of the experiences of Negro veterans and the organization of services has been prepared by the National Urban League to assist Negro veterans in making an orderly and speedy adjustment to civilian life. It points out the areas in which gaps will be found in the present program, and suggests steps that should be taken to correct obvious inadequacies in the program.

In presenting this report, it should be noted that in some communities a sincere effort is being made to give Negro veterans maximum assistance in making plans for their future as civilians. In most of the Northern, Eastern, and Middle Western cities included in this inquiry, Negro personnel has been added to the staffs of Veterans' Contact Offices and the United States Employment Service Offices. Many of the special problems noted in these areas stem from the unsettled condition of the labor market, as well as from a lack of knowledge of information needed to counsel Negro veterans wisely.

It should be noted, also, that officials of the Veterans Administration and representatives of the United States Employment Service have generally been frank in discussing the problems which the Negro veteran presents. In almost every instance, these officials have expressed a desire to improve the services they are expected to give and are anxious to discover techniques

and methods that will be most useful in accomplishing this objective. The recommendations submitted for the consideration of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and officials of other agencies serving veterans have been made with the view of strengthening and extending services now available to thousands of Negro veterans.

The report covers the cities named in this memorandum. A local affiliate or Service Council of the National Urban League will be found in each of them. Members of the National staff of the Urban League have made field visits in many of these cities to check on reports submitted by local staff, and community leaders, and to discuss some of the problems with officials of the Veterans Administration, the Veterans' Employment Division of the United States Employment Service, and voluntary civic and social welfare agencies in the cities named.

Cities Included in the Inquiry

Akron, Ohio
Anderson, Indiana
Atlanta, Georgia
Baltimore, Md.
Buffalo, N.Y.
Chicago, Illinois
Cincinnati, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio
Columbus, Ohio
Detroit, Michigan
Elizabeth, N.J.
Englewood, N.J.
Flint, Michigan
Fort Wayne, Indiana
Fort Worth, Texas
Gary, Indiana
Grand Rapids, Michigan
Harrisburg, Pa.
Kansas City, Missouri
Lincoln, Nebraska
Little Rock, Arkansas
Louisville, Kentucky
Marion, Indiana
Massillon, Ohio
Memphis, Tennessee
Miami, Florida
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Minneapolis, Minn.
Morristown, N.J.
New Orleans, La.
New York, N.Y.
Newark, N.J.
Norfolk, Virginia
Omaha, Nebraska
Philadelphia, Pa.
Phoenix, Arizona
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Portland, Oregon
Providence, R.I.
Richmond, Virginia
St. Louis, Missouri
St. Paul, Minn.
Seattle, Washington
Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mass.
Toledo, Ohio
Warren, Ohio
Washington, D.C.
Waterbury, Conn.
White Plains, N.Y.

Employment and Training

The major problems confronting Negro veterans in the majority of cities studied in this inquiry have to do with employment, training, and counseling. In all of the larger cities, the movement of Negro veterans into peace-time employment lags far behind the movement of white veterans, although both groups are experiencing many disappointing difficulties in their efforts to find suitable employment. Negro veterans seeking assistance through the Veterans' Employment Service express a lack of confidence in this agency's efforts to secure employment for them, particularly in jobs other than the traditional Negro jobs. Many veterans have declined to accept jobs which paid wages below the unemployment allowances granted them under the G. I. Bill of Rights and have applied for unemployment compensation. In some cities, Negro veterans constitute 50% of the total Negro registration in active USES files.

On-the-job training and apprenticeship opportunities are rarely available to Negro veterans in Northern or Southern cities. In a few Northern cities, Negro veterans have been accepted as apprentices in the building trades, but the number has been almost insignificant. For instance, in St. Louis, Missouri, Negro veterans are excluded from any apprenticeship training in the building trades, while in Memphis, Tennessee, 40 Negro veterans were apprenticed by a segregated carpenters' union. We were unable to find any well-organized effort to secure on-the-job training or apprenticeship training for Negro veterans in any city.

The situation with respect to vocational training was found to be most disheartening. In only 11 of the 50 cities studied by the Urban League were

Negroes able to get anything approaching adequate formal vocational or technical training. In most instances, the schools accepting veterans were already overcrowded, and there was a waiting list of 50 to 300 Negro veterans. In all but 2 cities having segregated school systems, the training available to Negro veterans was entirely inadequate. The exceptions were Baltimore, Maryland; and Washington, D.C. In cities with bi-racial school systems, Negro veterans were restricted to the industrial arts departments of the Negro high schools. These schools are designed to give Negro youth exploratory training in vocational fields and are not equipped or staffed to offer realistic training in specific fields. In one large border city, St. Louis, Missouri, Negro veterans are being enrolled in the same classes with high school boys, and in another, Richmond, Virginia, even this privilege is not accorded Negro veterans.

A study of the vocational interests of 1,000 Negro veterans revealed that all separate schools are extremely weak in the training most frequently desired by the veterans. The inquiry showed that these veterans wanted training in radio and electrical work, machine shop and mechanics, business training, carpentry and woodwork, and commercial photography.

Veteran Enrollment in Colleges

The number of Negro veterans enrolling in Negro colleges and industrial schools has been steadily increasing, but it has not kept pace with the total veteran enrollment. In 30 colleges from which information was obtained, there were 3,351 Negro veterans out of a total enrollment of 19,311 students. The total veteran enrollment in 10 colleges offering technical

and vocational training was 1,763. All of these schools reported a sizeable waiting list which could not be immediately admitted because of overcrowding and lack of housing.

The following table shows the number of veterans enrolled in 10 Negro colleges offering vocational and technical education:

College	Total Enrollment	Veterans Enrollment
A. and T. College	1,382	244
Albany (Ga.) State College	309	[illegible]
Fort Valley State College	382	23
Hampton Institute	1,070	[illegible]
Langston University	540	[illegible]
Prairie View State College	1,337	[illegible]
Tennessee A. and I. State College	1,491	167
Tuskegee Institute	1,613	422
West Virginia State College	992	224
Wilberforce University	1,005	90
TOTAL	10,121	1,763

Negro Personnel in Agencies Serving Veterans

In almost every large city in the country, the number of Negroes employed by the Veterans Administration and the United States Employment Service was extremely limited. In the Southern cities, no Negroes were found on the staff of the Veterans Administration, except in the Negro colleges which have been designated as rehabilitation and counseling centers. In Tennessee, for example, only 4 Negroes are employed by the Veterans Administration, although 35% of all men entering the service from that state were Negroes. In

Louisiana, the Veterans Administration has employed 600 persons, of whom only 4 are Negroes. Negro inductions from Louisiana were 38% of the total from that state. The exclusion of Negroes from this field of employment constitutes in itself a serious problem of discrimination in view of the veterans' preferences established by the G. I. Bill.

The situation in the offices of the United States Employment Service in the Southern states ranges from poor to deplorable. In Tennessee and Louisiana, not a single Negro could be found on the payroll of this agency, despite the fact that separate offices are maintained for Negro workers and veterans who constitute about 50% of the persons served. This problem is known to exist in other Southern states, and there is widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of counseling and other services extended to Negro veterans in this area.

We were unable to find any evidence that the Veterans' Employment Service was making an effort to obtain employment opportunities for Negro veterans with special skills or abilities. No Negroes are employed as Contact Representatives by the Veterans' Employment Service in the Southern states, and very few were so employed in other sections of the country.

The use of Negro personnel on Rating Boards appears not to have received any consideration from those responsible for these appointments. In only one city covered in the survey were Negroes reported as serving on Rating Boards. In New York City, which has 15 Rating Boards, no Negroes were found.

Although the establishment and operation of Veterans' Information Centers is not a prime responsibility of the Veterans Administration, the services offered in these Centers can be most helpful in directing veterans to proper

sources of assistance and information. Negro staff members were found in only 12 of the 49 Information Centers included in the investigation, and in none of the large Southern cities were Negroes found on the staff. Our conferences with veterans who had visited many of these Centers revealed their strong feeling that the Centers have not been very helpful. This accounts for the fact that local affiliates of the Urban League in practically every large city are being called upon to help veterans with their adjustment problems. In some cities, local League offices register and serve an average of 50 veterans per day.

Loans to Veterans

The general feeling in most of the cities studied indicates that loans to Negro veterans are almost out of the question. In one city, it was reported that a half dozen Negro veterans had received loans with which to purchase trucks. In no other city were we able to locate a Negro veteran who had received a loan for the purchase of a home, or the establishment of a business. We recognize that the problem of loans to all veterans has not been satisfactorily resolved, but it is obvious that Negro veterans are not receiving adequate advice and information regarding their opportunities in this regard.

Summary and Recommendations

Our survey of the adjustment problems of Negro veterans reveals many gaps and inadequacies that can be corrected with proper administrative procedures. This report has pointed up the most serious bottlenecks in the program. Briefly summarizing them, it is clearly obvious that:

1. Negro veterans are not finding desirable employment in the majority of cities.

2. The established machinery for assisting Negro veterans in their search for employment is not serving them adequately.

3. Vocational training available to Negro veterans in most communities is so inadequate as to be almost non-existent.

4. On-the-job training and apprenticeship opportunities are rarely available to Negro veterans.

5. The Veterans Administration has discriminated against Negro veterans and workers in the appointment of personnel to assist veterans with their adjustment problems. This is especially true in the Southern states.

6. The Veterans' Employment Service has made little or no effort to utilize Negro personnel in its counseling and job-finding programs. This, too, is characteristic of Southern states and cities.

7. Negro veterans are finding it almost impossible to secure loans for business or other purposes under the terms of the G. I. Bill.

8. The quality of counseling available to Negro veterans in most cities is seriously impaired because of the lack of information regarding opportunities in training, employment, and business.

In the light of these findings, and in order to improve the services offered Negro veterans in their efforts to adjust themselves to civilian life, the following recommendations are submitted:

1. That competent Negroes be added to the Administrative Staff of the Veterans' Affairs Office to assist in the formulation of policies and procedures affecting services to Negro veterans.

2. That Negro personnel be added to the staff of the Veterans Administration at regional, state, and local levels to assist in the implementation of all phases of the veterans' service program.

3. That the Veterans Administration investigate discriminatory practices in the Veterans' Employment Division of the United States Employment Service and effect their immediate correction.

4. That the Veterans Administration investigate widespread discrimination against Negro veterans in the matter of on-the-job training and apprenticeship training and exert its influence to prevent such practices.

5. That the Veterans Administration use the powers vested in it by Congress to see that adequate training provisions are established for Negro veterans in those areas where they do not now exist.

6. That the Veterans Administration examine training programs now available to Negro veterans in public and private secondary and vocational schools, colleges, and universities to determine the needs of the schools with respect to equipment, teachers, and curricula.

—

Urban League
Chicago

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If Bethlehem had been Birmingham...

Have you ever thought what would happen if Jesus Christ were to return to the earth — to the United States of America — now — today — as a Negro? What would some Americans think of a man who preached "BROTHERHOOD! EQUALITY OF MEN IN THE SIGHT OF GOD!

What would Senator Bilbo say if such a thing were to happen? What would your family and friends say? What would your Minister say? WHAT WOULD *YOU* SAY?

Suppose it came about this way . . .

Bethlehem could be Birmingham. Judea could be Alabama, and Palestine — America. Instead of the first century, the time is now — the twentieth century. The stable becomes a tenant farmer's shack, set down in the midst of poverty and privation worse than that suffered by "God's chosen people," — amid a family more despised and ill-treated than Joseph's.

HOLY FAMILY

The mother is a cotton-picker who day after day drags her aching body along the never-ending rows of white fluff — until her time comes. The father is a cotton-picker too, with strong gnarled hands and tired, hopeless eyes. The baby is fat and sweet — just like most babies — but he is black. A black baby born to parents as lowly as David's own. God has chosen the weak to confound the strong.

AS IT WAS BEFORE

The colored Jesus walks among the sick and afflicted — healing their wounds, raising the dead, counselling and preaching, working miracles, helping the poor, and praising God. He is in New Orleans, Chicago, Harlem. He talks about "BROTHERHOOD" — "Love Ye one another," He says. And the crowds follow Him in the streets, reaching to touch His garments — flinging themselves at His feet, calling Him "SAVIOUR!"

AND HE SPOKE IN PARABLES

His sermons are parables. He tells the story of the man who sowed his seed — some on fertile ground, some on poor soil, and some on rock. "As ye sow, so shall ye reap." He extolled God-given grace and beauty — "Consider the lillies of the field how they grow. They toil not, neither do they spin; yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of them."

His audiences were spellbound. Black and white — Catholic and Protestant — Jew and Gentile, they listened to the words of the Black Christ. "This is the first and greatest Commandment: That ye love the Lord Thy God with all thy heart and all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself."

"Never has anyone spoken like this man," was the theme of each comment from the listeners. Black and white people were one with and in Christ the Redeemer. That is — most people were. But there were some discordant voices.

BACK IN BIRMINGHAM —

A white preacher challenged his congregation, "Is this black man the one you are willing to call Christ? Will you follow a Negro? Do you expect salvation to come through one like *Him?*"

The audience was quiet, listening to their preacher. They had heard of the miracles performed by the Black One whom men were calling Savior. They had seen some of the healed and comforted ones who told their stories of the laying on of hands. There were those in the congregation who were afraid that their preacher was being blasphemous in belittling the black man who was called "Jesus."

But there was none who had the courage to stand on his feet and defend his belief. In Alabama, it was dangerous to take up for Negroes. They had to be kept in their "place". The race problem had been "solved"

in the South, and Negroes knew what was expected of them.

The preacher went on — "This black talks about EQUALITY! He wants us to treat blacks and whites as equals. EQUALS! Do you know what that means?"

There was a pulsating silence in the church as every man and woman there waited for the answer. It came like a rifle-shot in the throbbing stillness, "INTER-MARRIAGE!"

"That's what EQUALITY means. He can call it brotherhood, or Christianity or anything he wants. It still means that a Negro can marry your daughter and you've got to like it!

A murmur began in the congregation — at first low and indistinct. Gradually one voice stood clear above the others. A man yelled, "We don't want no niggers marryin' our daughters!" The whole group took up the cry and other voices were heard saying "No we don't! Keep 'em in their place — EQUALITY for us and niggers! — Kill him! the black — He oughta be lynched!"

For a few minutes there was bedlam — hate was a living thing, penetrating every heart in the church. Then the preacher's voice rose above the hub-bub as he said, "Listen! It's good to hear the true believers in Christianity speak out against an impostor like this. I'm proud to know that here in Birmingham at least, Christian people are not afraid to take steps to STRIKE DOWN anybody who has the blasphemous audacity to call himself the Son of God. As we go out from this place, let us hasten to our friends and neighbors to tell them that we must join together to prevent this black man from destroying us and our beautiful America with his senseless ravings and preposterous schemes to gain equality for Negroes. I preach to you from the Scripture. I carry the word of God who said that blacks were to be "the servants among men!" Take this word of God with you wherever you go, and soon we shall see an end to this Black Christ!"

AND IN WASHINGTON . . .

There were Southern senators and congressmen talking about the "upstart" who was calling himself Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Some of the Northern senators who were good friends of theirs agreed with them when they said, "This is something which threatens the whole nation! It is our duty to *DO* something about it!"

One man, named Bilbo, was particularly agitated — "This is worse than the FEPC! It's bad enough for a few people to want equality for the niggers, but to claim that GOD WANTS IT TOO! It's got to be stopped! I'll talk on the floor of the Senate for the rest of my *life*, before I'll so double-cross the good people of Mississippi as to sit idly by and let a thing like this continue!"

And so, the affairs of State were disregarded while the legislators concerned themselves with "the threat to the nation." Bilbo and Eastland and Rankin set the pace in the House and Senate and the other representatives of the American people played follow the leader.

FINALLY . . .

The Black Christ returned to His native Southland. where He felt that He was needed even worse than He was in the Harlems of the North. In the cities and in the rural areas He preached and healed and performed miracles. He stood in fields, on the banks of rivers, in unpainted country churches — and in all these places He preached the doctrine of the BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

One night — on Friday it was — He was in a small town in Alabama, not far from Birmingham. There were both white and Negroes in the audience which listened to Him.

The people in Birmingham had heard that He would be there, and urged on by the same preacher who had been inveighing against the "Black Jesus" for months and months, a group of church people banded into a mob to go and hear what he had to say.

IN THE STILLNESS AND SHADOWS . . .

The mob rode from the city to the outskirts of the town where the Black Saviour was supposed to be preaching. There the leader asked the first passerby if he knew where they could find this man. Told that He was to be found in a small Negro church of unknown denomination, the leader called to the mob to follow him, saying, "Let's go get 'im!"

Into the quiet and peace of the Church where only the voice of Christ was to be heard, burst the sound of heavy boots. The leader clumped forward to stand before Christ, who had stopped speaking upon his entry.

Turning to face the audience, the leader of the mob addressed them thus:

> Is this the man you have called "Savior" and "Christ" and "Redeemer"? Is it this black that you call the Anointed One? Do you expect salvation to come through one like him? Look at him! He's a NIGGER! He's an imposter and a blasphemous one at that.

Listen here, all this coon wants is equality — and to a coon that means a white woman. All he wants is for the like of him to be able to strut around being smart to white people and acting uppity.

This is America! Down here we've solved the race problem and these Negroes have got to be kept in their place!

At first the church was quiet after this speech. Then a voice rang out, from way back in the church — "Let's lynch him!" The one voice became the roar of many voices, growing and amplifying like the crescendo in a symphony, "LYNCH HIM!" — until it filled the church.

Wild men ran to the altar, laid rough hands on Christ, and dragged Him unprotesting out of the church door. All this time the Christian congregation had done nothing to stay the angry crowd. Now they sat stunned listening to the noise of the mob outside.

"FORGIVE THEM? FATHER . . . "

It didn't take long to find the tree in the woods where a rope had already been hung in readiness. Christ was stripped, scourged and spat upon. Vile epithets were hurled at Him along with rocks and clumps of earth. Finally, He was hanged. "Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do!" And then it was over. Men had killed their God in human form — because his skin was black. They said, "He had to die; these Negroes must be kept in their place. This will be a lesson to them not to go around talking about EQUALITY and wanting the same rights as white people."

"FANTASTIC"

Yes, it is fantastic — but only because there has been no black Jesus. The possibility of such a thing happening to the Risen Christ if he were to be black is *not* fantastic.

There are American Christians who would take part in such a demonstration of hate and fiendishness.

And there are other Christians who, in the face of the fury of their fellow men, would lift neither finger nor voice to prevent such an injustice from being done. They are afraid to admit their convictions about these things.

And the Church — what does it do about all this? Very little! To be sure, there are some strong-willed churchmen who will by word or deed challenge their brethren to live up to their faith; but they are too few. What is your church willing to do? What is your preacher willing to do? What are YOU willing to do?

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Heads Urban League Office In Atlanta

Chicago Defender
4/6/46

NEW YORK—Nelson C. Jackson, professor of Community Organization at the Atlanta University School of Social Work was this week appointed head of the Southern Field Office in Atlanta of the National Urban League.

Nationally known as a social worker and educator, Jackson will assume the post this month, while continuing his present work at the Atlanta School. He will take full charge of the League's Southern program, June 1.

Jackson is a graduate of Morehouse College and the Atlanta University School of Social Work. He had done work toward his doctorate at the University of Chicago.

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1133 Broadway - Room 826
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Guichard Parris
Tel: CHelsea 3-1838

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For Release:

Wednesday
December 18, 1946

Employment of Negroes on policy-making levels within the Veterans' Employment Service (USES) was disclosed by Perry Faulkner, VES Chief, in a recent Washington conference with National Urban League officials. Faulkner also announced a plan for hiring additional Negro personnel under an expanded VES program which authorizes Assistant and Field Assistant Employment Representatives working in coordination with State USES offices, but responsible to the VES office in Washington.

In a subsequent letter to LeRoy W. Jeffries, the Urban League's Assistant Industrial Relations Director, Faulkner stated that a Negro Assistant Veterans' Employment Representative was already working in the District of Columbia, while other Field Assistants are on staffs in Ohio, Michigan, and New York. He said further that "as soon as it is feasible, under our present budget, and proposed budgets...we should like to have in those states where it is deemed necessary Negro Assistant Veterans Employment Representatives to serve on...State Veterans Employment staffs."

"A veteran is a veteran..."

In a re-statement of the Veterans' Employment Service non-discrimination policy, Faulkner said, "A'veteran' is defined for us by law and we do not have any inclination to look at it in any other light. A veteran is a veteran, be he White, Negro, or of any other

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race."

Under the present VES plan, there is one Veterans' Representative in each state, which is broken down into areas, with Assistants and Field Assistants allocated to the state according to veteran population. These assistants are responsible for making contacts with employers in the interest of veterans, and maintaining regular contact with employers and veterans' organizations with a view to keeping them advised of veterans available for employment and the veterans advised of opportunities for employment. The work of the Negro staff members is integrated with that of the offices with which they are attached. Placement for the jobs is made through Civil Service.

NUL Report Points Up Bias

In a report on "Adjustment of Negro veterans" issued in March and sent to USES officials, the National Urban League noted that the Veterans' Employment Service had made"little or no effort to utilize Negro personnel in its counseling and job-finding programs." Negro veterans seeking assistance through the service, the report stated, expressed "a lack of confidence in this agency's efforts to secure employment for them, particularly in jobs other than the traditional Negro jobs."

Jeffries, commenting on the new VES program, called attention to the numerous conferences held by Urban League officials with VA, USES, and other Department of Labor personnel in an effort to facilitate placement of Negro veterans and to eliminate discrimination throughout all the states. He expressed the hope that the plan would cover southern states, particularly, where there is a large concentration of Negro veterans, and widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of counseling and other services available to them.

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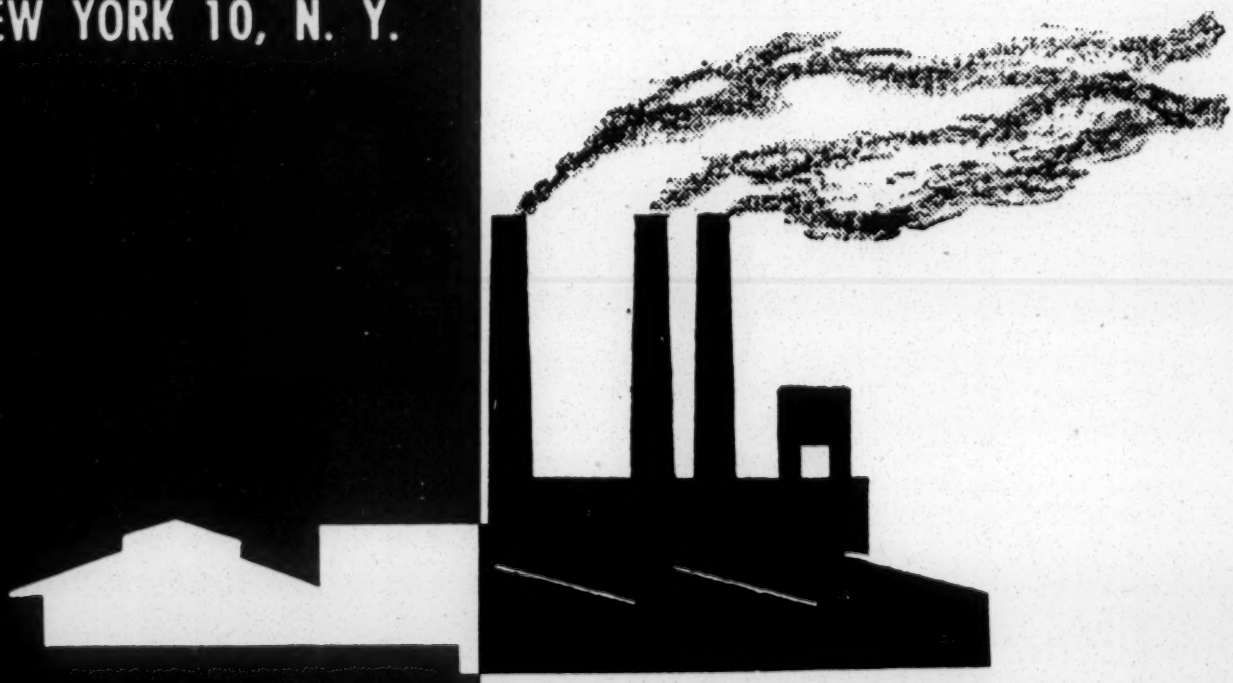
FIFTEENTH
VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY CAMPAIGN

MARCH 16 - 23, 1947



PLAN AND PREPARE

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY CHelsea 3-1838 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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56 CITIES IN
29 STATES

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Dir.*

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January 17, 1947

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We are sending this packet of literature to you because we know you are interested in vocational and educational guidance, as well as in the activities of the National Urban League.

These materials have been prepared for our 15th Vocational Opportunity Campaign. Do you know of others who would like to receive a packet similar to this? Do you know of any community agencies or schools that may wish to participate in the Vocational Opportunity Campaign, that we might not have contacted?

We will be very glad to receive criticisms and comments on the literature if you care to send them.

Ann Tanneyhill, Director
George Edwards, Assistant Director
15th Vocational Opportunity Campaign

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Ann Tanneyhill, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*

Fifteenth
VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY CAMPAIGN
March 16-23, 1947
"THE FUTURE IS YOURS — PLAN AND PREPARE"

Editor

By Nelson Antrim Crawford

THEY JUST WANT A CHANCE

THE National Urban League, backed by some of the wealthiest and most distinguished citizens of the United States, has set apart March for its fourteenth Vocational Opportunity Campaign for Negro Youth.

I know of no project which will pay better returns to the nation—whites as much as Negroes, maybe more. Negroes are a minority group, about 10 per cent of the population. For the most part they are an underprivileged group, undernourished, poorly housed, less well educated than their white neighbors.

It is a truism of history that the existence of such a group is an ever present danger to a nation—its health, its economics, its politics, its unity. More than formerly, it is a menace today when unity is recognized as a national essential.

I have heard innumerable explanations for the low position of the Negro in American life. The only one that holds water in my estimation—and the estimation of practically all students of the problem—is that Negroes as a whole do not get enough money to live on properly. In other words, the problem is an economic problem.

Why don't they get enough money? There are two reasons, which tie closely together. One is that employers don't want them for good jobs. The other is that they are not qualified for good jobs. In spite of prejudice, there is no doubt that more employers would want them if they were better trained.

Here is where the Urban League's program comes in. The league is seeking to provide better education for Negroes, especially in training them for occupations that require skill. It also is striving to stimulate Negro youth to take advantage of such education. At the same time it is combating the prejudices which still exist against hiring skilled Negroes.

Only two arguments are ever advanced against such a program. One is that Negroes are not mentally capable. That is sheer nonsense. A race that has produced agricultural scientists like George Washington Carver, educators like Alain Locke, writers like Langston Hughes, needs no defense against such a charge.

True, these are exceptional men, but the general run of Negroes employed in war plants proved reliable and efficient. I myself am familiar with Piney Woods School, established by Laurence Jones among the most backward Negroes, and I know that boys and girls trained there have developed skills of which white youth could well be proud.

THE other argument advanced against training Negroes is that they would then compete with white labor. I for one would be ashamed to admit my work was so poor it couldn't stand competition.

This selfish argument is getting less attention all the time as the more progressive labor unions are admitting Negroes and in some instances elevating them to high office. Around a million and a half Negroes are union members.

In developing vocational opportunities for Negroes any American can help. If he can do no more, he can at least give his interest and sympathy to sound Negro education. In a democratic nation every citizen should have the chance to develop and utilize all his ability. Negroes ask no more.

Reprinted, by permission, from *Household* for March, 1946, by the National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City 10.

YOUR CAREER

PLAN YOUR CAREER

3. Seek more information about it.
4. Study your own interests and abilities.
5. Get advice and guidance.
6. Start your training.

countless numbers of Negroes who are engaged in a great variety of occupations throughout America;

job success is built on interests, ability, determination and training.

They know that Negro workers are a valuable and profitable source of labor supply.

WE ARE READY TO HELP YOU!

Do you need to know the titles of books about jobs?

Do you want some guidance leaflets?

Do you want to read stories of people who have succeeded?

What is your special problem?

Write to the National or local Urban League if you need our assistance.

COUNSELORS:

We will help you in giving young people sound advice, whatever their age or school background. Send for our **Program Aids** and other guidance literature—now or at any time during the year.

EMPLOYERS:

The National Urban League and its affiliated branches in 56 cities cooperate with business and industry by locating available Negro workers and bringing them to the attention of personnel directors. The Urban League also offers you consultant services.

THE FUTURE IS YOURS—*PLAN AND PREPARE!*

YOURSELF

Have you made any plans for your future career?

Do you know yourself?

Do you know what you want to be?

NOW IS THE TIME TO PLAN!

THERE ISN'T A MOMENT TO LOSE!

SO

1. Find out about as many occupations as you can.
2. Choose the job field that interests you most.
3. Seek more information about it.
4. Study your own interests and abilities.
5. Get advice and guidance.
6. Start your training.

YOUR COUNSELOR

YOUR COUNSELOR

is ready to assist young people who seek advice when they need help in choosing and planning their future careers.

YOUR COUNSELOR

will help you understand your own interests and abilities;
will direct you in getting information about jobs;
will advise you when you are ready to select a school in which to train;
will help you find a job and adjust to it.

AND IF YOU ARE A NEGRO YOUTH

Your counselor can give you assurance that racial barriers can be overcome because:

ability bears no relation to race or color;
proof of this fact lies in the achievements of countless numbers of Negroes who are engaged in a great variety of occupations throughout America;
job success is built on interests, ability, determination and training.

YOUR EMPLOYER

AN EMPLOYER SEEKS

Efficient workers
Maximum production
Wide sales distribution

Because his success in business or industry depends upon wise investment of

Money—Machines—Manpower
He cannot afford to take chances!

HE DOES NOT TAKE CHANCES

when his capital is invested in modern machines which have been tested and proved capable of great output;

when he hires trained; efficient workers with required skills, good work habits, and demonstrated ability;

when he hires trained; efficient NEGRO WORKERS with required skills, good work habits, and demonstrated ability.

Alert employers know that they cannot afford to overlook Negro workers.

They know that Negro workers are a valuable and profitable source of labor supply.

WE ARE READY TO HELP YOU!

Do you need to know the titles of books about jobs?

Do you want some guidance leaflets?

Do you want to read stories of people who have succeeded?

What is your special problem?

Write to the National or local Urban League if you need our assistance.

COUNSELORS:

We will help you in giving young people sound advice, whatever their age or school background. Send for our Program Aids and other guidance literature—now or at any time during the year.

EMPLOYERS:

The National Urban League and its affiliated branches in 56 cities cooperate with business and industry by locating available Negro workers and bringing them to the attention of personnel directors. The Urban League also offers you consultant services.

THE FUTURE IS YOURS—*PLAN AND PREPARE!*

PLAN

AND PREPARE!

The National Urban League conducts a year-round vocational guidance program, designed to assist local Urban Leagues, other community agencies, and schools and colleges throughout the country.

One of the special guidance projects is the VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY CAMPAIGN, which originated in 1930. The campaign is held for one week in the spring of each year, and special activities direct the attention of Negro youth to the need for planning their vocational futures.

WHY?

To point out to Negro boys and girls that they must secure training and develop skills in order to widen their chances for employment.

WHY?

To demonstrate to teachers, counselors, and school administrators that Negro boys and girls should be given opportunity to train for all types of jobs.

WHY?

To convince employers that it is to their advantage to hire workers according to their preparation and skills, without regard to race or color.

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 BROADWAY
New York 10, N. Y.

Southern Field Division
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY BULLETIN

No. 1 A National Urban League Publication January 1947

RECEIVED JAN 27 1947 Southern Regional Council

FOREWORD

With this first issue of the VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY BULLETIN, the National Urban League begins a series of bulletins, to be published occasionally, devoted to information on training, jobs and careers.

Urban League affiliates across the nation, community organizations and agencies, and schools and colleges are invited to tell us the kind of information they would like to appear in this bulletin.

If you wish to be placed on the mailing list to receive the bulletin, please address your request to Ann Tanneyhill, Director of Vocational Guidance, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, New York.

VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY CAMPAIGN LITERATURE

The National Urban League's 15th Vocational Opportunity Campaign will be observed March 16-23, 1947. Special literature has been prepared for the Campaign, and other materials are available for the use of cooperating groups and schools, students, teachers, counselors, librarians, etc. These materials are described on the following pages. An order form is enclosed. Orders should be placed immediately so that they can be received in advance of the opening of the Campaign.

The posters and map should be displayed on school bulletin boards, in libraries, in the lobbies of community centers, settlement houses, etc., and wherever young people assemble.

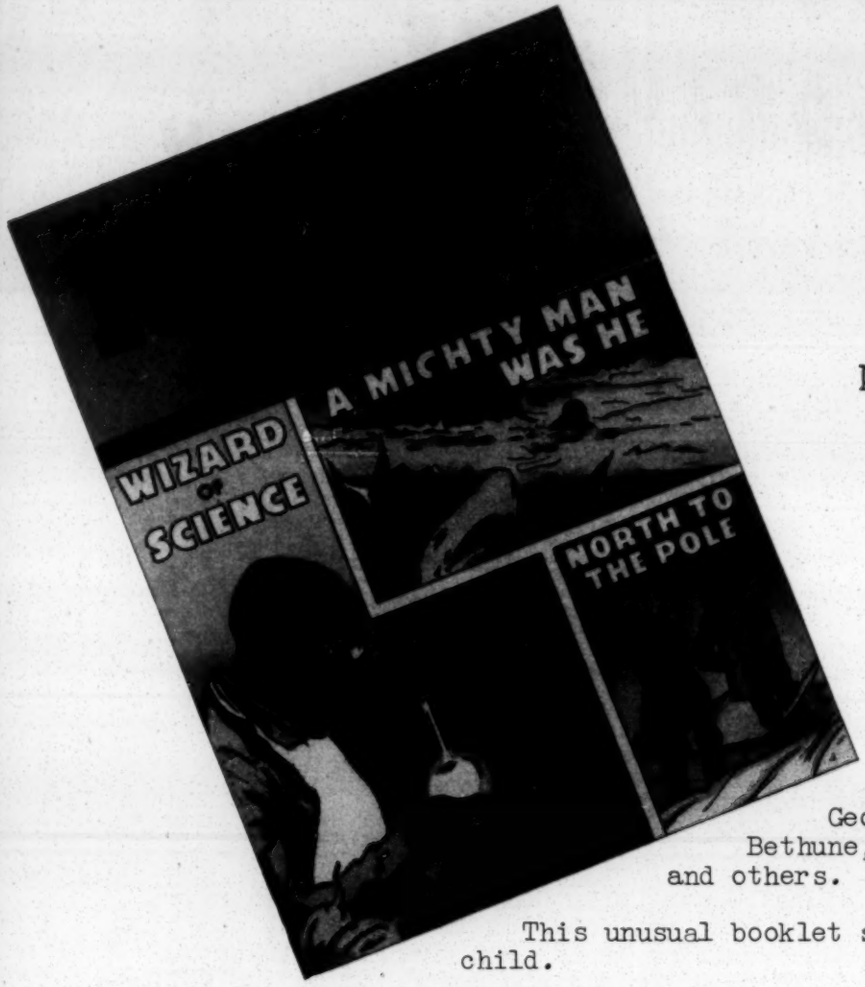
The map, AMERICANS OF NEGRO LINEAGE, has many uses. It can serve in classes -- civics, social studies, history, English, etc., as the basis for biographical stories of the individuals, papers and student talks on the vocations represented, and classroom discussion.

YOUR CAREER has been prepared for youth to stimulate interest in future vocations. Under the guidance of the teacher or counselor, students can study the world of work and their own preparation for it.

NEGRO HEROES is a comic book, useful in vocational counseling. We are experimenting in the use of the comic book as an educational medium in race relations and guidance. In addition to the enjoyment young people will get from reading it by themselves, NEGRO HEROES can be used by groups, in discussions and in the classroom. Teachers and counselors are urged to have student discussion of the individual qualities of character necessary for "heroic" performance in everyday life; the life backgrounds of individuals portrayed, and the physical, mental, and educational qualifications necessary for the vocations pictured. The booklet is also excellent for use in intercultural education.

The National Urban League is anxious to receive comments of educators, teachers, counselors, social workers, parents, and especially young people, who read NEGRO HEROES in order to plan for future issues of the booklet.

* * *



NEW

The Lives of

NEGRO HEROES

presented in vivid colorful comic picture form

Foreword by JOE LOUIS

32 pages giving glimpses into the lives and deeds of Negro men and women who have colored the history of America. Factual stories include: WIZARD OF SCIENCE -- BELOVED TEACHER -- NORTH TO THE POLE -- A MIGHTY MAN WAS HE -- etc., telling of the lives of George Washington Carver, Mary McLeod Bethune, Matt Henson, Seaman Charles French and others.

This unusual booklet should be in the hands of every American child.

Published in cooperation with The Parents' Institute.

ADVISORY EDITORS

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Author of Children's Stories

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Air Corps, U. S. Army

COLONEL PHILIP COCHRAN
Air Corps, U. S. Army

DANNY KAYE
Star of Stage, Screen and Radio

CANADA LEE
Star of Stage, Screen and Radio

E. SIMMS CAMPBELL
Artist and Illustrator

ROGER WILLIAM RIIS
Roving Editor, "The Reader's Digest"

OLIVER W. HARRINGTON
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Radio's "Mr. District Attorney"

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Single copies.....10¢ each

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A.
100-900 copies....$7.50 per hundred
(Orders filled at this rate in 100 lots only)

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1,000
2,000 $55.00 per thousand
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4,000 in 1,000 lots only)
5,000
etc.

C.
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Any combination order of Groups "A" and "B"
$55.00 per thousand
$7.50 per hundred for lesser quantities in 100 lots

For example: If you wish to order 1,500 the first 1,000 will cost $55.00 and the additional 500 at the rate of $7.50 per hundred, total cost $92.50. An order of 2,300 would cost $110 for the first 2,000 and $22.50 for 300 or a total of $132.50.

AMERICANS OF NEGRO LINEAGE

by
LOUISE JEFFERSON

A map in color showing some outstanding Negroes in American life and history and their various fields of endeavor. Excellent for bulletin board use.

Size: 40 x 30 inches
Special price to schools and groups cooperating with the National Urban League 40¢ per copy. (Regular price is 50¢)

* * *

VOC POSTER

Poster announcing the 1947 Vocational Opportunity Campaign. Blank space for imprint of school or agency name. In color.
Size: 11 x 17 inches 5¢ each

* * *

I START TO WORK TODAY

Poster published in cooperation with the Institute for American Democracy. Blank space for imprint of school or agency name. In color.
Size: 11 x 21 inches Single copy free

* * *

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway New York 10, N.Y.

VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY BULLETIN

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Willard S. Townsend, Vice-President
Sadie T. M. Alexander, Secretary
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E. Kinckle Jones, General Secretary
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THE MAN WHO WOULDN'T GIVE UP

by Paul de Kruif

The story of Percy L. Julian, one of America's greatest chemists. Reprinted from The Reader's Digest for August 1946.

Single copy free

YOUR CAREER

A leaflet for young people to stimulate interest in job preparation. Contains special messages to the counselor and the employer. In color.

6 pages Single copy free 100 copies for $1.00

* * *

PROGRAM AIDS FOR THE VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY CAMPAIGN

by Ann Tanneyhill

A manual of program suggestions for schools and community groups participating in the Vocational Opportunity Campaign. 1945 edition with mimeographed supplement for 1947.

32 pages 50¢ each

* * *

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES: A Challenge to Young Negroes

by W. J. Kennedy, Jr.

A discussion of opportunities in the business field for trained young people. Reprinted from OPPORTUNITY--Journal of Negro Life, Spring 1946.

Single copy free

* * *

THE PLACEMENT SERVICE OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE: A Technique In Race Relations

by Frank S. Loescher

A description of the non-fee placement service established by the American Friends Service Committee in October 1945. Indicates the extent of the service to individuals, business and industry, educational institutions, welfare organizations, etc. Reprinted from OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Magazine, for November 1946. Distributed through the courtesy of the American Friends Service Committee.

Single copy free

* * *

OPPORTUNITY
Spring Issue, 1947

The official organ of the National Urban League. Published quarterly. Spring issue is devoted to the Vocational Opportunity Campaign. The magazine contains many stories of achievement in occupations not usually thought about. Excellent material for student and classroom use.

Single copy 25¢ Over 50 copies 20¢ each

* * *

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
Department AT
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

☐ Enclosed find (check) (postal order) (stamps)

☐ Please bill me

for the following:

Quantity	Title	Unit Price	Total
	NEGRO HEROES	Special Rates	$
	AMERICANS OF NEGRO LINEAGE	40¢ each	
	VOC POSTER	5¢ each	
	I START TO WORK TODAY	free	
	THE MAN WHO WOULDN'T GIVE UP	free	
	YOUR CAREER	$1.00 for 100	
	PROGRAM AIDS FOR THE VOC and Supplement	50¢ each	
	BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES	free	
	THE PLACEMENT SERVICE OF A.F.S.C.	free	
	OPPORTUNITY: Spring Issue, 1947	25¢ each over 50 copies 20¢ each	
	Shipping Charge - 5%		
TOTAL			$

Signed _____

School or Organization _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Orders under $5.00 are cash sales, and remittance of advance payment by check, postal order or stamps is expected. Orders above $5.00 may be paid when order is placed, or will be billed payable within thirty days. On all orders $5.00 and over please add an additional charge of 5% to cover costs of shipment.

MAKE CHECK OR POSTAL ORDER payable to the NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

(please post on your
school bulletin board)

DID YOU EVER HEAR OF

the Negro Certified Public Accountant who is now controller of one of the country's largest management and booking agencies? or

the young Negro woman designer who created the seven fabulous 1946 Christmas-window costumes for New York's fashionable department store, Bonwit Teller, Inc? or

the young Negro interior decorator in Akron, Ohio, who decorates windows and advises decorators for all the shops of a nationally-known dress store chain for her area? or

the Negro in New York who was coordinating architect in the re-designing of the present United Nations Building at Flushing Meadow? or

the Negro labor leader in Chicago who rose from station employee to Secretary-Treasurer of one of the country's strongest labor unions?

THE STORIES OF THESE NEGRO AMERICANS--AND MORE--WILL BE
presented as a

SPECIAL SERVICE for YOU

by more than 100 NEGRO NEWSPAPERS THROUGHOUT
the country--in cooperation with the NATIONAL
URBAN LEAGUE'S VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY CAMPAIGN.

WATCH FOR THEM under a column headed

"THE FUTURE IS YOURS--What Are You Doing About It?"

CHECK YOUR LOCAL
NEWSPAPER
for this column series
which begins the

FIRST WEEK IN FEBRUARY!

March 26, 1947

Miss Ann Tanneyhill
National Urban League
1133 Broadway - Room 826
New York 10, New York

Re: Brazier, Wesley R.
1950 Jackson Avenue,
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Miss Tanneyhill:

I have known Mr. Brazier for the length of his employment with our Veteran's Service Division.

He is a man of about 30 years of age, and a native of Louisiana.

He is a graduate of Dillard University and the Atlanta School of Social Work.

He is same, alert, progressive, and thoroughly familiar with ways of getting things done in our bi-racial pattern. I feel that he would make good as our urban administrator.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

NAME ----------WESLEY R. BRAZIER ADDRESS- 1950 Jackson Ave., N.O., La.

AGE ----------29

Birth place -------Slidell, Louisiana

Education: A.B. degree from Dillard University, New Orleans, La.
MSW degree from Atlanta University School of Social Work

Experience: 1 year as physical Ed Director of YMCA, New Orleans, La.
Staff Assistant, Decatur St. USO
Staff Assistant, Poydras St. USO
Playground supervisor, Bundy playground, Washington, D.C.
Registry clerk, Munitions Bldg. Washington, D.C.
Boys work secretary, 12th St. Branch YMCA, Washington, D.C.

Re:

Dear Miss Tannenbaum:

I have known Mr. Brazier for the length of his employment with our Veteran's Service Division.

He is a man of about 30 years of age, and a native of Louisiana.

He is a graduate of Dillard University and the Atlanta School of Social Work.

He is sane, alert, progressive, and familiar with ways of getting things done in our bi-racial pattern. I feel that he would make good as an urban administrator.

Sincerely yours

WESLEY R. BRAZIER

MA 8343

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

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SERVICES
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Official Organ
OPPORTUNITY—Journal of Negro Life

Thirty-sixth Year of Service

AFFILIATES IN 54 CITIES IN 27 STATES

March 13, 1947

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Dr. Harold L. Triggs
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: Brazier, Wesley R.
1950 Jackson Avenue
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Triggs:

The individual whose name appears above, has filed a personnel record with the National Urban League, and has indicated a desire to be considered as a candidate for future employment with the National Urban League or one of its affiliated organizations.

We are anxious to complete the personnel record by securing statements from persons who can evaluate the professional training and ability of the applicant.

The applicant has given your name as a reference. From your knowledge of the background, education, and employment experiences of the applicant, and from contacts you have had with him, you are doubtless in a position to give an estimate of his abilities, and to tell us something about his character and personality.

If possible, your statement should give information on personal qualities, work performance, administrative ability and any qualifications and assets for working in the field of race relations.

Your statement will be greatly appreciated, for it will assist us in evaluating the candidate's fitness. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

by: Ann Tanneyhill

Enc.

AT:jc

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FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

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AFFILIATES IN 54 CITIES IN 27 STATES

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
Julius A. Thomas, *Director*
LeRoy W. Jeffries, *Asst. Director*

April
Second
1947

RECEIVED
APR 4 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 28 and the information concerning the Office of the Veterans Administration in Tulsa, Oklahoma. This is a very pleasant surprise, and I hope similar action will take place in some of the other states. I received a copy of the Mississippi Study just a few days ago, and it certainly doesn't make one feel very hopeful about the condition in that state.

You will recall that I prepared a statement for General Erskine and suggested that he call a meeting of the four Consultants. I had a reply from him reminding me that the Retraining and Reemployment Administration will be terminated July 1. He suggested, however, that I make the report official for the Committee, and he would discuss it with General Bradley, Mr. Schwellenbach and others in the two departments. I am planning to do this, since I have the green light from the other Consultants.

I note, however, that General Bradley has asked to be relieved of his V.A. responsibilities as soon as possible. I have no idea who is likely to succeed him, but I hope it will be a person with a much better understanding of and more sympathy with the problems with which we are concerned.

Sorry I didn't get down to Atlanta last month. I looked forward to seeing you. No doubt I shall be making a Southern trip before summer.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Julius A. Thomas

Julius A. Thomas, Director
Department of Industrial Relations

JAT:RAK

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

File

250 AUBURN AVENUE, NE *Jackson 5471* **ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA**

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George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*

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OPPORTUNITY—Journal of Negro Life

Thirty-seventh Year of Service

AFFILIATES IN
56 CITIES IN
29 STATES

National Office:
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

April 25, 1947

Didn't attend
Was in Richmond

Dr. Harold Trigg:
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

This office has been requested to convene an interested group of Negro citizens in state problems to meet with representatives of the Georgia Citizens Council to discuss possibilities of participation by Negroes in this state program. This meeting will be held at the Community Planning Council, 11 Pryor Street, Monday, May 5, at 3:00 P. M.

The Georgia Citizens Council is an organization established by the legislature, its board members named by the Governor, and its program is to serve all the people in areas of health, education, welfare, housing and other phases of community planning. The program has not reached the Negro citizens of the state. Help is being asked to discuss ways and means of securing our representation.

Sincerely yours,

Nelson C. Jackson

Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

NCJ:mh

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May 26, 1947

Miss Ann Tanneyhill
Director of Vocational Guidance
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Tanneyhill:

Here are two copies of the latest edition of our trial directory of veterans organizations in the South, which you wrote for on May 22.

This has been compiled over a period of several months and a percentage of the addresses are no longer accurate. However, it is the best I have at present.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY CHelsea 3-1838 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Ann Tanneyhill, *Director*

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AFFILIATES IN 56 CITIES IN 29 STATES

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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MAY 26 1947
Southern Regional Council

May 22, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I understand that you have a mimeographed list "Trial Directory of Veterans' Organizations in Southern States". I wonder if this has been completed to the point where it is available to other agencies and organizations. If so, I would like to have a copy of it for use in connection with the distribution of vocational guidance materials which we will have available throughout the year.

We are building a rather extensive list of schools, colleges, organizations, and other groups interested in vocational guidance and training, and I would like to have the agencies working with veterans in the southern states on our mailing list.

With appreciation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ann Tanneyhill

Ann Tanneyhill
Director of Vocational Guidance

AT:jc

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway - Room 826
New York 10, New York

RECEIVED
JUL 7 1947
Southern Regional Council

July 2, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Will you help us do a job?

We are attaching to this letter "Your Career in the Building Trades," a six-page, green and white folder. This is not just another folder of advice--but part of machinery being set in operation to

integrate Negro workers into the building trades.

When we began working intensively some time ago with national housing officials--and some private builders--on the matter of seeing that Negroes were included in the Nation's huge public and private housing program, we found

1) labor shortage as critical as material shortage

2) Negro labor shorter still--and

3) an alarming reluctance of Negroes to go into the building trades.

There were other factors, too:

1) some building trades unions do not welcome Negro workers

2) apprenticeships in the trades are not generally open to Negroes--and

3) employers--where there is no FEPC law--usually bypass Negro workers.

Our process is to begin at the beginning--and that is where "Your Career in the Building Trades" comes in. While we are pursuing the important program of trying to make openings with employers, and unions, we must also be sure

1) that there are capable, well-trained men to fill the openings--and

2) that they know how to proceed to get jobs once they are trained.

That is where we need your support.

Will you help this vital process by talking or writing about this pamphlet whenever you can? Will you ask us for other copies to give away to people who need them or to place in spots where they can be used effectively--or send us names and addresses for this purpose?

Please accept our gracious appreciation for any help you can give on this score.

Yours sincerely,

Guichard Parris

Guichard Parris

Encs. 2

National Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway - Room 826
New York City

Guichard Parris
CHelsea 3-1838

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

For Immediate Release

URBAN LEAGUE BREAKS UTILITY JOB BIAS

New York - November 20, 1947: - The first Negro white-collar workers were hired by the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company this week, marking the success of long-time negotiations by the Cleveland and the National Urban Leagues to break the utility company's job bias. Announcing the employment policy change, Clifford Minton, Industrial Relations Secretary, Cleveland Urban League, said that the new employees would have every opportunity for advancement.

Although the Cleveland utility company has always employed Negro workers, this is the first break away from the "traditional Negro" job category. It is the second private utility firm in Cleveland to employ Negroes as white collar workers. The Ohio Bell Telephone Company, while not yet hiring switchboard operators, has employed Negroes as collectors, commercial representatives and clerks.

White Collar Survey Due Soon

A complete survey of Negroes in white-collar jobs around the country will be released to the public by the National Urban League before the end of the year. The survey, being made by Leroy Jeffries, Assistant Director, Industrial Relations Department, will show results to date of an intensive campaign begun by the National and Urban Leagues more than two years ago to integrate Negroes into the utility and retail merchandising job fields, as well as other non-Negro private concerns such as banks, insurance companies, law and manufacturing firms.

"Privately-owned businesses," Mr. Jeffries stated in discussing the survey, "are the hub of the American economy. The best measure of the Negro worker's participation in the country's economy is the extent to which he is integrated into these'basic' job fields."

###

National Urban League

December 15, 1947

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

It was very kind of you to write me in your letter of December 12.

I have long had the greatest admiration for the Urban League and the way it works. I am happy to aid it as an advisor its expansion in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY CHelsea 3-1838 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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DEC 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

December
Twelfth
1947

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OPPORTUNITY—Journal of Negro Life

Thirty-seventh Year of Service

AFFILIATES IN
56 CITIES IN
29 STATES

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am very pleased to learn from Nelson C. Jackson, the Southern Field Director of the National Urban League, that we have your consent to serve as a member of our South-wide Advisory Council. At a time when the Urban League movement is responding with unparelleled success to the challenges and opportunities that lie before us throughout the nation, it is distinctly encouraging to know that we have behind us so strong and representative an advisory group as the South-wide Council constitutes. Your help will be of inestimable value in guaging both the nature of social problems in the southern area and the application of Urban League techniques to those problems as we find them.

You will be interested in knowing something of the recent history of our Southern Office. For many years, the Southern Field Division of the National Urban League was little more than a central recording office for our southern affiliates. During the last ten years, consistent efforts have been made to increase the importance of this office by providing additional staff, organizing new Urban Leagues in southern cities, and offering a supervisory and supportive service from our Atlanta headquarters that would be comparable to the service rendered by the national headquarters to the entire country. The result of this persistent improvement program is seen today, both in the increased size of staff (three professional workers) and in the steady spread of the Urban League movement.

Jacksonville, Florida, is our newest local Urban League affiliate, and we have every reason to feel that this unit will be a matter of pride for the whole movement. More than this, we have the effects of our well-known Community Relations Project, which was carried forward in five northern and eight southern cities, with the most successful operations being located in the South - Winston-Salem, St. Petersburgh, Chattanooga, Tulsa and Oklahoma City. These are only a few of the cities in the southern area which have recorded appreciatively the counsel and assistance brought to them by our community relations experts.

This is a long first letter, but I am anxious, while thanking you for your willingness to serve with us, also to inform you somewhat

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on the recent background of the movement with which you are formally associated in a regional capacity. Just as our national Executive Secretary will depend upon the Southern Field Director for professional interpretation of the work and its needs in his area, so will our national Executive Board depend upon your South-wide Council for the layman's interpretation of the League's role and effectiveness.

Thank you again for what you are doing to advance not only the economic status of the nearly ten million Negroes who live in the South, but also the interest of the entire American nation by proving that American teamwork - which is to say interracial cooperation - really does work.

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd K. Garrison

Lloyd K. Garrison,
President,
National Urban League

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

LKG/m

National Urban League

October 22, 1947

Mr. Nelson C. Jackson
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

My apologies for failing to find the second time your letter honoring me with an invitation to serve as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Urban League for the Southern field.

It is a pleasure to accept. I look forward to serving with this committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, NE Jackson 5471 **ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA**

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*

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OCT 22 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Several weeks ago, in a telephone conversation, you consented to serve as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Urban League for the Southern field. I am very anxious to get that Committee set up as soon as possible, so won't you please confirm this acceptance by return mail.

Very sincerely yours,

Nelson C. Jackson

Nelson C. Jackson,
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW

I do fully and gladly accept; sorry I didn't seem to find the overcoat to answer!

George Mitchell

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National U.L.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, NE Jackson 5471 **ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA**

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George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*

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OCT 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Several weeks ago, in a telephone conversation, I asked if you would consent to serve as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Urban League for the Southern area. I am formally asking that question now, because I would like to get the Committee set up as soon as possible. The function of the Committee would be to lend perspective and guidance to the work of the League in the Southern States, and I feel that our two organizations should work more closely together for mutual benefit, since both are concerned with what happens - and more important, what we can do about some of the problems which we mutually have in the region.

The Committee will not meet formally until later on, when there are funds to permit the calling of the group together. However, I hope that it will be possible to talk with one or two persons who might consent to serve in the Atlanta area about some of the situations which are needful of attention, and some progress can be made.

Cordially yours,

Nelson C. Jackson

Nelson C. Jackson,
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW

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26. - Nat'l Urban League

Southern Field Division
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

MEMORANDUM January 21, 1948

To: Executives of Southern Affiliates
and
Members of South-wide Advisory Committee

From: Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

Subject: Highlights 1947 - Prospectus 1948

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Southern Regional Council

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INTRODUCTION

The Southern Field Division of the National Urban League was organized in 1919 to carry out the program of the National Urban League in the South. Its territory extends from Virginia to Texas and South to the Gulf of Mexico. The program of community organization engaged in concerns the development of broader service to Negroes in health, housing, education, welfare and industrial relations. It extends programs through organizing additional Leagues, consulting with existing branches, agencies and groups, and seeks to secure moral and financial support through the interest of white and Negro Southerners.

The Southern Office was manned by an Executive and an Office Secretary from its beginning until 1946, when an additional staff member was added to work with schools and colleges in vocational guidance and counseling. This staff member, in addition to his duties as Assistant Southern Field Director, seeks to help youth find careers in new fields and to provide information regarding trends in employment. The appointment in 1947 of a Director of Promotion and Publicity in the office will strengthen the League's public relations and provide interpretation of services and needs in the South. There are now five staff members in the office.

A South-wide Advisory Committee, composed of distinguished white and Negro Southerners, organized in the latter part of 1947, will serve as a sounding board for Southern League operations and as a bulwark of support and advice in the development of the program in the region.

SERVICES TO LOCAL LEAGUES

Richmond, Atlanta, Tampa, Miami, New Orleans, Little Rock, Fort Worth, Oklahoma City and Memphis were visited by the Southern Field staff. One visit was made to six of the Leagues by the National Director and the Southern Field Director. In this swing around the circuit, interpretation of the National to the local was made, program strengthened in certain communities, and interpretation of the local to the National accomplished. In addition, it set the stage for closer working operations during 1948.

In visiting League cities, consultations were held with Boards, Staffs, Chests and Councils and key citizens in communities for the purpose of strengthening the League movement wherever possible. It meant, in one community, the securing of an Executive for an agency; in another, the strengthening of vocational guidance and counseling operations; in still a third, the development of

industrial relations procedures; and in others, the tightening of community organization procedure by cooperation with local, state and national agencies.

NEW LEAGUE PROSPECTS

Birmingham, Alabama; Jackson, Mississippi; Mobile, Alabama; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Charleston, South Carolina; Columbus, Georgia; Houston, Texas; Norfolk, Virginia; and Chattanooga, Tennessee all expressed interest in organization of branches of the Urban League. The cities above mentioned, except Chattanooga, Tennessee, Charleston, South Carolina and Houston, Texas were visited during the year, and in several organizing committees are at work. During this period, also, Jacksonville, Florida organized a branch of the Urban League and was accepted by the National Office near the end of the year. Each of the cities visited during 1947 will be visited again during 1948 to aid in the further organization of League branches. Four Southern States do not have Leagues - namely, North and South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi. It is planned during 1948 to concentrate on these four states.

The Southern Field professional staff has traveled approximately 40,000 miles during the year, and in addition carried on a tremendous amount of correspondence in lieu of travel because of other duties in connection with the operation of the office.

OPERATIONAL AREAS

In promoting services of the National Office, the Southern Field Division has attempted to develop a higher quality of service in the South and to cooperate with agencies which have specific functions in housing, health, industry, welfare and education. The following operational areas engaged our interest:

1. Social Welfare

One or more members of the staff of the Southern Field Division has worked closely with Chests and Councils in a number of Southern cities in connection with Urban League activities in aiding, developing or expanding services for Negroes in public welfare, recreation and similar services. In addition, members have worked directly with organizing groups to set up such agencies as the Atlanta Association for Convalescent and Aged, the organization of an Advisory Committee to the Georgia Citizens Council, and through consultation with local and state departments of Public Welfare have aided in specific programs. Staff persons have participated in national and regional activities as Executive Committee members of the U. S. Children's Bureau, the American Association of Social Workers, Association for the Study of Community Organization, Georgia Conference on Social Welfare and other conference programs.

2. Industrial Relations

New industries are moving South. There is a supply of Negro labor unused to its fullest extent. Efforts to integrate Negroes into industries coming South are dependent upon the employment of skilled Industrial Relations Secretaries in Urban League

branches. It is hoped that this service can be expanded during 1948. At present there are two Industrial Relations Secretaries in local Leagues - Atlanta and Richmond.

During 1947, visits were made to the local Ford Plant by staff members of the Atlanta and National Offices and a score of other agencies were visited in connection with employment policies of organizations with the hope of securing the greater use of Negro workers. Demonstration projects were discussed for New Orleans and Memphis to expand the services of the League in the industrial relations field. In this connection there has been a close relationship between industrial relations and vocational guidance in the Southern Field Division.

3. Vocational Guidance

Fifty-one colleges and one hundred and seventy-one secondary schools were visited or contacted in preparation for the year's vocational guidance activities. Initial plans for state-wide committees were formulated in Georgia, Florida and Alabama. It is expected that several of these committees will be fully organized during 1948. The purpose of these groups is to stimulate activities among youths to help them plan careers and to help find a place in industry for those who have secured the skills.

4. Education

Several schools and colleges have called on the Southern Field Division to help plan curriculums. In addition, staff members have participated as teachers in local colleges and with the Georgia Workers Education Service. In each instance, it has meant the interpretation of League operations and greater understanding of League program.

5. Housing

Housing continues to be a number one problem and a project of the Southern Field Division. Cooperative efforts have been fruitful with representatives of the Federal Housing Agencies. Staff members have participated in housing conferences and have alerted local representatives of the League to participate in housing hearings which have been held by Congressional groups in the region. It is planned to continue this type of service at an accelerated pace during 1948.

PROMOTION AND PUBLICITY

The Director of Promotion and Publicity for the Southern Field Division has organized Urban League Guilds in Richmond, Norfolk and Atlanta. Requests have come from a number of Leagues in the South for the organization of similar groups of women to help interpret and promote the program of the

Urban League in their communities. This will be done during 1948.

Through a weekly column carried in the ATLANTA JOURNAL, it is estimated that 15,000,000 copies of the column have been read in the South. The column provides an opportunity of explaining the work of the League in several of its releases. In addition, newspaper publicity has been carried and articles by the Southern Field staff have been released in OPPORTUNITY, the SECRETARIAT, SOCIAL WORK DIGEST, SURVEY GRAPHIC, and papers were read before several learned societies and organizations, including the National Vocational Guidance meeting in Columbus, Ohio, the National Urban League Conference and the Georgia Conference on Social Welfare.

Each of the Southern Field Professional Staff members attended conventions of college fraternities and sororities which met at the year's end. Mr. Edwards attended the Delta convention in San Antonio, Texas, which led to a closer cooperative effort between the National Urban League and this organization. Similarly, Miss Chisholm attended the Omega Psi Phi convention in Detroit, and the Southern Field Director worked with the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity in Atlanta. In each instance there was a commitment regarding possibilities of financial support during 1948.

The Southern Field Division will attempt during 1948 to raise between $35,000 and $50,000 to carry on the work of the Urban Leagues in the South. This amount is needed for the development of additional branches of the Urban League, for the organization of institutes throughout the South, and for the operations of the Southern Field Office. Insofar as this is successful the work will advance.

/////

Natyal Urban League

March 5, 1948

The Reverend Mr. Conrad Myrick
St. Andrew's Church
1180 Eleventh Avenue, South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

Dear Mr. Myrick:

We have been terribly busy here with the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, which occurred the twenty-seventh of February. My apologies for this long delay in answering your letter.

I have the very greatest confidence in the Urban League. I have worked with it in Richmond and in Baltimore and very closely here in Atlanta, where I am a member of the Board of the Atlanta Urban League and a member of the Advisory Committee of the Southern Field Division of the National Urban League.

Everywhere that I have known the League, its officials have been responsible, practical, straightforward and very useful.

The League always has had strong links with employers. It has the good will of organized labor also. It is not an agitational organization. It has a job to do and it goes about doing it.

It is clear from all the controversy of today that the main idea that is pushed in the agitation for a Federal fair employment practices law will continue to grow. Our Council is not opposed to such a law, but we are anxious for the South to come around in its own day-to-day conduct of community affairs to a habit of fair play, which will need only a minimum of enforcement from any source. In my judgment the Urban League is a very valuable instrument in producing within the South and within local communities negotiated and agreed change.

Each local League provides itself with an industrial secretary. He becomes a specialist in fitting Negro workers into better jobs. He has no power except the power of negotiating consent. Of course, the progress in that regard is never enough to satisfy people with all-out views. But they get a surprising improvement simply by learning each situation and bringing knowledge to bear on each local problem.

I am enclosing some pamphlet material about the origin, purpose, procedure and scope of the League, which Mr. Nelson Jackson, Director of the Southern Field Office here in Atlanta has sent to be forwarded to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : Fleming pamphlet;
Pamphlet material from
Urban League

GSM:eb

St. Andrew's Church
Episcopal
The Rev. CONRAD MYRICK, Rector
1180 Eleventh Avenue, South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

Rector's Study

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Robert B. Eleazer
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor:

The Birmingham Young Business Men's Club, a civic organization here, has become interested in the Urban League, and are investigating the advisability of participation in it.

As their Chaplain they asked me to write to you on this, wanting your opinion on it, since I told them of the good work you are doing in racial relationship in Atlanta.

These men are deffinately interested in this phase of our life. Will you send me some material on 1) its origin, 2) its purpose, 3) its proceedure, 4) its personnel, 5) its scope.

We will appreciate this very much.

Sincerely yours,

Conrad Myrick

Conrad Myrick

St. Matthias' Day, 1948

Nat'l Urban League

June 18, 1948

Miss Isobel J. Chisholm, Director
Promotion and Publicity
Southern Field Division
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Chisholm:

I have been slow in replying to your letter of May 17 about the Southern Field Division's campaign for fifty thousand dollars.

I can put in five, with my cordial praise for the work of the National and the Atlanta Urban Leagues.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: $5.00

GSM:eb

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, NE Jackson 5471 **ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA**

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New York 10, New York

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*

Isobel J. Chisholm, *Director Promotion and Publicity*

May 17, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAY 18
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At present the National Urban League is engaged in its Annual Fund-Raising Campaign. The goal for the Southern Field Division is $50,000.

We sincerely appeal to you for both your moral and financial support in this vast undertaking. The need for strengthening and broadening the program is urgent.

For thirty-seven years, the Urban League has been "on the job" in behalf of both the vast Negro population and the American community in general.

Examine the record for 1947 alone!
Consider the broad prospectus for 1948!!

The attached copy presents, in brief, the program of the Urban League. Doesn't this exceptional record warrant your support?

We hope that, after serious consideration of this vital program, you will be as generous as possible in making a personal contribution toward the organization's future operations. And won't you please serve as "Ambassador of Goodwill" for the League program among your many friends and associates?

Checks made payable to the National Urban League may be sent directly to this office toward the Southern Campaign quota.

Cordially yours,

Isobel J. Chisholm

(Miss) Isobel J. Chisholm, Director
PROMOTION AND PUBLICITY

Nelson C. Jackson

Nelson C. Jackson,
SOUTHERN FIELD DIRECTOR

IJC:MW
enc. 2

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R E P R I N T

R E P R I N T

ON THE LINE

By BOB CONSIDINE

International News Service Staff Writer

NEW YORK--(INS)--The passing show:

Some of the finest work being done in America today is that of the Urban League, formed to do something constructive about the so-called "Negro problem" at root level.

Twice as many people are working in the U. S. today than in 1932, but the percentage rise among colored persons has been only a third. In many instances, on the one hand, we are giving colored persons every opportunity to become educated at public expense and, on the other hand, rejecting them for the jobs and professions for which they have been trained.

Robert W. Dowling, chairman of the Urban League Service Fund, whose group includes Winthrop Rockefeller, Gardner Cowles and others, said it better Tuesday:

"Purely from a business viewpoint, the failure to utilize trained Negro workers is an economic waste that not only reduces our productive capacity but keeps a large segment of our population on a low living standard.

"This produces, in turn, conditions resulting in juvenile delinquency, crime, poor health and housing and--inevitably--higher welfare costs."

Last year 748,300 persons received the benefit of various Urban League services throughout the country, including job placement, vocational guidance, creation of new job opportunities and many other social welfare activities.

PATH NOT EASY

The Urban League's path is not an easy one. For instance, the country's greatest current shortage of manpower is in the building trades. Statistics show that there is a need for at least 100,000 additional carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers and other skilled craftsmen. The Army and Navy trained 24,000 colored soldiers during the war as carpenters. But none of these can gain work in this field because of a ruling on that part of the building trades union.

In the meantime, Russia happily points to such failings whenever we protest her atrocious treatment of her own peoples.

IN 1947

THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, WITH ITS 56 AFFILIATES, ACCOMPLISHED THE FOLLOWING:

Completed 2,021 visits to union headquarters: (a) to cooperate with international and local unions on the development and organization of their educational and social welfare programs; and (b) to advise on and assist with problems involving union membership policy.

Placed 35,536 Negro workers in jobs, many at higher skills and better salaries than previously enjoyed by members of their race.

Placed Negro workers with 1,052 new firms which previously had not used this important source of American labor.

Gave vocational guidance and counseling to 167,660 Negro young people, preparing them for modern careers in the postwar world.

Made 5,593 visits to factories, mills, offices and stores to advise on and assist in the solution of personnel problems.

Gave personal assistance, advice on neighborhood problems, and leadership in group work programs to 740,315 individuals.

Completed a three-year project in community relations, which surveyed racial situations in 13 typical American cities and offered recommendations for improving Negro welfare, reducing racial tension, and increasing community-wide leadership cooperation.

Worked with officials of federal, state and municipal agencies in improving the quality of employment, housing and health, and recreation services to Negro citizens.

IN 1948

THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE'S PLANS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

Continuing community studies and advisory services to avert dangers of heightened racial tensions and conflicts.

Working to "remove the racial factor from employment" by encouraging membership discipline among Negro trade unionists, calling the attention of labor leadership to unsound racial situations, and integrating Negro workers harmoniously and efficiently among the ranks of industrial workers.

Supporting programs for better housing, working to break down barriers to adequate health and recreation services, and otherwise tying racial problems in with general problems of community welfare.

HOW YOUR CONTRIBUTION WILL BE SPENT

1948 Budget

(For Operation of National Headquarters Alone)

On improving industrial relations and vocational guidance - -	$ 33,430.00
For research and special studies - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	17,930.00
On Southern Field Division - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	14,840.00
For promotion and publicity- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	16,079.00
For OPPORTUNITY Magazine -	15,990.00
On Field Services -	14,480.00
On administration and national program direction: salaries, transportation, communication services, furniture and fixtures, repairs and maintenance, rent, retirement fund, audit, amoritization of loans- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	50,260.00
To liquidate 1947 deficit- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	21,079.73
TOTAL	$184,079.73

National Urban League

July 19, 1948

Miss Isobel J. Chisholm, Director
Promotion and Publicity
Southern Field Division
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Chisholm:

If I knew five people who would give one hundred dollars each to good causes in the South, my own Council and the Urban League would both be five hundred dollars richer than they are!

Truly, I don't know any such people. In the words of the labor movement, the best I can do is lend you my earnest moral support.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. Lamar 7262 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*
Isobel J. Chisholm, *Director of Promotion and Publicity*

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July
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Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Sometime ago members of the Southern Advisory Committee were contacted relative to the 1948 National Urban League Fund-Raising Campaign. The Quota announced for the Southern Field Division was $50,000.

To date, only a few of the Southern Advisory Committee members have responded to the appeal, and the Southern Field Division is far from its total goal. During these remaining months of 1948 we must initiate a concerted campaign to encourage every possible means of financial support. We appeal to you for your assistance and suggestions.

Would you kindly consider serving as a Committee of One to contact at least five other prospective contributors for the sum of $100.00 each. Also, please send the names and addresses of your five prospects to us so that National Urban League literature can be sent from this office.

We shall count on your help and wise guidance in our fund-raising experience.

To achieve the maximum efficiency in our operations, the counsel and cooperative efforts of the Southern Advisory Committee are of vital importance.

Cordially yours,

Isobel J. Chisholm

(Miss) Isobel J. Chisholm, Director
PROMOTION AND PUBLICITY
Southern Field Division
National Urban League

RECEIVED
JUL 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

Nelson C. Jackson

Nelson C. Jackson
SOUTHERN FIELD DIRECTOR
National Urban League

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26 - National Urban League

July 20, 1948

Annual Conference Secretary
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Conference Secretary:

Miss Isobel Chisholm and Mr. Nelson Jackson have asked me, as a member of your Southern Advisory Committee, to be present at the National Urban League Conference in Richmond, September 6 through September 10.

I can plan things to be there for one or two days during the week, of course not at your expense. Unless I hear to the contrary from you, I simply shall stop in on whatever day is most convenient to me and take that opportunity to be with the Urban League meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated but not signed

Copy to Miss Isobel Chisholm

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. Lamar 7262 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*
Isobel J. Chisholm, *Director of Promotion and Publicity*

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Lloyd K. Garrison *President*
Elmo Roper *Vice-President*
Willard S. Townsend *Vice-President*
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Edward Stanley
Noah C. A. Walter
L. Hollingsworth Wood
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Eugene Kinckle Jones *General Secretary*
Lester B. Granger *Executive Secretary*

SERVICES
Research
Community Planning
Industrial Relations
Education

OFFICIAL ORGAN
OPPORTUNITY—Journal of Negro Life

Thirty-eighth Year of Service

AFFILIATES IN 56 CITIES IN 29 STATES

National Office:
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

July
Thirteenth
1 9 4 8

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N E - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The National Urban League will hold its 1948 Annual Conference in Richmond, Virginia, September 6th through 10th.

As a member of the Southern Advisory Committee, we are inviting you to meet with us on this occasion and to share in the deliberations of the Conference. Also, it is our feeling that you may like to have the opportunity to see the National Urban League in action and to meet the National and local staff members, the Executive Board members, other Southern Advisory Committee members and Guild members, who are all responsible for the organization's program.

The campus of Virginia Union University, where the Conference will be held, affords a beautiful setting.

We sincerely hope that you will find it possible to be with us. You are certain to enjoy the experience.

For further information and reservations, please contact the Annual Conference Secretary, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, New York, not later than August 6th.

Cordially yours,

Isobel J. Chisholm

(Miss) Isobel J. Chisholm, Director
PROMOTION AND PUBLICITY
Southern Field Division

Nelson Jackson

Nelson C. Jackson
SOUTHERN FIELD DIRECTOR

RECEIVED JUL 14

LJC/wbm

85

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26-National Urban League

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September 23, 1948

Dear Committee Member:

Enclosed you will find National Urban League Conference materials from the recent meeting in Richmond, Virginia that you might find interesting.

Four of the Southern Advisory Committee members were in attendance: George S. Mitchell, Forrester B. Washington, Edgar Ray and James G. Hanes.

It is the hope of the National Office that a meeting of the Southern Advisory Committee can be called in the not too distant future. Budget limitations have precluded an earlier meeting.

From time to time you will be kept informed of Southern Field operations. At present every effort is being directed toward fund-raising, as the National Urban League is operating currently on a deficit.

Organizational plans for local Leagues still continue in Birmingham and other cities. Winston-Salem has recently employed a person to follow-through on the Community Relations Project made by the National Urban League.

Vacancies for Executives have occurred in New Orleans and Miami. Qualified social workers are being screened at present to fill these vacancies.

Best wishes to you.

Cordially,

Isobel J. Chisholm

(Miss) Isobel J. Chisholm, Director
PROMOTION AND PUBLICITY
Southern Field Division
National Urban League

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

IJC:MW
enc.

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76-National Urban League

An American Story

END-OF-THE-YEAR SUMMARY — 1948

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE • 1133 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

This is a typical American Story, the drama of which is possibly more real because it is conveyed in concise, statistics-packed sentences which make no pretense at the grandiloquent. It is a preview to the National Urban League's report of 1948 activities that will come to you in printed form shortly after the first of the year. In accordance with past custom, we are submitting this running account of what we have done -- and why -- and how. It is a reminder to our members and supporters that the demands imposed upon the National Urban League are urgent, continuing, and of vital importance to every citizen of this country.

With a Postscript

We seek again, as is our custom at this time of year, the assurance of your continued support in the form of a contribution now or a pledge that your contribution will be forthcoming on or about the usual date. There is special emphasis to this appeal, for an impending deficit in our 1948 budget not only embarrasses present operations, but also dictates a serious cut in services during 1949 unless financial prospects improve greatly within a short period.

A Symbol and Practical Demonstration

The symbolic and practical significance of the National Urban League as an interracial movement devoted to improving race relations and economic conditions among the Negro population was never better illustrated than during our Annual Conference held last September in Richmond, Virginia. Held on the campus of historic Virginia Union University, the Conference pitched its dates in the midst of a bitter political campaign wherein the issue of civil rights was hotly debated. While the Conference showed full awareness of the importance of this debate, it was remarkable for its objective presentation of social gains as well as losses in the whole race relations picture and its discussion of the specific techniques by which gains may be increased in the future. Richmond's Mayor, the Honorable Horace H. Edwards, joined with Oliver W. Hill, the first and recently elected Negro member of the City Council, in welcoming the Conference. Here, certainly, was an example of the new political South emerging from the murk of past irrational conflict.

"Pilots" for a Working Population in Industry and Commerce

Through the Conference and otherwise, the Industrial Relations Department has reported on its continued and successful efforts to raise the status and improve the performance of Negro workers in American industry and business. Nearly 200 plants and offices received visits and arranged conferences with National Urban League staff, working in partnership with industrial and executive secretaries in local Urban Leagues. In the steadily developing "pilot placement project" of the League, exceptionally trained and experienced young Negroes continued to be placed in professional, technical and supervisory jobs as "pilots" for subsequent entrance and assimilation of larger numbers of their race. There were 50 such applicants enrolled in this project; 24 colleges and universities were used in their recruitment; and 165 industrial commercial firms were contacted for their placement, including Radio Corporation of America, DuPont, Merck Chemicals, General Electric, International Harvester and Babcock and Wilcox. Close relations were maintained with the Foundry Educational Foundation, looking toward on-the-job training of Negro foundry engineers and their employment in the foundry industry.

Know-How and Show-How

Work has gone forward on the Industrial Relations Department's manual on the employment and integration of Negroes in industrial and commercial establishments. This will include a review and analysis of successful experiences in 150 of the major industrial and commercial establishments of the nation. The manual is being prepared under the supervision of the League's Management Advisory Committee -- which in itself is a powerful instrument in developing the League's industrial contacts with top management throughout the nation, for it represents a cross-section of essential industries.

A Significant Change

Increased employment of Negro workers in southern plants on a non-discriminatory basis is the best industrial relations news of 1948, for in the southern region are to be found nearly three-fourths of all Negro labor. Previously these workers have had to migrate northward to find a chance for industrial employment. What is happening in Memphis, Tennessee, Savannah and Atlanta, Georgia, and in some cities of Mississippi and South Carolina is a promise of future opportunity for this typically American labor to find employment outlets without the necessity of migration. This story will be told at greater length in our forthcoming printed annual report.

More Facts and Figures on American Communities

The Research Department, while handling nearly 600 requests received on socio-economic questions affecting Negro life and race relations in general, also carried forward surveys of Negro life and welfare in the communities of Louisville, Kentucky; Muskegon Heights, Michigan; Warren, Ohio; Charleston, West Virginia; and St. Louis, Missouri. A special investigation was also made on the economic

and social conditions of Negro workers employed in the resort hotels and inns at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.

A Brightening Picture in the South

The day-to-day accomplishments of the Southern Field Office, produced in the face of confusion and turmoil, are also a bright spot in the 1948 Urban League picture. Formal welcome of the newest Urban League affiliate in Jacksonville, Florida; reorganization and restaffing of other southern Urban Leagues; establishment of a professionally-staffed interracial working group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina; beginnings of an Urban League organization in Birmingham, Alabama--these are signs of growing vitality of our interracial movement in that section of the country where it is most desperately needed.

Industrialization of the South's economy is growing rapidly with the location of hundreds of new plants in that area. Concurrent with this is a steadily increasing urbanization of the Negro population. A Southwide Advisory Committee, composed of distinguished Negro and white citizens, has aided and will continue to aid greatly in extending and deepening the influence of the Urban League in that section. Results are already seen in the vocational guidance, health, industrial relations and housing activities of the Southern Field Office. More than 200 high schools and southern colleges were visited by the Southern Field staff to make specific recommendations regarding guidance programs in the schools to aid students in planning and preparing for their careers.

Job Guidance for the Young

Not only in the South, but throughout the nation, the Vocational Guidance program of the National Urban League was carried forward. More than 267,000 young persons were reached in the Vocational Opportunity Campaign from March 14th to 21st. Students in colleges and high schools, veterans, out-of-school youths and adults were contacted at meetings sponsored by sixty cooperating agencies, including local Urban League affiliates, and many of these were white youths and adults. Six hundred and thirty-two major guidance activities were held in 65 schools and colleges reporting on campaign activities. Nearly 65,000 pieces of vocational guidance literature were distributed. One significant end-result of the campaign was the increased interest and skills imparted to school administrators and faculty members and to counselors in schools and community agencies.

We Sell Our Story

In New York City, at the Lincoln Day Dinner of the National and Greater New York Urban Leagues, 561 guests came together in one of the most representative and impressive gatherings of Negro and white citizens in Urban League history. Many out-of-towners were present, including board and staff members of local Leagues. The National Urban League's "Two Friends Award" for outstanding teamwork in the advancement of interracial understanding was made jointly to Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson

of the famous Brooklyn Dodgers. Principal addresses were made by Defense Secretary James Forrestal, Time, Life and Fortune Editor Henry Luce, and Public Opinion Analyst Elmo Roper. Greetings were received from President Truman, New York's Governor Dewey, New York City's Mayor O'Dwyer, and Minneapolis' Mayor Humphrey. A standing ovation was received by former Secretary of War Robert Patterson, and a warm reception was also given Lionel Hampton, well-known band leader.

Another impressive interpretive event was the now celebrated amateur art show, Paintings By Famous Amateurs, promoted by the joint campaign fund of the National and Greater New York Urban Leagues. This exhibit of paintings by famous amateurs was cited by newspaper and magazine editors the country over, as well as by columnists, radio commentators and news analysts. The show, which ended with an auction of the paintings -- all were sold -- was also presented over television and in the newsreels. A canvas by General Dwight D. Eisenhower brought a price of $2,600. Six thousand persons paid admission fees to view the exhibit, more than 800 first-nighters paid $5.00 each to see the show, and the auction rooms on the final night were jammed to the point of suffocation. Co-chairmen of the art show were Mrs. Bennett Cerf and Mrs. Gardner Cowles.

These are only highlights of a year's activities, which included drama and pathos, triumph and failure, hope deferred and success realized. It was a year of tremendous importance for fifteen million Negroes with whose welfare the National Urban League is primarily concerned. Its importance was even greater for the total closely-knit community which is the American nation. Your help in continuing this vital work is earnestly solicited. We are confident that your faith will be justified in the results of our coming year's efforts -- *and so our story continues.*

26- National Urban League

26TH ANNUAL REPORT

of the

Tampa Urban League

January

nineteen hundred and forty-nine

FOREWORD

This report represents an effort to review as concisely as possible the work of this agency for the past year. It is in no measure complete. Insomuch as the activities of the Urban League embrace all activities relative to the Negro in our community---it can be plainly understood that perhaps seventy percent of its work is of a highly confidential nature which prohibits public release.

The problem areas of the League are social attitudes, employment, education, health, welfare, recreation and housing.

Its purpose and activities are to improve through social work the living and working conditions of Negroes and to bring about greater cooperation and better understanding between whites and Negroes. The League engages in research and social planning; makes research data available to interested organizations; conducts community surveys; initiates and carries on social work activities until the need is demonstrated and responsibility is assumed by other agencies; gives industrial relations counselling service to employers and labor unions to open employment opportunities to Negro workers; provides vocational guidance counsel to individuals,schools and colleges; offers field service in tension situations; grants fellowships in social work; and gives general information services.

ADMINISTRATION

The Administrative Department promotes, coordinates and supervises the over-all program of the organization. Carries out the directives and the decisions of the Board of Directors pertaining to administration, personnel and programming. Gives guidance and leadership to department heads and staff members for purposes of effectively following through on the League's program and policies. Responsible for planning presentation and control of budget expenditures. Organizes committees for the purpose of interpreting community problems. Plans procedures, methods and techniques for the effective follow-up of the League's programs in view of ever changing social conditions. Attends and works with various types of conferences including social action, professional, welfare and civic pertaining to the organization's over-all program.Fulfills speaking engagements concerning community organization, health, housing, race relations, recreation, group work, crime, delinquency, etc. Writes articles and reports on race relations and economic and social conditions of the community.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

The Executive Secretary went on the air January 5, Station WDAE in observance of George Washington Carver Day.

The Executive Secretary had charge of the Negro Program at the Freedom Train's visit to Tampa.

Florida A & M Chorus and Band presented to city by the Urban League at the city auditorium.

Prepared articles and published for School Bond Issue.

Our president, Mr. Ray delivered an address at the 1948 Annual Meeting of the National Urban League.

Dr. F.D.Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute was the guest speaker for our Annual Meeting.

RECREATION

A group of Negro citizens have come to the aid of our community by incorporating "Recreation Inc". This group is responsible for the erection of a pavilion, swimming pool, park, courts, and other facilities so sorely needed.

HOUSING

Extensive investigation towards Urban League's Housing objective in the development of expansion areas for Housing.

League officials confer with Mayor, Housing Authority and Federal Housing officials on Expansion Areas for Negro residents

Extensive campaign waged for "Central Village" Negro homes

development by the Tampa Daily Times and Urban League.

The League held meetings to discuss restrictions against Negro Housing Expansion Areas in Tampa.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Mr. George Edwards, National League official visited Executive Secretary in connection with Vocational Guidance Week.

The Executive Secretary has conferred with officials on employment problems at the Drew Field Sanitorium. The Urban League Industrial Department has taken over personnel at this institution.

The League joined the Florida State Employment Service in the recent drive to employ the physically handicapped. The League especially urged colored employers to bear some of the load where possible.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The Urban League accepted gifts from a Tampa Church, the Salvation Army and others to be distributed to indigent children. Three Christmas Tree parties served over 1000 children.

Permission for use of an office serving as headquarters for the Negro Chamber of Commerce granted.

VETERAN SERVICES

Worked closely with American Legion and American Veterans Committee in connection with Urban League's Veteran program.

EDUCATION

Transportation secured for Spastic Classes through Urban League, courtesy of Mr. Frank Carnalla (Way Cab).

The Urban League worked with the Citizens Committee on Education for the betterment of our school system throughout the State.

County Industrial Home for Negro boys and girls dedicated.

RACE RELATIONS

The Race Relations Committee called by the chairman, met and prepared the program for the presentation of our "Annual Award" to the person making the greatest contribution toward interracial understanding during 1947. The recipient was selected.

HEALTH

The Executive attended the Polio Fund meeting at Tuskegee Institute and played an important part in raising funds for the 1948 Polio Drive.

The Tampa Urban League provided the building, facilities and the students for the 1948 Class of Nurses' Aides which numbered 17.

COMMUNITY PLANNING

Urban League formed committee for proposed Negro Branch Y. M.C.A. for Tampa. The late Mrs. M.E.Potter bequeathed property for this purpose.

The Urban League recommended the appointment of Negro Deputy Sheriffs in Hillsborough County.

FINANCE

The Leon Claxton "Harlem in Havana" donated the entire proceeds from a performance for the Urban League's annual drive. We expressed our thanks in the form of an inscribed award to Mr. Claxton and his company. We also thank Mr. Singletary of the local theatre and the corporation for their loan of the theatre free of any expense.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

Hospital Visits	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	141
Family Service	- - - - - - - - Referred - - -	120
Community Service	- - - - - - - - Referred - - -	94
Clothing	- - - - - - - - Garments - - -	532
County Welfare	- - - - - - - - Referred - - -	25
Traveler's Aid	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	12
O.T.I.	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	6
Projects	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	6

FIELD CONTACTS

The professioanl staff of the Tampa Urban League holds membership and is in daily contact with the following agencies, committees and organizations:

Tampa Negro Police Advisory Committee - Traveler's Aid
United States Employment Service Advisory Committee
National Foundation of Infantile Paralysis - N.A.A.C.P.
Council of Social Agencies - Southwest Florida Blood Bank
United States Rehabilitation Service - State Welfare
Florida Council for the Blind - County Welfare
Florida State Conference of Social Work - Salvation Army
Citizens Housing Committee - Tampa Negro Hospital
Hillsborough County Tuberculosis Guild - American Red Cross
Gulf Ridge Council of Boy Scouts - Negro Chamber of Commerce
Hillsborough County Board of Instructors - Y.W.C.A.
Hillsborough County Recreation Board - Tampa Churches
County Board of Juvenile Visitors
Hillsborough County Teachers Association
City Recreation Board
Pinellas County Juvenile Court
Hillsborough Juvenile Court
County Commissioners

COMMUNITY USE OF BUILDING

Neighborhood Council of Clubs - City-wide Ushers Union

Expressmen's Union - S.A.L. Aid

Hillsborough County Juvenile Association - N.A.A.C.P.

International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers - A.V.C.

Seaboard Freight Handlers - Beauticians Unit #1

Trojan Social Club - Memorial Park Cemetary Club

Boy Scout Troop #92 - American Legion Post #167

American Legion Auxiliary - Carpenters Union

Riverside Soaial Club - Dorothy Egan's Knitting Claxs

Voices of Meditation - Suwanee Union

Brotherhood of Railway S.C.Clerks and Express Employees

Falcon Club - Hillsborough Tuberculosis Guild

Coast Line Local #665

LODGES

Ada Chapter

Farris Chapter

Golden Rule

Royal Arch

Sunlight

Golden Eagle

Knights

West Hyde Park

OFFICE SECRETARY'S REPORT January 1948 through December 1948

Phone Calls		3307
Letters and Articles Received		1609
Letters Typed and Mailed		1797
Stencils Used		128
Newspaper Clippings		71
Stamps Used	Precanceled	2200
	1½¢	4860
	Other	382
	Postal Cards	395
Minutes and Reports Typed		434
Office Contacts		192
News Releases		40
Applications for Work		75
Applicants Placed		40
Job Orders		38
Meetings Held at TUL Building		570
Number Meeting		3892
Letters and Articles Mimeographed		5384
Outside Work		31
Mimeographed Reports Mailed		2575

TAMPA URBAN LEAGUE

RECEIPTS & DISBURSEMENTS - - - - - - - - - - as of December 31, 1948

Balance 1st Nat. Bank 1-1-48 (Current funds)		$ 25.77
(Special " for Colored Park)		200.00

RECEIPTS:

Community Chest	$ 7,014.12	
J.S.Hadley on Auto Note	263.74	
Memberships	346.50	
Donations	195.17	
Refund on Annual Meeting	5.00	7,824.53
		8,050.30

DISBURSEMENTS:

Annual Meeting	163.50	
Auto Upkeep	920.00	
Bank Charges	3.10	
Dues	3.00	
Furniture and Fixtures	380.07	
Heat, Light & Water	202.60	
Janitor	201.75	
Membership Expense	8.50	
Miscellaneous	55.08	
Newspapers & Periodicals	31.60	
Office Supplies	151.93	
Postage	55.32	
Publicity & Printing	18.50	
Repairs & Cleaning	89.31	
Salaries	5,266.00	
Telephone	190.68	
Project - Concert	107.82	
Special Account for Colored Park Closed	200.00	
	8,048.76	
Bank Bal. 12-31-48 $ 9.24		
Less tax withheld 7.70		
1.54	1.54	
	$8,050.30	

TAMPA URBAN LEAGUE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Edgar W. Ray - President

Rabbi David Zielonka - 1st Vice-president

Mrs. Inez T. Boyer - 2nd Vice-president

Dr. R.Reche Williams, Sr. - 3rd Vice-president

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Mrs. Preston Pughsley - Ass't Treasurer

Mrs. Sarah A. Ferrell - Secretary

A.J. Ferrell, Jr.

Mrs. Lawrence Petteway

Rev. Paul Jackson

Mrs. Hamilton Hunt

Rev. J.W.Rhodes

Mrs. Finlay Hunter

J. Oscar Bloodworth

Col. M.J.Mackler

R. Ambler Liggett

Dr. Edward L. Flynn

C.B.Bryant **

James P. Etheridge

J. Rex Farrior

Miss Gladys Tabor

G.D.Rogers, Sr.

E.E.Broughton

Ben D. Griffin

C.B.Andrews

Rev. Paul Wagner

G.V.Stewart

Mrs. M.E.Potter **

Mrs. Michael J. O'Brien*

R.M. Clewis, Sr., President Emeritus
Carl D. Brorein, Honorary President
Dr. J.A.White, Member Emeritus
Dr. L.A.Howell, Member Emeritus

STAFF

James S. Hadley - Executive Secretary
Mrs. Estella Jenkins - Community Relations Sec'y
Mrs. Mildred R. Craig - Office Secretary

* Resigned
** Deceased

26 - National Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. Lamar 7262 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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New York 10, New York

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February 14, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

There will be a meeting of the Campaign Committee of the National Urban League, Southern Field Division, Thursday, February 17, 1949 at 4 p. m., at the Butler Street YMCA. At this time plans will be perfected for the financial drive and kick-off dinner.

Please plan to meet with us at this time and help us complete plans of organization.

Looking forward to seeing you, we are

Very sincerely yours,

G. E. DeLorme

G. E. DeLorme, Chairman
Campaign Committee

W. H. Aiken

W. H. Aiken, Co-Chairman
Campaign Committee

GED:MW

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1 - National Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

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National Office:
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

March 9, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am writing you in regard to a proposed South-wide Conference to be held in Atlanta about the first week-end in May, which would include executives and a board member from each League, as well as members of the South-wide Advisory Committee and probably additional persons, for a two-day session.

In preparation for the Conference, I should like to suggest that we might work out a Planning Committee, centered around Atlanta, which would include the executive of the Atlanta Urban League, the president or a designated person from the Atlanta Urban League, the members of the South-wide Advisory Committee who are in Atlanta, and representation from the Southern Field Staff.

The purposes of such a meeting are numerous. Among them are:

1. To determine the relationship between the Southern Field Division and the National Office on one hand, and Southern Affiliates on the other; and to discover what kind of Southern Regional Office would be most helpful to Southern Affiliates in assisting to develop program emphases. The latter implies what Urban League program is and what it should be in the Southern region.

2. The program of the Southern Field Division Office requires affiliate participation in a careful definition of objectives. It is hoped that such a conference might develop such a definition.

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3. The problem of strengthening the Advisory Committee to bring it into a full and effective operating group as a Regional Committee is of importance. The question of responsibility for League work in the South and participation in the National Board is suggested for discussion.

4. Methods are needed for securing greater participation for League program - national and local - as well as means for developing joint operations where mutually desirable and advantageous.

I should like to call together representatives of this group on next Monday, March 14, at 11 o'clock in my office, 250 Auburn Avenue - Suite 602, to discuss preliminary plans. I hope you can find it possible to attend.

Cordially yours,

Nelson C. Jackson

Nelson C. Jackson,
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW

26 - National Urban League

March 24, 1949

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison, President
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

Thank you for the information in your letter of March 18 to be present at the Conference of Urban League leadership, May 5, 6, and 7. I expect to be present.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY CHelsea 3-1838 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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OFFICIAL ORGAN
OPPORTUNITY—Journal of Negro Life

Thirty-eighth Year of Service

AFFILIATES IN 56 CITIES IN 29 STATES

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

85

March
Eighteenth
1949

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

For several years in the National Urban League, we have been working to strengthen and expand our operations in the southern region. The last three years have seen a change in the exeuctive direction of our Southern Field Division at Atlanta, increase in number and staff and in size of budget, and an encouraging stepping-up of our program activities throughout the South.

The time has come to take a good look at ourselves and determine how this improvement process can be accelerated and in what ways the Urban League movement can best fulfill its important function in the South. This is not a question that can be decided in New York City. It calls for the wisdom of our Southwide Advisory Committee, recently organized, combined with the counsel of the Presidents and Executives of our local Urban Leagues in your region.

For this reason, we are contemplating the holding of a Southwide Conference of Urban League leadership, to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on the campus of Atlanta University the week-end of May 5th, 6th and 7th (Thursday, Friday and Saturday). Sucha conference will mean very little unless there is practically 100% representation of our local Leagues in southern states and a good strong attendance of our Southwide Advisory Committee.

This letter is, therefore, a direct request to you as a member of the Southwide Advisory Committee to be present in the event that conference plans are carried through. In addition, we are asking the Board Chairman and Executives of the Leagues in the southern field to attend.

This brings up the financial question, We are operating this year on a reduced budget, as all local Urban Leagues have been

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MAR 21
Southern Regional Council

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informed. Plans for the Conference are not included in that budget. We are hoping that the local Leagues will be able to finance the travel costs of their representatives and that some way will be found to underwrite the total cost of such a conference. We have an opportunity and a challenge unparalleled in our history. Our conference is for the purpose of helping us to face that challenge squarely and effectively.

Will you let me hear from you at the earliest possible moment so that we may proceed with our plan?

Sincerely,

Lloyd K. Garrison

Lloyd K. Garrison
President

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta, Georgia

26 - Natl Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. Lamar 7262 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, Director
George L. Edwards, Asst. Director
Isobel J. Chisholm, Director of Promotion and Publicity

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Winthrop Rockefeller
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Thomas G. Young

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Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary

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Thirty-eighth Year of Service

AFFILIATES IN 56 CITIES IN 29 STATES

National Office:
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

March
Thirty-first
1 9 4 9

MET.. call

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The Planning Committee for the proposed South-wide Conference of the National Urban League will meet Monday, April 4, to consider the program for the Regional Urban League meeting to be held in Atlanta May 5, 6, and 7.

The meeting will be held in the League's headquarters - Suite 602, Odd Fellows Building at 11:00 A. M.

Telephoned regrets 4/1/49 MEJ

Please call LAmar 7262 and indicate whether or not you will be able to attend.

Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Very truly yours,

Nelson C. Jackson,
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW

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26 - National Urban League

Jane

VOC

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(March 1949)

This brief bibliography has been prepared as a program aid for schools and community groups participating in the National Urban League's Vocational Opportunity Campaign. It is by no means extensive, but is representative of recent literature. The references are suggested for teachers, counselors, teacher-counselors, community organization workers and others who have responsibilities in connection with the VOC. Some of the books listed will be helpful to VOC speakers and resource consultants.

I JOBS AND OCCUPATIONS

YOUR JOB: A Guide to Opportunity and Security. Fritz Kaufman. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1948. $2.75
Discusses planning to make a living, where people work, and what they do, how to find, hold and progress in a job, etc. For adults, and young adults, as well as for vocational advisers.

I FIND MY VOCATION. Harry D. Kitson. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1947. Revised edition. $1.80
Gives students an understanding of the steps required in choosing a field of work, and the vocational problems which must be solved. Projects and exercises outlined. Bibliographies, including suggestions on visual aid and biographies. For junior high and high school students.

HOW TO FIND THE RIGHT VOCATION. Harry D. Kitson. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1947. Revised edition. $2.50
Describes the steps to take in choosing a vocation. For high school students and young adults.

METHODS OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE. Gertrude Forrester. D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1944.
Counseling program aids for teachers and teacher-counselors. Designed specifically for school use in institutions that do not have full-time vocational counselors. Programs adaptable to community agency use. For vocational advisers.

GUIDE TO OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND TRAINING: Suggestions, Books and Materials for Guidance Programs. Walter J. Greenleaf. Vocational Division Bulletin No. 236, Occupational Information and Guidance Series No, 15. Federal Security Agency, U. S. Office of Education, 1947. (Secure from Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 35¢)
An excellent bibliography of source materials. Many free materials on occupations listed. Part I is a good discussion on use of occupational materials in guidance programs. For advisers.

II BACKGROUND SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE

BLACK ODYSSEY: The Story of the Negro in America. Roi Ottley. Charles Scribners Sons, New York, 1948. $3.50
Traces the history of the Negro in America. Many references to occupations and occupational achievement, as well as brief sketches of outstanding citizens. For adult readers.

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. Gunnar Myrdal. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1944. 1 volume $6.00
A comprehensive report on the Negro in American society. Sections on Economics, the Negro School, the Negro Wage Earner, tables, charts and bibliographies especially recommended. For speakers and resource consultants.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. Maxwell S. Stewart. Public Affairs Pamphlet #95. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N.Y. 20¢.
A summary of An American Dilemma. Statistical and factual information for easy use. Recommended for high school and college students, as well as for the general reader.

THE NEGRO HANDBOOK: 1946-47. Florence Murray. Current Books, Inc., New York, 1947.
Review of the Negro in American life for the years indicated. Covers fields of population, civil rights, health, labor and industry, education, housing, etc. For general use.

THE NEGRO YEAR BOOK. Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, Ed. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. 1947 Tenth Edition.
Comprehensive review of events affecting Negro life between 1941 and 1946. For general use.

Bibliographies

RACE RELATIONS: A Selected List of Readings on Racial and Cultural Minorities in the United States with Special Emphasis on the Negro. Julia Waxman. Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, Illinois, 1945.

SOURCES OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS ON NEGROES. Ambrose Caliver. (Revised by Theresa B. Wilkins). The National Education Association of the United States, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

III THE NEGRO IN INDUSTRY

ALL MANNER OF MEN. Malcolm Ross. Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1948. $3.50
Factual information on the Federal government's experience with the National Fair Employment Practices Committee. Discussion of methods of establishing and maintaining fair employment practices. For speakers and resource consultants.

NEGRO LABOR: A National Problem. Robert C. Weaver. Harcourt Brace and Company, New York, 1946. $3.00
Outlines what happened to Negro labor during the war years and what racial problems will face workers and management in the postwar. For teachers, vocational advisers, speakers and resource consultants.

IV MISCELLANEOUS

SENSE AND NONESENS ABOUT RACE. Ethel J. Alpenfels. Friendship Press, New York, 1947. 25¢
A pamphlet that answers questions often asked about race. For young people and adults.

IN HENRY'S BACKYARD: The Races of Mankind. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. Henry Schuman, New York, 1948. $2.00
A booklet in color. Discusses in light, interesting style, some of the vital facts of anthropology. For all readers.

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AT:HS
12/31/48
1000

Office of Vocational Guidance
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10 New York

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 broadway
New York City

Guichard Parris
WAtkins 4-0505

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FEB 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

RELEASE
Anytime after February 4, 1949

INFORMATION TO EDITOR

A Vocational Opportunity Kit containing educational and guidance literature to aid in the counselling of Negro youth is being mailed from the office of the National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York City, to 500 schools, colleges, cooperating agencies and 56 local Urban Leagues. Special guidance leaflets and a pamphlet, Program Aids for counselors, material for speakers and career leaflets are included in the kit.

Among this material are three specially-designed program aids: a comic booklet, Fair Play; a VOC Bibliography giving specific sources of job information and data on the Negro in American life; and Quiz-VOC a two page leaflet of 50 questions designed to stimulate interest in occupations.

This material is being mailed in anticipation of the National Urban League's Vocational Opportunity Campaign Week, March 14-21, directed to Negro youth with the slogan, "The Future is Yours--Plan and Prepare!" The Campaign is directed from the National Urban League by Miss Ann Tanneyhill, Director of Vocational Guidance assisted in the South by George Edwards, Assistant Director of the Southern Field Division, 250 Auburn Avenue,N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

###

QUIZ-VOC

No. 1

"THE FUTURE IS YOURS — PLAN AND PREPARE"

1. What is the National Urban League?
2. What is the Vocational Opportunity Campaign, also known as the "VOC"?
3. What is the "VOC" slogan?
4. When was the North Pole discovered?
5. What two famous EXPLORERS together discovered the North Pole?
6. What famous American CHEMIST made useful products from peanuts, sweet potatoes, sawdust and corn stalks?
7. What two states in the United States are associated particularly with FRUIT GROWING?
8. Who was the second Negro to write and publish in the United States as a POET?
9. What is the name of the DOCTOR who is the country's foremost authority on blood plasma?
10. a) Who was the first American to fight for a world's title as HEAVYWEIGHT BOXER in the 19th Century?

    b) Who held the title for a long time during the 20th Century?
11. The nickname "THE BROWN BOMBER" has been given to what famous American?
12. Name at least four occupations that will need workers in the near future.
13. What woman EDUCATOR founded a school with only $1.65?
14. Who was the first Negro BASEBALL PLAYER in the major leagues during the present century?
15. a) What is the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority and when and where was it founded?

    b) What booklet does the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority publish in cooperation with the National Urban League?

16. What is the name of the ARTIST who designed the maps, "Americans of Negro Lineage" and "Makers of the USA"?

17. What is the name of the only university in the United States supported by the federal government?

18. Who invented the SOLE-FASTENING MACHINE which revolutionized the shoe industry?

19. a) How many Liberty Ships in World War II were named for Negroes?

    b) Name at least three of them.

20. Who is the only Negro woman JUDGE in the United States?

21. a) Who made the FIRST CLOCK in America?

    b) In what vocations was he skilled?

22. What widely known soft drink manufacturing company awards scholarships to deserving young people?

23. Who was the first woman BANK PRESIDENT in the United States?

24. a) Success in jobs depends on what four things?

    b) Before you can decide on what job is best for you, what will you have to do?

25. Name at least five Northern colleges or universities, attended by students of all races, creeds and nationalities, in which trained and qualified Americans, who are Negroes, are faculty members.

26. What is the name of the ARCHITECT who has designed homes for many of Hollywood's famous stars of stage, screen and radio?

27. What was the name of the first Negro newspaper published in the United States?

28. a) Name a picture booklet in color that has a picture of Jackie Robinson on the cover.

    b) Give the names of the two agencies that cooperate in its publication.

29. What man, born in slavery, became a great EDUCATOR and founded Tuskegee Institute?

30. a) What mineral was discovered in California?

    b) What occupation is associated with it?

31. Who was known as a "Conductor" on the Underground Railroad, and also as "The Moses of Her People"?

32. The bronze tablet on the Courthouse at Auburn, New York, is dedicated to the memory of what famous woman?

33. What World War II HERO towed a raft bearing his fellow-seamen through shark-infested waters to safety?

34. What well-known man served as a National Y.M.C.A. SECRETARY for thirty-five years?

35. a) Approximately how many Negro women served in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) during World War II?

    b) Name at least four of their occupational assignments.

36. What are some personal qualities required of a NURSE?

37. What well-known woman who has been a NURSE for many years, crusaded for full professional status of the Negro nurse in America?

38. What was the name of the first Negro to perform a major operation as a SURGEON in New York State?

39. Name at least three of the Indian tribes that contributed to the making of the United States.

40. What LABOR LEADER received the Spingarn Medal in 1942?

41. Name a FLYER who was captain in the 99th Pursuit Squadron during World War II, who later rose to the rank of Major, and holds the Distinguished Flying Cross with nine oak leaf clusters.

42. What American woman LAWYER served on the President's Committee on Civil Rights?

43. Who founded the magazine THE CRISIS in 1910; and the magazine THE PHYLON in 1936?

44. Name a MESS ATTENDANT, a hero on the USS Arizona during the attack on Pearl Harbor, who received the Navy Cross "for action above and beyond the call of duty."

45. What singer has been called "America's high priestess of song"?

46. How can your class or group build up an occupational library?

47. Who established the first Sunday School in New York City?

48. What man was the first Negro to graduate from the New York School of Social Work, and also the first to receive a Ph. D. degree from Columbia University?

49. Who founded the first permanent settlement in the West that became the city of Chicago?

50. From what federal government office can booklets, pamphlets and information on occupations be secured?

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

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26 — National Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. Lamar 7262 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*
Isobel J. Chisholm, *Director of Promotion and Publicity*

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Thirty-eighth Year of Service

AFFILIATES IN 56 CITIES IN 29 STATES

National Office:
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

85

April 8, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The Planning Committee for the proposed South-wide Conference of the National Urban League will meet Monday, April 11, to consider the program for the Regional Urban League meeting to be held in Atlanta May 5, 6, and 7.

The meeting will be held in the League's headquarters - Suite 602, Odd Fellows Building at 11:00 A. M.

Please call Lamar 7262 and indicate whether or not you will be able to attend.

Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Very truly yours,

Nelson

Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

NCJ:MW

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P R O G R A M

SOUTHERN REGIONAL URBAN LEAGUE CONFERENCE

Atlanta University

Atlanta, Georgia

May 5, 6, 7, 1949

Theme: STRENGTHENING THE URBAN LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH

SOME STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON SOUTHERN URBAN LEAGUE CITIES AND AFFILIATES

NAME	DATE ESTABLISHED	BOARD MEMBERS	PROFESSIONAL STAFF	CURRENT BUDGET	TOTAL POPULATION (1940 Census)	NEGRO POPULATION
Atlanta Urban League	1920	21	4	$21,754	302,288	104,602
Tampa Urban League	1921	29	2	6,945.95	108,391	23,348
Richmond Urban League	1923	21	2	12,136	193,042	61,336
Memphis Urban League	1930	33	1	7,087	292,942	121,536
Little Rock Urban League	1937	21*	2	8,885.66	88,039	22,103
New Orleans Urban League	1938	25	1	8,606.90	494,537	149,762
Miami (Negro Service Council)	1944	19**	2	11,522.82	172,172	36,980
Fort Worth Urban League	1944	29	1	6,580.70	177,662	25,317
Oklahoma City Urban League	1946	35	1	6,603	204,424	19,709
Jacksonville Urban League	1947	21	1	7,200	173,065	61,818
Winston-Salem (Community Relations Project)	1949	15***	1	Not Established	79,815	36,018

* 21 Executive Committee - 42 Advisory Committee

** 19 Managing Committee - 17 At Large

*** A Cooperating Agency receiving same services from the National Urban League as all bona fide affiliates but at present is not an official affiliate.

PROGRAM

THURSDAY - May 5, 1949

9:00 - 9:45 A. M. REGISTRATION

9:45 - 12:30 **Morning Session**

L. I. Alexander, Presiding
Chairman - South-wide Advisory Committee
Jacksonville, Florida

9:45 - 10:45 WELCOME

Dr. Mozell Hill, Chairman
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University

Lester B. Granger
Executive Director
National Urban League

INFORMAL INTRODUCTION OF DELEGATES

DESCRIPTION OF CONFERENCE PLANS AND FUNCTION OF SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION

Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director
National Urban League

10:45 - 12:30 DESCRIPTION OF SETTING AND DEFINITION OF PROBLEMS

The Southern Region: George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Forces Which Influence the Development of Social Services

Speaker: V. A. Hampton, Executive Secretary
Council of Community Forces
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Discussant: Robert K. Taylor, Executive Director
Community Planning Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Discussion from the Floor

SUMMARY - L. I. Alexander

12:30 - 1:45 LUNCH

2:00 - 5:00 **Afternoon Session**

Forrester B. Washington, Presiding
Director - Atlanta University School of Social Work

2:00 - 3:00 NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE'S CONCEPT OF ITS ROLE IN THE SOUTHERN REGION

Speaker: Lester B. Granger, Executive Director
National Urban League

Discussant: W. H. Aiken, President
National Builders Association

Discussion from Floor

3:00 - 4:00 ESTABLISHING AN URBAN LEAGUE AFFILIATE IN SOUTHERN COMMUNITY X

Speakers: L. I. Alexander - Jacksonville
Robert Durr - Birmingham

Discussant: Attorney L. E. Thomas - Miami

Discussion from Floor

SUMMARY - Forrester B. Washington

4:00 - 5:00 SUGGESTIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP TO SOUTH-WIDE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

FRIDAY - May 6, 1949

9:30 - 12:30 **Morning Session**

9:30 - 11:30 PANEL: What Should be the Role of the Southern Field Division As Seen Through the Eyes of the Local Affiliates, Boards, and South-wide Advisory Committee

Coordinator: Dr. B. E. Mays, President Morehouse College
Former Executive Secretary Tampa Urban League

Members: Mrs. Grace Hamilton - Atlanta
Wiley Hall - Richmond
J. Westbrook McPherson - New Orleans
Mrs. Cernoria Johnson - Oklahoma City

Discussion from Floor

SUMMARY - Dr. B. E. Mays

11:30 - 12:30 **PROBLEMS OF FINANCING NATIONAL AND LOCAL PROGRAMS**

Speakers: Lester B. Granger, Executive Director
National Urban League

Kenneth Wilson, Executive Secretary
Atlanta Community Chest

Discussion from Floor

12:30 - 1:45 LUNCH

Afternoon Session

2:00 - 4:00 **PANEL:** Program and Problems of Local Urban Leagues
National and Local Relationships

Coordinator: Mrs. B. E. Mays - Atlanta

Industrial Relations: Levin Armwood - Jacksonville
L. B. Hobson - Memphis

Vocational Education: George L. Edwards, Southern Field
Walter Pinkston - Miami

Housing: Robert Thompson - Atlanta

Health: Clarence Coleman - Atlanta

Welfare Services: Mrs. Cernoria Johnson - Oklahoma
W. H. Bass, Jr. - Little Rock

Consultants:

A. L. Thompson - Housing
Miss Frankie V. Adams - Welfare Services
Dr. W. A. Mason - Health

4:00 - 5:00 **INTERPRETATION**

Uses of Various Media for Telling the Urban League Story

Speakers: Guichard Parris,
Director of Promotion and Publicity
National Urban League

Miss Earlene Wright
Southern Field Division

Discussion from Floor

a.u.

SATURDAY - May 7, 1949

9:30 - 12:30 **Morning Session**

SUMMARY - FINDINGS - Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

RESOLUTIONS

ADJOURNMENT

SOUTHERN FIELD AFFILIATES

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Exec. Sec'y
Mr. A. T. Walden, Board Chairman

FORT WORTH, TEXAS
Garland M. Garvin, Exec. Sec'y member
L. M. Johnson, Board Chairman member

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA
Levin W. Armwood, Exec. Sec'y member
Mr. Elliott Adams, Board Chairman member

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
W. H. Bass, Jr., Exec. Sec'y member
Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Board Chairman

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
J. A. McDaniel, Exec. Sec'y
Dr. Peter Cooper, Board Chairman

MIAMI, FLORIDA
Walter C. Pinkston, Exec. Sec'y
Mr. A. L. Reynolds, Board Chairman

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
J. Westbrook McPherson, Exec.
special ps Mrs. Moise Cahn, Board Chr.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA
omit Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, Exec.
Mr. Jesse T. Owen, Board Chr.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Wiley A. Hall, Exec. Sec'y
Mr. B. T. Bradshaw, Board Chr.

TAMPA, FLORIDA
James S. Hadley, Exec. Sec'y
Paul Wagner, Board Chairman

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
Nelson C. Jackson, Director
George L. Edwards, Ass't Dir.
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SOUTH-WIDE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Georgia
Charles Gillman
Regional Director CIO
Atlanta

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Forrester B. Washington, Director
A. U. School of Social Work
Atlanta

W. H. Aiken, President
National Builders Association
Atlanta

Georgia
Mrs. B. E. Mays
Atlanta

Graham Jackson
Music Instructor
Atlanta

Florida
L. I. Alexander
Alexander Insurance Company
Jacksonville

J. Leonard Lewis
Attorney at Law
Jacksonville

SOUTH-WIDE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Florida
R. P. Daniel
Law Offices Daniel & Poucher
Jacksonville

Edgar Ray, Managing Editor
Tampa Daily Times
Tampa

Alonzo Bliss
Bliss Associates
Miami

Alabama
Robert Durr, Editor
Birmingham Weekly Review
Birmingham

Louisiana
James Lewis, Jr., President
Peoples Industrial Life Ins. Co.
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Father Vincent O'Connel
Catholic Committee of the South
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Pressmens Home

North Carolina
Mr. James G. Hanes
Hanes Hosiery Mills
Winston-Salem

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George Mitchell
Charles W. Greene
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Clarence E. Coleman
George L. Edwards
Miss Earlene Wright
Nelson C. Jackson
Mrs. B. E. Mays, Chairman

26 - Nat'l Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. Lamar 7262 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Thirty-ninth Year of Service

AFFILIATES IN 56 CITIES IN 29 STATES

National Office:
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

85

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*

May
Twelfth
1 9 4 9

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for a splendid setting for our Southern Regional Conference of the National Urban League.

There were many statements regarding the fact that that sort of presentation was absolutely necessary, and as you remember, throughout the Conference, there were opportunities to refer to your excellent presentation.

Again, I thank you.

Cordially yours,

Nelson

Nelson C. Jackson,
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW

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MAY 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

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26 - National Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Guichard Parris
WAtkins 4-0505

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

****

The National Urban League, for the fourth consecutive year, received a renewal of its fellowship grant from the Adam Hat Welfare Fund. The grants provide for tuition and maintainance for graduate study in sociology and economics and are administered by the Fellowship Committee of the National Urban League.

Former Adam Hat Fellowship winners are, Aldona Runnels of Portland, Oregon, now a case worker with the Riverdale Childrens' Associatio following two years of scholarship study at the New York School of Social Work and Thomas A. Webster, Executive Secretary of the Urban League of Kansas City who majored in Social Work Administration at the Graduate School of the University of Kansas.

Julius A. Thomas, Director of Industrial Relations of the National Urban League, is pictured receiving a check for $1,200 from J ames Yancy, salesman in Adam Hats' 125th Street store in New York City Irving Rubenstein, vice president and general manager of Adam Hats looks on.

August1,1949

***** **********

RECEIVED
AUG 3 1949
Southern Regional Counc

26 - National Urban League

September 16, 1949

Mr. Lester Granger
National Urban League
1333 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Granger:

Here is a brand new pamphlet--one we have been trying for a good while to get completed.

We think it is really going to do a lot of good. The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has agreen to send it out to all its members.

My next job is to get it into the hands of newspaper readers so that they, running a sort of audit of the local papers against the little green book, can push through some changes.

We strained our credit to get it printed, and we are anxious to sell blocks of it to help pay the printer's bill. I know the Urban League is not rich. Who is, these days? But, won't you consider whether you have any device to help us.

a. Pay the printer's bill
b. Get the pamphlet into Southern hands.

We sell the pamphlet for fifteen cents a copy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. Lamar 7262 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*

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56 CITIES IN
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National Office:
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

85

April
Twelfth
1 9 5 0

Dear Colleague:

We are sharing with you a report of the activities of the Southern Field Division during 1949. We are hopeful that 1950 will be a prosperous one, both in terms of program development, financial support and the support of our many friends about the country.

We are particularly anxious that members of the South-wide Advisory Committee be of greater support to the National Urban League during the coming year.

We appreciate your comments and suggestions for greater service during 1950.

Cordially yours,

Nelson C. Jackson

Nelson C. Jackson,
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW
enc.

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Southern Field Division
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

MEMORANDUM April 12, 1950

To: Mr. Lester B. Granger
League Executives
South-wide Advisory Committee Members

From: Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

Subject: ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
National Urban League
During 1949

: : : : : :

INTRODUCTION

During 1949, the Southern Field Division was able to move forward on several fronts and to strengthen its program in several areas. Notable among the strengths were the participation and cooperation of the many League Executives, board and staff members, and South-wide Advisory Committee representatives in the South. Their support is appreciated and hoped for for the future.

Staff-wise the Southern Field Division suffered during 1949. Miss Isobel Chisholm left the staff in February, after having organized Guilds in six of our Southern League cities. The interpretation which she made rated continued development during 1949. We were, however, able to secure the services of Miss Earlene Wright on a part-time basis until June. She followed through on activities of the Fund-raising Campaign of the Southern Field Division and assisted in doing the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference. She left the office to accept the position as Executive of the Fort Worth Urban League after that time.

Mr. George L. Edwards was the recipient of a Fellowship from the General Education Board to do advanced work in Vocational Guidance at Columbia University. He worked all of 1949 and secured a leave of absence in February of 1950 until June. He will return to the office after that time for advanced activities in the area of Vocational Guidance.

SERVICE TO AFFILIATES

The following Affiliates were visited during 1949: New Orleans, Louisiana; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Fort Worth, Texas; Jacksonville, Tampa and Miami, Florida; and Atlanta, Georgia. And in connection with a part-time field work responsibility with the Atlanta University School of Social Work, Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore and New York were visited.

In New Orleans, Oklahoma City and Fort Worth, field consultation visits served to strengthen Board, Chest and Council relations, as well as to assist with program planning. In the afore-mentioned Leagues, new life was noted in the development of activities which should make for stronger program during 1950.

In Jacksonville, a program for veterans participated in by Mr. George Holland was noted as being one of the best in the country, according to Mr. Holland's report. Notable accomplishments in the several Leagues might be mentioned as the completion of plans for the erection of a swimming pool and the assurance that Negro police would be employed in Jacksonville.

Housing activities in Miami and Atlanta served to highlight the activities of Leagues in those areas. In addition, the beginning of a 100-bed Negro private hospital in Atlanta, Georgia can be traced directly to the activities of the Atlanta Affiliate.

In Fort Worth, the Board was re-organized and community programs started in the several areas of Fort Worth.

Similarly, the Oklahoma City Urban League received an increase in its budget from the local Chest and was able during the year to strengthen its program in child welfare services and to secure active participation by a large number of lay persons on committees working in the interest of the organization activities.

Memphis, Tennessee; Little Rock, Arkansas and Richmond, Virginia were not visited officially during the year. Contact, however, was maintained with the Memphis Affiliate by correspondence and the Richmond and Little Rock Executives were in attendance at the First Southern Regional Conference of the National Urban League held in Atlanta during the month of May. In each instance, however, it can be reported that programs in their local communities have been carried on of credit to the movement. The Memphis Urban League, for example, has been able to pull in good press support for its programs, worked closely with the International Harvester Plant in Memphis, and was able to secure support for the appointment of Negroes to the Tennessee Employment Service. All three of these Affiliates will be visited during 1950.

Field Memos

In addition to the visits made to local Affiliates and correspondence exchanged, several memorandums were sent to local Leagues in an attempt to assist in the development of their respective programs. Among such memos were: Suggestions regarding employment opportunities in Federal Housing; Race in the News, a description of a pamphlet done by the Southern Regional Council and which could be used to strengthen public relations; attention called to "Our Home Town" by Earle Lippincott, a resource book which aids in the development of noting community resources and suggestions regarding program development; Your community six-point employment program; request for assistance in securing Negroes on Governors' committees for the forthcoming Mid-Century White House Conference, and a proposal regarding the Regional Conference of the National Urban League. In practically every instance local Leagues followed through with information sent from the Regional Office.

NEW LEAGUE PROSPECTS

During 1949, numerous League prospects came to the attention of the Southern Field Division. Some were worked on, others were noted as correspondence

contacts for the present. Among those communities requesting visits to work toward planning Leagues were: Durham, North Carolina; Charlottesville, Virginia and Dallas, Texas. In each of the instances above mentioned, visits were promised during 1950.

In addition, Mr. Jerome B. Johnson, of the National Office, while doing a check on Community Relations Project cities, noted interest in Tulsa, Oklahoma; Houston, Texas and St. Petersburg, Florida. While no additional Leagues were organized in the Southern Field area during 1949, the following cities were visited:

Winston-Salem

As a culmination of months of correspondence in advising the Executive Secretary of the Community Relations Project - an organization set up after the National Urban League made the survey in Winston-Salem - I was invited to participate as the annual speaker for the organization in October. At this time the Chairman of the Board of the organization, Mr. James Hanes, indicated his interest in affiliating with the National Urban League; and Mr. Harry L. Alston, the Executive Secretary, is working very closely with him toward completing the affiliation agreement. The Community Relations Project, however, has been able to do an excellent job along program lines of the National Urban League during its year of operation.

Birmingham

Numerous visits were made to Birmingham, Alabama during 1949. Although money was raised for one-half of the budget among white citizens, a stalemate occurred in organizational attempts because of the un-democratic approach by some of the white citizens, and this city has to be removed from the active list - for organizational purposes - for the present. A special report on Birmingham is in the hands of the Executive Director.

Houston

I made visits to Houston, Texas in February and April. In addition, correspondence was carried on between the Southern Field Office and key persons in Houston. One of the problems in Houston, as cited by leading white and Negro citizens, is the fact that there is no one Negro leader who has community support. Similarly, the white community is divided into several economic camps which affect the community's social service program. Finally, the Community Fund Drive was not successful in Houston during 1949, and it was thought best not to develop plans for bringing a new organization in because of the latter condition. The Council Director, however, agreed to work cooperatively with the Southern Field Division and partially as a result of Mr. Jerome Johnson's visit in November, plans were laid for a visit to Houston during the early part of 1950 to further League organization plans.

Shreveport, Louisiana; Nashville and Chattanooga, Tennessee were visited in connection with other program activities. Each seemed to present the need for Urban League program. There was interest expressed during my Shreveport visit, but no follow-up in the community resulted. Chattanooga, Tennessee has developed an interracial program of great significance. It, however, has not expressed a willingness for the organization of a League branch, although the Graduate Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity indicated that it would take the Urban League organization project as its program. While Nashville,

Tennessee has exhibited some interest in planning for bringing the Urban League to that community, it was not found possible to develop latent interest among key citizens to the point where activities could be developed.

PROGRAM AND ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

First Annual Southern Regional Conference

The First Annual Southern Regional Conference of the National Urban League was held in Atlanta, Georgia in May 1949. Fifty-two persons attended the Conference, comprising Executive Secretaries, members of boards of local Affiliates, representatives of the South-wide Advisory Committee, Chest and Council Executives and students and faculty from the Atlanta University School of Social Work. Conference Proceedings were processed and sent to the League Executives and persons attending the meeting.

A Committee on Resolutions to the Southern Regional Conference of the National Urban League made specific recommendations. Resolutions and what has happened as a result since is herewith presented.

2. BE IT RESOLVED, that this type of workshop be continued annually, et cetera, et cetera.

   Comment: The Conference could not be scheduled for 1950 due to the lack of personnel in the Southern Field Office and funds to carry on the activity.

3. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Southern Field Division appoint a Committee on Finance to study and recommend methods by which the local Leagues might give more financial support to the National Urban League and that such recommendations be discussed at the next Annual Conference of the National Urban League.

   Comment: Fund-raising was not scheduled as a part of the Southern Field Division's program at the National Conference. However, plans for fund-raising in the South have been discussed with the Executive Director from time to time, with plans suggested for tying in the Southern area more closely with fund-raising operations on a national scale.

4. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Southern Field Division request the National Urban League to create a Fellowship to the Atlanta University School of Social Work, et cetera.

   Comment: In a memorandum from Mr. Maurice Moss to Mr. Kinckle Jones on October 25, 1949, the following is reported:

   "It was resolved at the Conference, the Southern Field Division request the National Urban League create a Fellowship to the Atlanta University School of Social Work, et cetera.

   "This resolution was handed in to the Resolutions

Committee at the Denver Conference:

'After considerable deliberation, the Denver Conference Resolutions Committee decided not to include this among the resolutions which it brought to the floor of the Conference.'

"As I recall the discussion, there were two major considerations leading to this decision: (1) That the resolution named a particular school of social work and apparently assumed that the school would cooperate in the plan, whereas the Committee felt that such an undertaking should result from negotiation between the League and the school, without a formal resolution coming from the Conference, and (2) That the resolution ran counter to long established policy in that it would name the recipient to be employed by the League.

"It was my impression in the discussion, that there was sympathetic understanding of the intent of this resolution and that its rejection hinged around the method of starting negotiations rather than around the idea itself.

"I pass this on to you for whatever it may be worth to you and the Fellowship Committee."

5. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that more consideration be given to the placement of prominent Southerners on the Board of Trustees of the National Urban League, et cetera, et cetera.

Comment: This resolution was taken up at Denver and as a result local Leagues over the country have made recommendations to the National Office for key persons to be placed on the Board of the National Urban League.

National Social Welfare Assembly Institute

The subject of the Conference was "The Field Worker and the Rural Community." It was held at the Parish House of All Saints Church in Atlanta, Georgia July 11-14.

I served as a member of the Planning Committee for this Conference, beginning in January, where a group of about twenty-five representatives of regional agencies met in Atlanta to talk over the possibilities of having an Institute some time in the summer which would concern itself with field work in the rural community. The National Urban League was the only organization interested in the program of social welfare among Negroes represented. When the Institute was held, forty-two representatives of agencies in the National Social Welfare Assembly attended the meeting. The conference participants believed that there should be a continuation of this idea, particularly to see that representatives of agencies got to know one another better and to make plans to do a better job in the South. It was agreed also that there should be representatives of lay groups which would bring the thinking closer to the people who are served and that another conference should be kept in mind. At the summary session on Thursday morning following the conference, there were some charges brought that the conference was mis-labeled and should have been called an "Institute for Racial

Integration." This charge was made by the American Red Cross representatives. They also charged that there was a bias in the finance phase of the program in that representatives of federated financing were presented only. Despite these charges, it was agreed that the conference was good and that it should be carried on another year. In the light of the overwhelming request for the conference, a conference for 1950 was planned, and will be participated in by the National Urban League.

Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth

The Leagues in the Southern Field Division were alerted during the month of September regarding the proposed organization of Governors' Committees for the 1950 Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. League Executives were asked to use their influence with their Governors to see that Negroes were appointed to the committees in their states. As a result of League Executives activities and members of their Boards and through assistance of other interested persons, practically every Southern State has appointed Negroes to State-wide Committees. In Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Louisiana, League Executives are members of Governors' Committees. Georgia is one of the two states which so far have refused to appoint Negroes, although I did receive a letter from Governor Talmadge appointing me, which invitation was later withdrawn - not directly but through his State Chairman.

Conferences have been held in Washington with representatives of the Children's Bureau and the White House Conference staff; and a committee working in Georgia is attempting to remedy the Georgia situation.

Board of Control for Southern Regional Education

I was invited as one of two Negroes to explore the problem of social work planning in the South and to make recommendations for graduate studies and meeting needs in the field. This conference, which met in Atlanta for two days - November 6 and 7 - and had as representatives directors of schools of social work in the South as well as representatives of the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education, made recommendation to the Southern Governors meeting in Biloxi, Mississippi, November 21. A resolution was presented by the Negro representatives which finally, after revision, was accepted to wit:

> "The Commission wishes to commend the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education for the position it has taken in the Maryland Case in stating that 'It is not the purpose of the Board that the Regional Compact and the contract for educational services thereunder shall serve any state as a legal defense for avoiding responsibilities established or defined under the existing State and Federal Laws and court decisions.'"

Housing Conferences

Two significant housing conferences were attended during 1949. The first was the 1949 Economy Housing Program Conference held at the Henry Grady Hotel on February 15, 1949, where a statement was prepared by the Atlanta Advisory Committee on the Economy Housing program of housing for Negroes in the Atlanta area. This statement prepared by a committee working under the chairmanship of W. H. Aiken, received the acclaim of the Housing Conference and was used as the basis for planning for housing for Negroes in the City of Atlanta.

The second conference attended was held at Prairie View State College, Prairie

View, Texas - the third annual housing conference called at that college - to discuss methods of building for low-income groups. My assignment was to discuss the source of labor supply in the South. This conference, attended by representatives from various departments in Washington, the Regional Housing offices in Texas as well as builders and contractors from the Southwestern Region, agreed in conference to make recommendation to the Land Grant College Presidents regarding course offerings in the building trades in an attempt to strengthen curriculums and bridge the gap between training courses and employment in the field. In addition, definite recommendations were made regarding building for low-income groups.

Numerous contacts were maintained between the Regional FHA Office Racial Relations Advisers and Public Housing Administrative Offices.

FUND-RAISING ACTIVITIES

Of significance during 1949 was the first fund-raising attempt made in Atlanta, Georgia under the able leadership of Mr. W. H. Aiken, president of the National Builders Association. A goal was set for $10,000. Some difficulties were noted where the proposed organization did not come up to expectations, but despite difficulties the Southern Field Division was able to raise approximately $5,000 in this activity.

The National Shriners were visited in their convention in Detroit to follow through on the grant which was made the year previously at St. Louis, which amounted to approximately $750. It is expected that the cooperation of the Masonic bodies among Negroes can be secured and that sustaining grants will be forthcoming after a period of interpretation, and the further development of good public relations.

The first week in April, I was invited to speak before the Louisiana State Federation of Labor through Dr. George Snowden, vice president of this organization and a member of the New Orleans Urban League Board. This initial contact is to be followed up during 1950 with a special pamphlet pointed toward the Urban League's cooperation with organized labor and work on Dr. Snowden's part to secure cooperation between the Louisiana State Federation of Labor and the National Urban League in its fund-raising attempts.

Mr. Cornelius Maiden, vice-president of the Alabama Federation of Labor, has suggested that a visit can possibly be worked out so that I might be able to speak before the Alabama Federation of Labor during 1950. Plans are being laid in this direction.

Fund-raising discussions were held with the National Office in an attempt to tie the Southern Field Division more closely into planning for national emphasis. The necessity for this consideration cannot be too strongly stressed. Whenever the limited staff in the Southern Field Office has to take time out for fund-raising activities program suffers.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

During 1949, Mr. George L. Edwards was requested to find out the number of new plants which had come into the Atlanta region during the last year and to visit as many of those plants as possible to ascertain what their employment practices were in relation to the employment of Negroes. It was found that twenty-three new industries, mainly representative of national industries, had come to Atlanta during 1948, and nineteen additional industries had purchased land in

anticipation of building. Elsewhere about the South, a report done by the National Planning Association Committee of the South reports that there has been a tremendous drive toward industrialization in this section of the United States. (A separate memo was sent to the Executive Director on November 4, 1949 citing industrial changes and requesting that the National Office give some consideration immediately to the employment of industrial relations personnel for the Southern Field. This is a job which must be done on the scene for best results. The present staff cannot cover this area of operation without having to let other operations go by default.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

The job of public relations has been divided within the office since the Promotion and Publicity Secretary position was cut from the staff. A limited volume of news copy has been sent to the press, covering activities of the Southern Field Division. I serve as a member of the Executive Committee and the Board of the American Association of Social Workers, the Association for the Study of Community Organization, as well as hold numerous board positions in the Southern area in social welfare organizations. This helps to interpret the work of the Urban League in the section. In addition, as a member of the Masonic bodies and the Elks in Atlanta, a wider public is gained for the operations of the organization. In the 1949 Convention of the Shrine in Detroit, the Souvenir Program carried a two-page reproduction of the Certificate of Recognition given by the National Urban League to the Imperial Potentate. As a result of this and other activities, I have been requested to prepare articles - and have done so - for the official publication, THE PYRAMID.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Mr. George Edwards, Assistant Southern Field Director, worked with Urban League Affiliates, Secondary Schools and Colleges, State Departments of Education, Parent-Teacher Associations and the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes in organizing Vocational Guidance Councils and perfecting a working relationship between Leagues, Councils, schools and educational officials. In Jacksonville, Florida, he assisted in the organization of an industrial relations committee which concerned itself with the vocational adjustment problems of that city. As a result, a working relationship was established with the Stanton High School in the expansion of the School's informational Bureau on job opportunities and employment trends. A similar trip was made in Miami, Florida.

He assisted in the organization and participated in career conferences at the Booker T. Washington High School, Atlanta, Georgia. Growing out of those conferences the Southern Field Division has been contacted by approximately 600 individual senior students for specific information on job opportunities and employment trends and advice on procedures for preparing for future employment. Administered 398 Job Interest Indicators to students of Booker T. Washington and David T. Howard High Schools and Clark College. The results and interpretation of these Indicators are being used as the basis for a more realistic counseling program within the respective institutions.

The Assistant Director circularized more than 1200 high schools in the thirteen Southern States regarding the importance of funcrional guidance programs and the concern of the National Urban League in the vocational adjustment problems of Negroes. Field trips were made to Albany State College, Albany, Georgia; Center High School, Waycross, Georgia; Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida; Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Georgia and Georgia State

College, Savannah, Georgia in the interest of vocational guidance.

The Southern Field Division for the second year cooperated with the U. S. Navy in the promotion of the Navy ROTC program as a facet of the League's concern with the vocational adjustment problems of youth. Mr. Edwards assisted the Personnel Department of the Navy in bringing before 8,500 male students in 32 Negro colleges and high schools information pertaining to the Navy ROTC program. As a result of conferences with Navy officials, the ROTC examinations were given on a non-segregated basis in Atlanta and New Orleans.

A field trip was made to New Orleans with Lt. Dennis Nelson, of the U. S. Navy, in the interest of the N ROTC program. As a result, 150 students made applications in the five schools visited in that city, and the New Orleans area registered the highest number of Negro candidates for the examinations in the thirteen Southern States and the District of Columbia.

According to reports from Navy sources, Elmer St. Elmo Dupre, 17 year old New Orleans high school youth, was the only Negro from a Southern state and one of the two Negroes in the nation to pass the N ROTC examination.

CONCLUSION

The Southern Field operation has moved ahead in many areas during 1949. Two firsts were noted in connection with the First Annual Southern Regional Conference and the first major campaign for the National Urban League in the South. Both were indicative of the need for continued emphasis, but cannot be continued without money and staff. This is important also in connection with the need for entering the field of industrial relations. If the Southern operation is to move ahead, it must approach the field of industrial relations with personnel employed in the Southern Field Office. Prior to that time, however, it is hoped that some preliminary visits can be made by a staff member of the National Office to ascertain trends in the employment of Negroes and program areas suggested.

: : :

Nat. Urb. League

June 21, 1950

Mr. Nelson Jackson
~~National Urban League~~
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Nelson:

I went to the largish Rural Life Conference at Tuskegee the other day. Many of the Negroes there had driven from considerable distances, and from two or three I had dismal tales of discriminations and insults at filling stations which they stopped at along the way.

This is an old story, but I thought maybe it was time to make some concerted push on this. Atlanta probably contains regional offices for a good many of the chains, and something might be done.

Would it be a good plan for you and me to work together?

I found in my inquiries that independent stations generally had a bad name for courtesy, but, when it came to the chains, experience varied greatly. Some people swore by Sinclair, some people swore by Esso, and others swore at both.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Affiliated with
NATIONAL
SOCIAL WELFARE
ASSEMBLY

1910 - NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - 1950

FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. LAMAR 7262 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Lester B. Granger
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General Secretary

NATIONAL OFFICE
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N. Y.

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

April 3, 1951

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Ass't Director*

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Auburn Avenue and Ivy Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You are cordially invited to attend a round-table discussion in two sessions on the mobilization and use of all available manpower. The center of interest of the round-table will be education and vocational guidance.

The morning session will be on "The Present Emergency and its Impact on Guidance and Training." The afternoon session will consider "Long-ranged Aspects of Guidance and Training."

Participants will include Brunswick Bagdon, regional director, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Louis Davis, regional representative, Division of Employment Security; Orie Meyers, regional director, U. S. Civil Service Commission; Walter H. Aiken, president, Aiken, Incorporated; Harry T. Wrenn, chief, Employee Utilization Section, Atlanta General Depot; John Hope, II, industrial relations specialist, Fisk University; Julius A. Thomas, director of Industrial Relations, National Urban League; Joseph F. Albright, special assistant to the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, and Nelson C. Jackson, director, Southern Field Division, National Urban League.

We hope you will find it possible to attend the round-table. Registration begins at 9:00 A. M., Thursday, April 5, in the Trevor Arnett Library, Exhibition Room, Atlanta University.

Sincerely,

Nelson C. Jackson (mf)

Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director.

NCJ/mf
enc.

RECEIVED
APR 4 1951
Southern Regional Council

***** Announcing a *****
***** *****
** ROUND TABLE **
** **

on

"GUIDANCE AND TRAINING IN A FREE AMERICA"

to be co-sponsored by the

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

and

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

****

Thursday, April 5, 1951

in the

Exhibition Room

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
Atlanta University

****

Purpose: The Round Table on "Guidance and Training in a Free America" will be keyed to the present national emergency and the nation's need for the cooperation of all institutions in the mobilization and utilization of available manpower. Serving as a liaison between government, industry and educational institutions, the National Urban League, through this Round Table, will give opportunity for administrators and faculty of Negro schools and colleges in the South to discuss with important representatives of key government agencies:

a. The present emergency and its impact on guidance and training; and

b. Long-ranged aspects of guidance and training.

****

MAR 27 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
~~Southern Field Division~~

MEMORANDUM

March 26, 1951

To: Executive Secretaries - Southern Affiliates
Southern Board Chairmen
Southwide Advisory Committee

From: Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

Subject: SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE - National Urban League - April 6-7, 1951

***
*

Over half of the Southern Affiliates cannot have representation at a proposed Conference in Atlanta on April 6-7, 1951. Therefore, it is being canceled. This does not, in any way, affect the Round Table at Atlanta University called for April 5, 1951 on "Guidance and Training in a Free America." Those of you who plan to attend the Round Table will be expected.

***

Affiliated with
NATIONAL
SOCIAL WELFARE
ASSEMBLY

1910 - NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - 1950

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NATIONAL OFFICE
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N. Y.

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

March 7, 1951

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
Nelson C. Jackson, Director
George L. Edwards, Ass't Director

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

A Round Table - "Guidance and Training in a Free America" - co-sponsored by the National Urban League and Atlanta University, will be held at Atlanta University on April 5, 1951. Since a majority of the League Executives in the Southern Field, as well as board members, have indicated that much value could be received by having a Regional Conference in Atlanta this spring, it is planned to hold that Conference on April 6 and 7.

The purpose of the Round Table on "Guidance and Training in a Free America," which is a part of the 40th Anniversary celebration, will be keyed to the present national emergency and the nation's need for the cooperation of all institutions in the mobilization and utilization of available manpower. Serving as a liaison between government, industry and educational institutions, the National Urban League, through this Round Table, will give opportunity for administrators and faculty of Negro schools and colleges in the South to discuss with important representatives of key agencies:

a. The present emergency and its impact on guidance and training; and

b. Long-ranged aspects of guidance and training.

Regional Conference

A brief statement of the purpose of the Regional Conference would be to provide an opportunity for League representatives in the South to meet and discuss problems relative to the present national emergency and to discuss among ourselves the various facets of problems which we face in this critical period.

The Conference will be held at the Trevor Arnett Library of Atlanta University. Housing and food can be secured

at the Atlanta University Dormitory at a cost of $4 to $5 per day. Since the dates had to be changed, because of commitments at the University, to this earlier date, will you please indicate immediately whether or not you will be able to attend.

Preliminary statements regarding program will be sent out, including assignments, in the next week or so to make this a worthwhile conference.

Will you indicate what the most pressing problem in connection with the national emergency is with you, as it relates to Urban League operation, so that it will be helpful in the planning of program.

The Regional Conference is to include members of Boards and staffs of Southern Leagues.

Cordially yours,

Nelson

Nelson C. Jackson,
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW

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1910 - NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - 1951

FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

1133 BROADWAY WAtkins 4-0505 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
Atlanta, Georgia
Branches in 58 Cities
in 30 states

March
Nineteenth
1952

RECEIVED
MAR 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As secretaries in the offices of the National Urban League, we have offered our help in raising funds to carry on the work of our organization. As a friend of the League, we don't have to remind you that the League is the only national organization with a professionally led program aimed at broadening the economic horizon of the Negro population. And we're convinced that it is doing the outstanding job in this field.

We are, therefore, "secretaries for a cause" - and in addition to the day-to-day responsibilities of our jobs we feel a moral obligation to the organization and the cause to which it is dedicated. We solicit your help in our efforts, for in helping us you are giving your endorsement to the objectives of the National Urban League and aiding in forwarding its program.

As our major fund-raising effort this year, we plan to have a dance at the Royal Manor, here in New York, on Saturday, May third. In connection with this event we are getting together a Patrons List of special friends of the League - and we're anxious to include your name on the printed program. Patrons are asked to donate Five ($5.00) Dollars.

We are happy to report that last year, with the cooperation of the secretaries in our 58 local affiliates, we raised $3,000 through a dime-project and presented this amount to the League at the Annual Conference in St. Paul. We are sure that with your cooperation we can raise a similar sum this year.

The enclosed statement will give you an idea of what others have had to say about us. We look forward to your favorable reply and hope for your continued interest.

Very truly yours,
Enid C. Baird
Enid C. Baird,
Secretary to the Executive Director.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

EMPLOYMENT BASED ON TRAINING AND MERIT
COMMUNITY PLANNING — INTERRACIAL LEADERSHIP

What They Say.....

About THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND CLERICAL COUNCIL

: : :

"No gift to the League in a long time has so deeply touched me as this one, coming as it does from the young ladies who work in our offices as secretaries, stenographers and receptionists. This evidence of their devotion 'over and beyond the call of duty' is probably the finest evidence of the acceptance of our program which we could have. Financially it is a significant gift, but it is even more significant as a symbol."

... Lloyd K. Garrison, NUL President
(acknowledging $3,000 contribution
from the Council, September, 1951)

"Having had the privilege and pleasure of working at one time on a special project in the office of the NUL, I know what a hardworking, cooperative, swell group of people its staff members are. This takes in everyone, from the receptionist to the executive secretary, Lester Granger, who, I wish to add, is a truly 'wonderful guy' . . . So, it is with pleasure that I have the privilege of announcing in this column the public debut of the Administrative and Clerical Council of the NUL ... "

... Edward G. Perry, Columnist
New York Amsterdam News

"The NUL Secretarial Contest will reveal some very startling facts about fund-raising... The girls, scattered throughout the country, linked with the various Urban League branches, had loads of fun aiding the worthy cause. Now I know why everyone is saying that those very same Girl Fridays are the best to be had. It must be wonderful to know that when you're a hard worker that you are a good worker and also that your (best) efforts are highly appreciated. . . The League wants this space to take time out to say to all the girls (Secretaries, that is): 'Well done!' "

... Ted Yates, Columnist
Independent Press Service

"I very much like the idea of the secretarial staff (which really does all the work done in all offices anyway) striking out on its own. Good for you folks!"

... Roger William Riis,
NUL Board Member.

"Nothing I can think of is so satisfying as to see so many people working together towards the implementing of an important principle. Not to be left out, I'm taking the liberty of sending you my check to cover the cost of a table at your May 20th Cocktail Dance. Good luck to you!"

... Miss Beatrice J. Platt,
Secretary to Mr. Dwight R. G. Palmer,
General Cable Corporation.

"The outstanding feature of the NUL Conference was the recognition given the administration secretaries. During my 24 years with the League I do not recall a more impressive event than the crowning of the 'Secretary of the Year' and the presentation of the contribution to Mr. Lloyd Garrison."

... Edward S. Lewis, Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New York

"I wish to commend you upon the work that you are doing with the Administrative and Clerical Council. I think that staff workers' participation in this Council and the attendance at the conference means as much to them in their sphere of the work as it does to professional workers in our sphere."

... J. Westbrook McPherson, Exec. Dir.
New Orleans Urban League

"The Administrative and Clerical Council is doing a wonderful job. The National Office and the whole League movement are indebted to you girls for the tangible and praiseworthy work being promoted by the Council."

... Clifford E. Minton, Exec. Secy.
Urban League of Gary

"Best of luck to the Council. It is an excellent idea and certainly should improve the workings of the Urban Leagues throughout the country."

... Miss Marion L. Forrester, Exec. Secy.
Englewood Urban League

"I have read with great interest of your contest and consider it extremely important both as a promotion and as a method for inspiring our young clerical workers to greater achievements."

... W. H. Butler, Editor
TRAVELGUIDE

"With every good wish for the success of your contest, which is success for the League..."

... Dr. Sadie T. M. Alexander,
NUL Board Member.

ACC's Founder writes:

"Organization of our Council is the beginning of a new day - not only for us as a group, but for our parent organization which not only permitted us to see the light of day at a NUL Conference, but has made it possible for us to grow and develop in an excellent environment with the blessing and encouragement of our Executive Director, Lester B. Granger. It is fitting that in this conference we will have an opportunity to affirm the purpose for which we have been organized; take cognizance of our full responsibility and acknowledge our abiding faith in its program... Let us strive for full participation and integration of every staff member and friend working for the common purpose of the League, for the common society in which we work, and the common community which we serve."

... Mrs. Christina F. Jeffries,
Urban League of Pittsburgh.

Urban League Honor Winners

A CLEVELAND SECRETARY, Mrs. Alice G. Collum, won top honors in the National Urban League's 1951 contest for "Urban League Secretary of the Year" and, in addition to the title, was awarded a $100 Defense Bond and a Remington Portable. Mrs. Collum has been with the League at Cleveland for eleven years as secretary-bookkeeper (office manager, too) and now secretary to the executive director there. She had previously been clerk-typist with NYA, stenographer at Outhwaite Homes (FHA), and secretary in a law firm. She is an accomplished tennis player, bowler, and horsewoman—with many medals and trophies to her credit; and, more lately, she has become a golf enthusiast also. She is active in various civic and social organizations, has helped promote numerous educational projects, and has participated on panels in several career conferences, literary forums, and discussion groups. Mrs. Collum also does a clever job of narrating for fashion shows in and around Ohio. An unusually versatile young woman!

Alice G. Collum

Ruth Allen King

Mrs. King is one of the most popular secretaries in the movement, but she was not eligible for top place because of her connection with the National Office in New York City, where she is administrative secretary in the Industrial Relations Department and private secretary to the department head. She has been at Headquarters since 1929—her first job. Mrs. King was named "Special National Awardee" and given her trip to St. Paul and a radio-phonograph console.

Ruth Elizabeth Williams
Secretary to Massachusetts Governor

Contest results were announced at the League's annual conference at St. Paul in September, and Mrs. Collum was officially crowned. Present to perform the ceremony was the Administrative and Clerical Council's "Honorary Secretary of the Year," Mrs. Ruth Elizabeth Williams, who is secretary to Governor Paul Dever of Massachustts, as she had been to Governor Tobin before he became Secretary of Labor.

TODAY'S SECRETARY
FORMERLY GREGG WRITER

November, 1951

Reprinted by the National Urban League, the nation's oldest interracial service agency working for equal economic opportunities. Headquarters in New York City and branches in 58 cities in 30 states.

Natl Urban League

September 23, 1952

Mr. Harry Alston
National Urban League
250 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Alston:

In Washington recently I had opportunity to talk with Mr. Robert R. Granville, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Government Contract Compliance.

I learned that the U. S. Government publishes daily, I think, or at least weekly, an unassorted miscellaneous list of Government contracts awarded. Each list is huge. The task of sub-dividing it by States or by categories of work to be done would be considerable for any agency placing itself in regular receipt of the lists. Of course, as a service to the public the Government ought to classify the list itself. No one would tell me why the Government does not, but it is easy to see that the unbalance as to States in which contracts are awarded would be a consideration in the minds of Government officials.

I wonder if the National Urban League could not take on the clerical work of sub-dividing the list and notifying its branches, and probably the public, as to the award of contracts covered by the executive order?

I can see how the Urban League's branches could grow greatly in enforcement service if theye were general knowledge of the plants and firms in each area of the country operating under the non-discrimination clause.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1133 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

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FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

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Lester B. Granger
Executive Director

R. Maurice Moss
Asso. Executive Director

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
Harry L. Alston, Industrial Relations
M. T. Puryear, Vocational Guidance

December 3, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Southern Office
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 2, referring to the anticipated news story which is to be released by the New York Times.

It seems as though our efforts are still bearing fruit in terms of publicity or distribution of information, which was compiled through the cooperation of the various organizations in the Southern Region.

I am sure that the above news story will have its effect upon the whole country, and not just the Southern Region alone.

I regret that I was unable to attend the meeting, which was scheduled for Nashville, Tennessee, however I hope that I will receive a report on the same.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry L. Alston
Industrial Secretary
Southern Field Division

HLA/m

Affiliated With National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference of Social Work, United Community Defense Services, United Defense Fund

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W., ATLANTA, GA.

For your information
12-4

Harold Fleming

Did the story ever break in the N.Y. Times?

Alex Miller

Hi,
NEIGHBOR
CORNELIUS JOHNSON

CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE

3032 So. Wabash Avenue

Phone CALumet 6828

EARL B. DICKERSON, *President* A. L. FOSTER, *Exec. Director*

Some people have come to Chicago only recently
To work in our industries—
To make new homes—
To give their children a better chance.

TO THE NEWCOMERS
THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE SAYS —

Welcome!

Chicago is a BIG city in a good State and people have rights here that they don't have in some other places.

For instance, EVERYBODY is equal before the law. A Negro, Jewish, Mexican or White American will get justice in Illinois courts.

That's fair — as it should be!

And here's something else —

Illinois has a Civic Rights Law so that
NOBODY can be barred from any theater — or restaurant
— or bathing beach — or public park — or hotel
BECAUSE OF HIS RACE, COLOR, OR CREED!

But!
If anybody tries to deny us our rights —
We don't get tough and talk loud or
Start a fight —

We go straight and report *that* person to the N.A.A.C.P.
or the Civil Liberties Committee or the
Chicago Urban League.

Then — we fight — in court — BY LAW!

On the other hand,
If we want to keep our rights, we've got to face
our responsibilities too.

We ought to join a CHURCH and send the children to SUNDAY SCHOOL. At church you can meet the right sort of people and make good friends.

And LABOR UNIONS — we ought to be active in them. If we are members, we gain many things that we probably couldn't get by ourselves — shorter working hours, better working conditions, more pay.

We should join the PARENT-TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION at the school our children attend. It's important to know how children act away from home — and what other people think of them.

Parents and teachers have more to do with the kind of people we are than anybody else. 'Cause in the first few years, they're the ones who tell us right from wrong — and how to act — and how to talk — and what kind of life we should want.

And another thing about the children —
They shouldn't be roaming around the street
Day and night — playing with ruffians —
Learning bad habits and language.

No sir! The boys could go to the Y.M.C.A. at 3633 South Wabash Ave., or to the Boys' Club at 3949 South Michigan. Kids play basketball there, and swim and have a lot of fun. They learn things too, how to make things and build things.

The Y.W.C.A. at 4559 South Parkway is a swell place for girls to go. They have dance groups there and clubs for girls of different ages.

Then there are other places — community houses — where both boys and girls can go and enjoy themselves. At 700 Oakwood Boulevard there's the Lincoln Center for the children that live near there.

We need to use these places!

And there's Parkway Community House. It has activities for both children and grown-ups. Parents meet there and talk about all kinds of things. And at Parkway, there is a child care department where the tots can be left while mothers are at work. The address is 5120 South Parkway.

There are *so* many places that kids can go —

Such as Bethel Parish House, 4448 South Michigan Ave. and the South Side Settlement House at 3201 South Wabash Ave. — or the Helping Hand Day Nursery in the same neighborhood, 3124 South Vernon — centers for children of all ages.

Even two of the South Side schools have child care centers — Willard at 4615 South St. Lawrence and McCosh School at 66th and Champlain.

We need to use these places!

You know — a BIG city is just a group of small towns put together. Every neighborhood is a sort of town by itself.

People in a neighborhood should know each other — and take pride and interest in their "town."

They should form neighborhood clubs to get things done — such as regular garbage collection, and keeping streets and alleys clean.

Now — that means you've got to know your Alderman and the Superintendent of Streets and Alleys for your ward.

WARD	ALDERMAN	SUPERINTENDENTS
1st	John Budinger, 134 N. LaSalle St.	224 W. 26th Street, Vic. 1867
2nd	William H. Harvey, 3520 South Parkway	2840 Calumet Avenue, Vic. 4223
3rd	Oscar DePriest, 4536 South Parkway	5021 Wabash Avenue, Dre. 0200
4th	Abraham Cohen, 105 W. Madison	4415 South Cottage Grove, Ken. 0860
5th	Bertram Moss, 1233 E. 55th Street	6401 Evans Avenue, Dor. 2024
6th	Francis J. Hogan, 7014 South Vernon	6401 Evans Avenue, Pla. 8418

And law-breakers — don't let them
give the neighborhood a bad name!

Call the police! They can settle the disturbance.

These are South Side police stations—

2nd—1121 South State Street, Wab. 4707
3rd—2700 South State Street, Cal. 2360
4th—454 E. 35th Street, Dre. 6328
5th—4802 South Wabash Avenue, Oak. 0345
6th—5233 South Lake Park, Hyd. 0311

Their job is to enforce the law . . . It's YOUR job to help!

The Chicago Urban League believes that SOUTH-SIDERS want to make their NEIGHBORHOODS BETTER! Let's Work Together! These are your Urban League Friends:

SO. PARKWAY TO COTTAGE GROVE — 39th - 43rd, SNOWDENVILLE
Miss Frankie Boylan

47th - 51st, NO. WASHINGTON PK.
Mr. William Jones

SO. PARKWAY TO STATE STREET — 51st - 55th, ABBOTSFORD,
Miss Mildred La Touche

SO. PARKWAY TO STATE STREET — 43rd to 47th, JOHN R. LYNCH MODEL COMMUNITY, Mr. John H. Mims

47th - 51st, DUSABLE COMMUNITY
Mr. Robert L. Jack

55th - 60th, WEST WASHINGTON PARK
Mrs. Verda Lewis

ALL CAN BE REACHED AT CALUMET 6828, 6843

Affiliated Branches of the

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Akron 4, Ohio
Akron Community Service Center
199 Perkins Street
Raymond R. Brown, Exec. Sec'y

Albany 5, New York
Albany Interracial Council
122 Second Street
Edward Kennell, Exec. Sec'y

Anderson, Indiana
The Negro Welfare Association
1100 West 14th Street
Robert E. Wilkerson, Exec. Sec'y

Atlanta 3, Georgia
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Mrs. Grace Townes Hamilton,
Exec. Sec'y

Baltimore 17, Maryland
Baltimore Urban League
2404 Pennsylvania Avenue
A. J. Allen, Exec. Sec'y

Boston 20, Massachusetts
Boston Urban League
22 Whittier Street
John Caswell Smith, Jr., Exec. Sec'y

Buffalo 4, New York
Memorial Center and Urban League
155 Cedar Street
William L. Evans, Exec. Sec'y

Canton 4, Ohio
Canton Urban League
819 Liberty Avenue, S. E.
John W. Crawford, Exec. Sec'y

Chicago 16, Illinois
Chicago Urban League
3032 South Wabash Avenue
A. L. Foster, Exec. Director

Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Division of Negro Welfare
The Community Chest of
Cincinnati and Hamilton County
312 West 9th Street
Arnold B. Walker, Exec. Sec'y

Cleveland 4, Ohio
Cleveland Urban League
8311 Quincy Avenue
Sidney R. Williams, Exec. Sec'y

Columbus 3, Ohio
Columbus Urban League
107 North Monroe Street
Nimrod B. Allen, Exec. Sec'y

Detroit 1, Michigan
Detroit Urban League
208 Mack Avenue
John C. Dancy, Director

Elizabeth 4, New Jersey
Urban League of Eastern
Union County
645 Elizabeth Avenue
William M. Ashby, Exec. Sec'y

Englewood, New Jersey
Englewood Urban League
20 North Van Brent Street
Mrs. Marion Forrester, Exec. Sec'y

Flint 3, Michigan
Urban League of Flint
432 North Saginaw Street
Charles E. Eason, Exec. Sec'y

Fort Wayne 2, Indiana
Wheatley Social Center
436 East Douglas Avenue
John E. Ridley, Exec. Sec'y

AFFILIATED BRANCHES *(Continued)*

Fort Worth 3, Texas
FORT WORTH URBAN LEAGUE
411½ East 9th Street
Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, Exec. Sec'y

Gary, Indiana
GARY URBAN LEAGUE
1448 Broadway
Joseph C. Chapman, Exec. Sec'y

Grand Rapids, Michigan
BROUGH COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION
554 Henry Avenue, S. E.
Edward P. Simms, Sr., Director

Kansas City 8, Missouri
URBAN LEAGUE OF KANSAS CITY
1805 Vine Street
Thomas A. Webster, Exec. Sec'y

Lincoln, Nebraska
LINCOLN URBAN LEAGUE
2030 "T" Street
Clyde W. Malone, Exec. Sec'y

Little Rock, Arkansas
URBAN LEAGUE OF
GREATER LITTLE ROCK
914 Gaines Street
Clifford Minton, Exec. Sec'y

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URBAN LEAGUE OF LOS ANGELES
2510 South Central Avenue
Floyd C. Covington, Exec. Sec'y

Louisville 2, Kentucky
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418 South 5th Street

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A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROJECT

Probably the most significant development in wartime social work among Negroes has been the approach of a team of 12 national agencies to social problems of Negroes in cities through what is called a Community Relations Project. Financed by the General Education Board and administered by the National Urban League, the project embodies an approach to selected cities experiencing latent race tensions and additional war impacts upon the already existing social problems of their Negro populations.

An Advisory Committee, representing participating agencies and lay membership, has been organized. The agencies represented on this Advisory Committee include: Family Welfare Association, Child Welfare League, National Tuberculosis Association, National Federation of Settlements, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, National Health Council, National Committee on Housing, American War-Community Services, and Community Chests and Councils.

Although only five cities have been chosen for intensive work during the first year of the project, the National Urban League plans to continue the program until at least thirty industrial centers have been benefited. Supervision and administration of the Project is carried on by Warren M. Banner, Director of Research and Community Projects for the League, and William H. Dean, Project Director, who is on leave from his post as Professor of Economics at Atlanta University.

Working at the invitation of and in cooperation with the local Council of Social Agencies or some other overall sponsoring body, the project features a complete study of the socio-economic conditions of Negroes in the city and the resources for meeting them. This is followed by the work of a team of five specialists in health-and-hospitalization, housing, group work-and-recreation, employment, and family-and-child welfare. These specialists work with local agencies to complete a blueprint for local Negro social welfare and help devise the machinery by which the plan may be put into effect over the next several years.

Affiliated with social agencies in 51 American cities working for better race relations, health, housing, recreation, employment, and other social services among Negroes.

The project also furnishes later consultant and follow-up service.

The potentialities of this method are suggested by the experience of the Council of Social Agencies in Miami, Fla., which invited the National Urban League to adapt the above procedure to Miami on a smaller scale, has accepted the ensuing recommendations unanimously, and confidently expects to put most of them into effect within the next few years.

"A city applies for the Community Relations Project by writing the Southern Field Division, National Urban League, 158 Auburn Ave, Atlanta, Ga. There are no application blanks and applications are made by letter. The application should set forth a brief review of the social conditions existing in the city along with reasons why the local sponsoring group believes the Community Relations Project would make a contribution to local social work development. There should also be some indication of the local sponsoring group's desire to cooperate in trying to work out whatever machinery the study's results indicate as desirable.

"When this application is received, it is brought to the attention of the Project Advisory Committee for its approval. If approved, the local sponsoring group is notified, the date on which the study is to begin is set, and the local group (Council of Social Agencies) proceeds to make arrangements for carrying out its share of the responsibility. This responsibility includes: providing office space, telephone facilities, clerical assistance, and supplies for our representative while in the city; and formation of an Advisory committee for the study. We would expect, too, assistance in making contacts and interviews and would look for heads of local agencies to be available for consultation with our study director and staff.

Final preparation of the report is handled here in the National Urban League office. The over-all budget of the project provides for the financial costs, and aside from the items mentioned above, there is no expense to the local community.

"The local advisory committee for the study should be as broad and as representative as possible, its constituency to include, for example, representatives from the Community Chest, Council of Social Agencies, business, industry, public agencies (such as the Housing Authority, the Board of Health, the police department, etc.) the clergy (both white and Negro), the general community, and the Negro community(lay representation). We have found that a committee of about a dozen persons, plus the ex officio representatives, constitutes a good working group. These persons should be approached immediately after approval of the project so that the first meeting of the committee can be held during the first few days that the study director is in the field. This local committee helps the study director to frame the survey's outline and to fit his general plan into the distinctive pattern of the city. It meets regularly to receive progress reports during the period when the study is being carried on. It joins with the National Urban League in preparing the final report and setting up the recommendations for community action. And, it cooperates in carrying out these recommendations.

"The initial study does not, by an means, constitute the whole of the project. Equally important is the follow-up of the study by a staff of specialists. These specialists, forming a team which represents the various interests in the fields of concern to the study (Family and Child Welfare, Health-and-Hospitalization, Housing, Vocational Adjustment, and Recreation-and-Work), will spend from four to six weeks conferring with the local officials and agency heals on ways in which the project recommendations can be carried out. In this connection, the National Urban League serves as the coordinating agent, representing the National Agencies which are participating in the study.

"The specialists staff, individually, represent those national agencies active in their fields. Those agencies have accredited the specialists as representing national policy and experience in Housing, Health, Family Care, or whatever the field may be.

"Thus, our plan puts into each of the project cities a team of experienced and able professional social workers who can bring their joint wisdom and skill to bear upon social problems that call for every possible resource of assistance.

William Y. Bell, Jr.
Southern Field Director

PS - I should mention here that in addition to the studies carried on and contemplated under this particular project, the National Urban League's Research Department has made studies of the Negro population (without the follow-up of the team of specialists) for Councils of Social Agencies in such widely dispersed cities as: Miami, Fla., Grand Rapids, Mich., Seattle, Wash., Hartford, Conn., Columbus, O., Newark, N.J., St. Louis, Mo., etc.

The Project Director has just completed the first phase of the project's study in Houston, Texas and is moving on to Oklahoma, City, Okla. and Kansas City, Mo., to initiate the project there. Councils of Social Agencies in St. Petersburg and Jacksonville, Flordia are also interested and negotiating with the Project Committee.